

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE
SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

National Liberal Federation of India

HELD AT POONA

On December 26, 27 and 28, 1923.

POONA:

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Sixth National Liberal Federation of India, Poona, 1923.

December 27 and 28, 1923.

RESOLUTIONS.

I—Condolence.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals mourns the death during the last year of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chaudavarkar, Kt., Mr. V. R. Gupte, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, and Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutta, all of them worthy sons of India and devoted workers in her cause. The Conference offers its heartfelt condolence to their bereaved families.

(Put from the Chair.)

II—Self-Government.

Having in view the many inconveniences and anomalies which have been felt in practical administration under a system of dyarchy in the provinces and the incongruity and difficulty in practice of an irresponsible central Government controlling and superintending the administration of transferred departments by ministers responsible to local legislatures, having also in mind the difficulties of the central Government having no majority of its own in a legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people; and having further in mind the immediate necessity of releasing the Government of India and the local Governments from the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and the proved inability of the Government of India, not yet fully responsible to the people, to protect the interests of Indians settled in self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies, this meeting of the all-India Liberals, concurring with previous meetings thereof, is emphatically of opinion that full responsible government in the provinces and complete responsibility in the central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign departments should be established without delay, and for this purpose urges the immediate appointment of a Commission similar to that provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919 for making a full inquiry into the actual working of the present constitution and making recommendations in respect of future constitutional advance.

Moved by :—The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C. (Madras.)

Seconded by :—Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona.)

Supported by :—Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, (C. P.)

” ” :—Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, (Ahmednagar) (in Marathi.)

” ” :—Mr. A. P. Sen, (U. P.)

III—Indians Overseas.

(i) This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its indignation and resentment at the Kenya Decision of July last which, besides being grossly unjust and invidious, violates the most solemn pledges of the Crown and other constituted authorities, and its firm determination which is likewise the determination of the whole of India, never to accept any settlement which assigns to their countrymen in Crown Colonies, particularly Kenya, a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. This meeting trusts that the Committee to be appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of the Resolution of the last Imperial Conference will be able to secure for Indians in Kenya a position in keeping with her recognised status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, besides safeguarding in an effective manner their economic interests.

(ii) This meeting further views with alarm the tendency of the provisions of the Kenya Immigration Bill and requests the Government of India, notwithstanding the unfavourable attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to press upon him the necessity in ordinary good faith of delaying the progress of the Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee above mentioned should have had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with the Colonial Office. This meeting is further of the opinion that the Government of India should without delay appoint a strong and representative Committee and send it to England at the earliest possible date to raise the question with regard to the Kenya Immigration Bill with the Colonial Office.

(iii) In view of the facts that the political, civil and economic interests of Indians in South Africa have been for generations without adequate protection, that at the present moment their economic status is further threatened by the imposition of restraints which are humiliating to this country as well as injurious to their interests and that the position of Indians within the Union of South Africa excepting Cape Colony has, during many years, been inconsistent with their status as subjects of a common Sovereign and with the national dignity of India, this meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion whose representative refused even at the last Imperial Conference to explore any avenue for the redress of the grievances of Indians, great numbers of whom were born in that country and own it as theirs. In particular, this meeting recommends the imposition on non-Indian South African Colonials of reciprocal restrictions and disabilities in respect of the franchise, both political and municipal, eligibility for the public services and the right to hold properties and trade, mining and navigation licenses.

(iv) This meeting strongly urges (1) an amendment of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act so as to deprive non-Indian South African Colonials in India of the special privileges still accorded to them in criminal trials, and (2) the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on South African coal, taking care at the same time by suitable measures, to provide adequate facilities to Indian coal in the way of transport and otherwise.

Moved by :—Mr. B. S. Kamat, (Poona.)

Seconded by :—Mr. G. A. Natesan, (Madras.)

Supported by :—Mr. N. M. Joshi, (Bombay.) (in Marathi.)

IV—Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., at the last Imperial Conference to the cause of Indians overseas in general and Kenya Indians in particular and notes with satisfaction that the Kenya Decision is no longer found to be treated as final and that the Committee to be sent by the Government of India will raise the entire question with the Colonial Office.

Moved by :—Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, M. C. E.

V—Retrenchment.

While taking note of the recommendations of the Inchcape and the various Provincial Retrenchment Committees, this meeting of the all-India Liberals calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments concerned to effect all possible economies and to lose no time in exploring further avenues of retrenchment.

Proposed by :—Mr. C. M. Gandhi (Surat).

Seconded by :—Mr. R. R. Jayavant (Nagpur).

VI—Removal of the Sex Disqualification.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the time has arrived for the removal of the sex disqualification in regard to membership of and franchise for the Provincial and Central Legislatures.

Proposed by :—Mrs. Ramabaisaheb Ranade.

Seconded by :—Mrs. Kashibai Devadhar.

VII—Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals deploras the delay in carrying into effect a long overdue reform viz: the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it.

(Put from the Chair.)

VIII—Labour Representation.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals desires to press on Government and Liberal organisations the need of encouraging the establishment of trade unions in the country and of labour being adequately represented in Provincial and Central Legislatures by direct election in stead of by nomination as at present.

(Put from the Chair.)

IX—Protection to Indian Industries.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that Protection to industries of national importance should be given, the period, form and degree of protection depending upon the condition and prospects of each industry.

Moved by :—Mr. C. S. Deole (Bombay.)

Seconded by :—Mr. H. G. Parkhe (Ahmednagar.)

X—Repeal of the Princes Protection Act.

This Conference urges that The Princes Protection Act should be repealed as early as possible, as it is opposed to the interests both of British India and of the subjects of Indian States.

(Put from the Chair.)

XI—The Army.

(1) This meeting of the all-India Liberals is emphatically of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take steps for a more rapid training of Indian officers in all arms of the army including the Air Force so that the Army may truly be Indianised at an early date.

(2) This meeting of the all-India Liberals considers that with a view to expedite the Indianisation of the Army and in the interests of national economy, a substantial reduction in military expenditure accompanied with a reduction of British Troops now used for internal security purposes should be effected as soon as possible and that in any case the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in this behalf be given full effect to as a first step.

(3) This meeting urges that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay.

(4) This meeting of the Liberal Federation is further of opinion that Indian young men reading in Universities or Colleges should be made to undergo some military training and discipline.

(5) This meeting of the all-India Liberals further urges that no distinction should be made in the status of officers of the territorial and auxiliary forces and in the matter of granting King's Commissions.

Moved by :—Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona.)

Seconded by :—Mr. B. S. Kamat, (Poona.)

Supported by :—Mr. A. P. Sen, (Lucknow.)

„ Lieut. Abasaheb Khardekar, (in Marathi.)

„ Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, (in Marathi.)

„ Mr. Kamala Kanta Verma, (Allahabad.)

XII—Indian Deputation's Work.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals records its sense of high appreciation of the work done, under the most discouraging circumstances, in connection with the discussions on the Kenya question by the Indian Delegation consisting of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., and Messrs. B. S. Kamat and Jamanadas Dwaritadas.

(Put from the chair.)

XIII—The Salt Tax Certification.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals enters its emphatic protest against the certification by His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Finance Bill, 1923, providing for the enhanced Salt Tax in the face of the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Assembly to the contrary. In the opinion of this meeting, the Bill should not have been certified either on economic or political grounds. This meeting is further of opinion that section 67-B of the Government of India Act is wholly inconsistent with any true responsibility of the Legislature and that even under the constitution as it is, it is necessary that the power of certification vested in the Viceroy should be strictly limited to genuine cases affecting the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

Proposed by :—Rao Bahadur R. R. KALE (Satara.)

Seconded by :—Rao Bahadur V. R. PANDIT (Nagpur.)

Supported by :—Mr. N. N. Hingne, (Ahmednagar) (in Marathi.)

XIV—Mr. C. F. Andrews's Services.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indians overseas in general and of Kenya Indians in particular, especially in connection with the discussions in India and England about the Kenya dispute.

(Put from the Chair.)

XV—Uplift of the masses.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation-building, more strenuous, more sustained and more vigorous efforts must be put forth by the people and Government so as to bring sound and suitable education within the reach of the illiterate masses at an early date by means of compulsion; to improve their economic and moral condition by adequate measures, to raise their political status by a broadened franchise and in the case of the untouchables to remove untouchability which is a great impediment in the way of national advance. This meeting further calls upon the people to make adequate sacrifices to secure this object and the Government to find more money for the achievement of nation-building as quickly as possible.

Proposed by :—Mr. G. K. Devadhar (Bombay.)

Seconded by :—Mr. M. B. Marathe (Belgaum.)

Supported by :—Mr. G. K. Gadgil (Poona.)

„ Mrs. Janaki Bai Bhat (Poona.)

XVI—Mr. H. S. L. Polak's Services.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of gratitude of the services rendered by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in connection with the discussions in London on the Kenya dispute.

(Put from the Chair.)

XVII—Indiansation of the Services.

(1) This meeting of the All-India Liberals is of opinion that the real question on which it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy for the future in connection with the Public Services is the question of the venue of recruitment.

(2) This meeting is further emphatically of opinion that in view of the fact that the traditions of administration established in this country by British Officers have been in full operation for over half a century at least and that many of the British Officers now serving in this country will continue to hold their appointments for nearly another 25 years, it is necessary both on economic and political grounds that recruitment in all Public Services should, in future, ordinarily take place only in India, power being reserved to the Government of India to recruit experts on special terms for limited periods.

(3) This meeting is further of opinion that the recruiting, appointing and controlling authority in future should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State and that the Public Services Commission should be appointed by the Government of India to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of public services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Government of India.

(4) That the basic pay of all these services should be on an Indian basis with special allowances to be given to British Officers on such conditions as may be determined by the Public Services Commission to be appointed hereafter.

(5) That in regard to any grievances of a financial character or of any other kind, this meeting is of opinion that they should be examined and redress given to public servants consistently with the financial capacity of the country to bear any additional financial expenditure; provided further that before any steps are taken in this behalf, the Legislative Assembly shall be taken in full confidence by the Government.

(6) This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to appear before the Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Liberal Federation.

Moved by :—Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoble (Nagpur.)

Seconded by :—Principal K. R. Kanitkar (Poona.)

Supported by :—Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale (Satara.)

XVIII—Restatement of the Creed.

The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and of its component organisations is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (responsible self-government) and Dominion status for India at the earliest possible date.

(Put from the Chair.)

XIX—Swadeshi.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges upon the people of India the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to purchase Indian-made goods only, wherever possible.

(Put from the Chair.)

XX—Indians in Mauritius.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals urges the Government of India to enquire into any legislation under the contemplation of the Mauritius Government which is understood to prejudicially affect the political representation of Indians settled in Mauritius and to take effective steps to safeguard Indian interests against any impending danger. And if our countrymen there fail to get their grievance redressed, this meeting is of opinion that further assisted emigration of Indian labour to that Colony be stopped as soon as possible.

(Put from the Chair.)

XXI—Appointment of office-bearers.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra as Secretaries for the next year and directs that the all-India Council should be constituted in accordance with the lists to be submitted by provincial Liberal organisations by the end of January 1924.

(Put from the Chair.)

XXII—Party Organisation.

Whereas in the opinion of the Federation it is imperatively necessary that effective steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the Liberal Party so as to bring about greater solidarity among its ranks, to extend the scope of its influence and to increase its utility and to carry on an effective propaganda for the early attainment of responsible government and the securing of a status for Indians overseas compatible with India's status as an equal partner of the British Commonwealth, and whereas it is realised that these objects cannot be achieved without first raising a large Party Fund, secondly, without increasing its membership, thirdly, without adopting a definite programme and policy for work, fourthly, without securing public support for that programme and policy and educating the electorates either by speeches or through the Press, English and Vernacular, or by taking other steps that may be necessary, this meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the work of organization should be entrusted to a Committee consisting of:—

- 1 Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I. (Chairman.)
- 2 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
- 3 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
- 4 Mr. S. M. Chitnavis (Nagpur)
- 5 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; and } Secretaries.
- 6 Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra. }

This meeting further resolves that the gentlemen named above be asked to form themselves into a Committee with power to co-opt such and so many other members of the Party in India as may seem to them necessary.

This meeting directs that the above-named gentlemen shall pay visits to important centres in the country to interview members of the Liberal Party, to address meetings and to take all such other steps as may be necessary for the raising of the funds and increasing the membership of the Party and securing support for its programme and policy.

It further directs them to prepare a scheme of work by the members of this Party to be carried on among the electorates and the people at large.

It further directs them to consider the advisability of sending a deputation of two or three members to England at such time as may seem to them proper for securing support there to the programme for further constitutional advance.

And it further authorises the Committee to take steps for raising Funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the co-operation and support of English politicians and public men. It further directs this Committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May 1924 and in consultation with the Council to arrange for the holding of a special session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

This meeting places sum of Rs. 10,000/- at the disposal of the Organising Committee to enable it to carry on the work indicated above.

The Federation further authorises the Organising Committee to carry on the work of the Council pending its appointment, after which it shall be open to the Council to delegate all or any of its functions to the Organising Committee.

XXIII—Next Session of the Federation.

The next session of the Federation be held at Lucknow in U. P.

Proposed by :— Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow.)

XXIV—Vote of Thanks to the President.

Proposed by :—The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.

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



Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., I.L. D.



President.

THE
National Liberal Federation of India.

The Sixth Annual Session.

Wednesday, 26th December 1923.

Opening Day.

The sixth session of the National Liberal Federation of India assembled at Poona on Wednesday, December 26th, 1923, at 3 p. m. in the spacious pavilion specially erected for the occasion on the Gokhale Memorial Hall grounds in Sadashiv Peth near Sotya Mhasoba. The *pandal* was tastefully decorated with flags and buntings and was fitted up with the necessary requirements including electric lights to secure the convenience of those that attended the session. Portraits of Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale were hung up prominently on the platform and inspiring mottoes like, for instance, "Self-Government is India's Birth-right," "Union is strength," "Reform the Reforms," "Right the Kenya Wrong," "Democratise the Native States," "Practise Swadeshi" greeted one's eye as one looked round.

Opening of the
Session.

The President-Elect, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D., arrived at 3 p. m. and was received at the entrance by Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, M. C. E., Chairman of the Reception Committee and its other office-bearers. He was then taken to the platform in a procession, headed by Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Captain of Volunteers, followed by the five secretaries to the Reception Committee. viz. Mr. G. G. Thakar, Mr. N. G. Virakar, Mr. S. K. Godbole, Mrs. Kamalabai Gandhi and Mr. D. V. Ambekar, the two vice-chairmen viz. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and Mr. B. S. Kamat and the Chairman, Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole. The President was supported in the procession by the only ex-President present, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., and other Liberal veterans. As the President entered the pavilion, the whole assembly rose to its feet and enthusiastically cheered him till he had taken his seat.

Among those present at the meetings of the Federation were Sir Mahadeo Chautal K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mrs. Ramabaisaheb Ranade, Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis from Nagpur, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kesharao of Hyderabad (Deccan), Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, Mr. N. A. Dravid, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobale and Mr. R. R. Jayawant from C. P., Mr. A. P. Sen, Bar-at-law and Pandit Kishen Prasad Kaul from Lucknow, Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, Editor, *Leader*, Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Kamala Kant Verma and Mr. Braj Narayan Gurtu from Cawnpore, Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle and Mr. Thombra, pleader, from Akola, Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Mr. Landge and Mr. Rodrigues from Yeotmal, Mr. Dongarsing Patil, M. L. C., from Bhusawal, Mr. C. M. Gandhi from Surat, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth from Ahmedabad, Messrs. M. K. Apte, S. B. Wadekar and V. N. Barve from Dhulia, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Lieut. Abasaheb Khardekar and Mr. N. G. Joshi from Satara, Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, Mr. R. G. Dhaneshwar, Mr. N. N. Hingne and Mr. H. G. Parkhe from Ahmednagar, Mr. R. G. Pradhan, M. L. C., from

Opening of the
Session.

Nasik, Principal G. C. Bhate, Prof. S. B. Bondale, Prof. K. N. David, and Messrs. G. R. Abhyankar and V. K. Mainkar from Sangli, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., Mr. G. A. Natesan, B. A., Editor, *Indian Review*, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mr. Kolandvelu Mudaliar, Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiah, Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, Mr. M. S. Madhava Rao, Mr. K. G. Sivaswami, and Mr. Ekamber Rao from Madras, Mr. and Mrs. J. K. N. Kabraji, Sirdar Abasaheb Mujumdar, M. L. C. Mr. and Mrs. K. A. Ghaswalla, Mr. M. B. Marathe, Mr. B. P. Nadgauda and Mr. A. N. Nadgauda from Belgaum, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mr. Vasantrao S. Ravut, Mr. Chunilal D. Metha, Mr. C. S. Daole, Mr. T. A. Kulkarni Mr. D. R. Mitra, and Mr. Nadir F. M. Garda from Bombay, Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer, Mr. G. M. Kalohor, M. L. S., Rao Saheb R. K. Karandikar from Ratnagiri, Col. K. C. Sanjana, Mr. J. H. Bhabha, Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Mr. and Mrs. Garland Craig, Maulvi Rafiudin Ahmed, M.L.C. Sirdar S. C. Mudaliar, Rao Bahadur V. N. Khopkar, Mrs. Anandibai Dhavale, B. A., Mrs. Laxmibai Gadgil, Mrs. Kamalabai Gandhi, Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan, Mrs. Sundrabai Thakar, Mrs. Kashibai Devadhar, Mrs. Durgabai Gokhale, Mrs. Sagunabai Agashe, Mrs. Tarabai Ranade, Mrs. Yamunabai Bhat, Mrs. Janakibai Bhat, Mrs. Gangubai Khedkar, Mrs. Umabai Gokhale, Dr. Mrs. Sundrabai Kirtane, Mrs. Radhabai Bhide, Mrs. Krishnabai Bapat, Mrs. Sitabai Paranjpe, Miss Rangubai Ponkshe B. A., Mrs. Varubai Shevade Mrs. Lahanibai Pradhan, Mrs. Draupadibai Chinnulgund, Dr. V. B. Gokhale, Dr. N. L. Ranade, Dr. V. B. Bapat, Mr. K. R. Limaye, Jahagirdar of Bhatkunki, Principal K. R. Kanitkar, Mr. G. C. Bhate from Roha, Pandit Hardatta Sharma from Panjab, Mr. D. R. Walimbe from Karad, Rao Bahadur R. N. Joglekar, Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinnulgund, Mr. G. R. Gandhi, Mr. L. R. Gokhale, Mr. G. G. Thakar, Captain N. R. Satpute, Mr. N. G. Virakar, Mr. S. K. Godbole, Mr. A. L. Dashpande, Prof. V. K. Joag, Prof. V. B. Naik, Prof. M. K. Joshi, Prof. K. M. Khadye, Prof. G. H. Kelkar, Prof. S. R. Kanitkar, Professors Divekar, Kelkar, Chiplunkar and Athavale of the Indian Women's University, Mr. G. V. Gupte, Mr. K. S. Gupte, Mr. R. S. Sule, Mr. G. C. Bhat, Mr. D. H. Bhat, Sirdar V. M. Natu, Mr. and Miss Kohn, Dr. E. X. Dias, Mr. V. T. Agashe, Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Mr. V. L. Thube, Mr. L. R. Karale, Khan Bahadur Aspandiar Irani, Mr. S. M. Mundhwawalla, Mr. Jehangir Pestonji, Mr. Bomanji Pestonji, Dr. K. K. Joshi, Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Mr. Ramchandra Bhikaji Joshi, Messrs. N. L. Halbe and N. V. Raddi from Wai, Dr. D. G. Godbole, and Mrs. Janakibai Pradhan.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of the following national and welcome songs by a group of young Indian ladies from the Seva Sadan:—

ईशस्तुति.

राग-सारंग.

मधुर तुझे प्रभु चरण नमावे । नाम तुझे कवनीं गावे ॥ ५८ ॥
 विश्वकमल हे सहज उमलले ।
 तव रूपाचे पराग फुलले ।
 प्रेममर्दें सुखचिर भरले ।
 जीवभृंग तेथे धावे ॥ १ ॥

निःस्वार्थाने मरंदपानिनी ।
रत होउनी तो दिनरजनी ।
तय रुमाचे अगु होउनी ।
मुक्तिदाते मग पावे ॥ २ ॥

राष्ट्रगीत.

वंदे मातरम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
सुजलां, सुफलां, मलयजशीतलां,
शशय्यामलां, मातरम् ॥ वंदे० ॥ १ ॥
शुभ्र-ज्योत्स्ना-पुलकित-यामिनीं
फुल-कुमुदित-द्रुमदल-शोभिनीम् ॥ चाल ॥
सुहासिनीं, सुमधुरभाषिणीम् ॥
सुखदां, वरदां, मातरम् ॥ वंदे० ॥ २ ॥

स्वागताचे पद.

राग- यजन कल्याण. ताल- त्रिवट.

(चालः—सुखकर हे होवो.)

आनंदाने, याने, स्वागत करुं या ॥
सुदिन असे हा खचित उदेल ॥
बंधुभगिनीजनवृंद पातला ॥
स्वराज्यप्राप्तिचा भाव धरियला ॥
सकळ मिळोनी, विनवूं ईशा दे यशाला ॥ ध्रु० ॥
भासतसें, खचित असें, गुणिजन हा येत अहा ॥
॥ दावी, सकलां, लोकां, राष्ट्र प्रेमभर ॥
॥ स्वाभिमान जागृत तो ठेवूं ॥
॥ आपुल्या हक्का मागणी करूं ॥
॥ एकमताने, राष्ट्रोन्नतिला साह्य करूं ॥ १ ॥

Welcome Address.

Welcome Address :

After the singing was over, Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following welcome address :—

Dewan Bahadur
K. R. Godbole.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

ON behalf of the Reception Committee of The Sixth all-India National Liberal Federation, it is my privilege to-day to offer you a hearty welcome to Poona. I may tell you that I am only a substitute or *Badli* chairman, and as such I am not likely to be a very successful functionary. (Voice of 'No, No'). Sir Hormasji Wadya, the President of the Deccan Sabha, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee according to the original programme, but he resigned on account of his ill health and I have been asked to supply his place rather late in the day. Under these circumstances, you will have to judge of my performance with some leniency.

The city to which I welcome you has a long record of political thought and activity behind it. The founder of the Great Maratha Empire was born in one of the hill-forts of the Poona District, and was

Welcome Address

Dewan Bahadur
K. R. Godbole.

educated in this city in his early years. It was in this Poona District that he commenced the formation of the Maratha Empire by acquiring territory and hill-forts from the Mahomedan Ruling powers of the day. After the Maratha power was established under Shivaji, it became a large Maratha confederacy in the time of his grand-son Shahu and his minister Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath.

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

Some of our most eminent public men such as the late Mr. Justice Ranade, (Cheers) G. K. Gokhale (Cheers) and B. G. Tilak were bred up and worked in this city. It was here that one of the most successful political organizations of its day, namely, the Sarvajanik Sabha, was started by Justice Ranade in the seventies of the last century. This was an organization that commanded great prestige and influence in its day, controlled as it was by public men like Ranade and Gokhale. The late Mr. Gokhale started here in 1905 the Servants of India Society which consists of public workers of the type of the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri (Applause) and Mr. G. K. Deodhar. It is to a city with these antecedents that I offer you a welcome this afternoon.

OUR LOSSES.

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

HISTORY AND POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

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

The Liberal Party of India is as old as the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and its greatest member was Dadabhai Naoroji. It is the party that is faithful to the traditions and principles, policies and methods, and is steadily and consistently carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress that was founded by Hume, served devotedly by Wedderburn, and rehabilitated after 1907 by Mehta and Gokhale among others. It exists to realize the ideal, held forth by Dadabhai Naoroji at the great Congress of 1906, of Swaraj for India within the British Commonwealth. It seeks to achieve by constitutional action, Self-Government and Dominion Status for India as early as possible. It is to the constitutional efforts of the Indian National Congress that India owes the Reforms of 1892, 1909 and 1919. In connection with the last and most liberal of the three Acts, those robust-hearted Congressmen who had not lost faith or given up patience were obliged in the public interest to separate themselves from the old organization when it passed under a new control and ceased to be what it had been. They then founded the National Liberal Federation of India with the double object of ensuring the effectuation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in as liberal a form as possible and of sustaining the old Congress movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. The development of Indian industries ;

13. Social legislation, and the welfare of labourers ;

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

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

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

WORK OF THE COUNCILS.

Since the last meeting of our Federation at Nagpur, the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils formed in 1920 have ceased to exist and elections for the next triennial Assembly and Councils have taken place. The work of the Liberals in the old Assembly and Councils has been pronounced to be good and satisfactory. The members of the Liberal party inside the several Governments and legislatures have laboured unceasingly for the removal of wrongs and the redress of grievances as well as for the development of beneficial services and have proved the fitness of Indians for the exercise of the rights of self-government. Their achievements have not been more marked and striking, on account of the periods of exceptional financial stringency through which India has been passing during the last three years and also on account of the spirit of non-co-operation which was exhibited in some of the legislatures. Most of our Liberal ministers have worked with conspicuous zeal and singleness of purpose and have proved undoubted successes.

NEED FOR VIGOROUS PARTY ORGANISATION AND PROPAGANDA.

The tale is, however, woeful with reference to our new legislatures. Our foremost men like Sir Dinsbaw Wacha, the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and others have been telling us repeatedly that we must have party organizations and regular propaganda work carried on not only in cities and large population centres but even in the remote country side for educating our masters, the electors. The elector must learn to dis-

Welcome Address. Distinguish between his true friend and his impostor friend. The Liberal party has failed hitherto in doing the propaganda work and in forming the required organizations and the consequence has been that the party has been swept away in the recent elections. This is what Mr. Chuni-lal Gandhi predicted in his Presidential address to the Second Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference held at Karad in May 1923. This is what Mr. Gandhi said :—

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

What Mr. Gandhi predicted has come to pass and prominent Liberals, like Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Kamat on our side have lost their seats. The Council entry section of the Congress calling themselves Swarajists put up a large number of candidates both for the Central Legislature and for the Provincial Councils and they have secured seats in considerable numbers defeating Liberal candidates in many cases. The number of declared Swarajists (Das party) politicians that have got into the Provincial Councils are 18 in Madras, 23 in Bombay, 45 in Bengal, 43 in the United Provinces, 9 in the Punjab and 42 in the Central Provinces. The figures for Bihar and Orissa and Assam are not available. In the Central Provinces, the Swarajists have a clear majority and will rule the Council, which consists of 70 members altogether, if they work on right lines. All these successes of the Swarajists are due to the network of organizations that they have all over the country side in the shape of District and Taluka Committees and the large followings they have created. The Non-co-operation and Congress organizations have been mainly helpful in procuring seats for our Swarajist friends.

WHAT WILL DASITES DO ?

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

As regards the Liberal party, we must take a lesson from what has taken place, and must form proper organizations and educate the electors by steady propaganda work. Whatever our lapses in the past, I trust that in this session of our Federation, we shall take some definite steps for the organisation of the party and the systematic education of the electorate. Unless this is done, the chances of Liberals getting in large numbers into the legislatures in the future will be very meagre. The Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has observed in his Nagpur Presidential address of 27th December 1922, that the ordinary elector being illiterate, ignorant and desirous to be let alone, is liable to be gulled by the demagogue and persuaded to vote for the person

who makes the most intemperate speeches and the most extravagant promises. This is quite true of the ordinary Indian elector. He must be properly educated and must learn to appreciate the value of his vote and the merits of the several candidates who ask for the same. He must know who is his true friend and who are empty talkers who will achieve nothing.

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Having made the above general remarks with reference to the Liberal party and its present position, I carefully considered whether I should review in my speech in detail the principal questions which have been before the public during the last year in India and in Indian Legislatures—questions in the political, social and economic fields. I have come to the conclusion that it will not be proper for me to do so as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Chairmen in my position have done this in the past, but I consider this procedure to be open to objection and I will tell you why. We choose a President every year to guide the deliberations of the Federation and he is always a gentleman in the front ranks of our politicians and public men. I think it unfair that his Presidential address should be forestalled by another lengthy speech from the Chairman of the Reception Committee probably going over the same ground as the President has to cover in his address. This is like cutting the sand under the President's feet. I will, therefore, refrain from making any lengthy remarks on the questions of the day and will content myself by simply briefly referring to some of them.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS.

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

THE CERTIFICATION OF THE SALT-TAX.

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

THE KHILAFAT.

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

ROYAL COMMISSION ON SUPERIOR SERVICES.

The last item to which I will refer is the Royal Commission on Superior Services in India, which is at present holding its sittings in India. I have followed the proceedings of this Commission with considerable interest, as I hold some views on this subject formed during my membership of the Bombay Legislative Council of over ten years. Speaking generally, I hold opinions on this subject which are similar

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

**Dewan Bahadur
K. R. Godbole.**

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

CONCLUSION.

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

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

You will now proceed to the election of your President. (Loud Applause.)

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

**Election of the
President.**

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. (Poona), in formally proposing that Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru do take the Chair, said:—

**Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.**

Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise to propose that the deliberations of this Federation be presided over by our well known patriot, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Applause). It is needless for me to explain in detail his eminent fitness for this post. After a very illustrious career at the bar, he was appointed a Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy in which post he served for over two years with great credit. When he found that he could not get on in that position (laughter)—I do not know exactly what the reasons of his resignation were—he returned to his profession. But he was too good a man to be left entirely to his

VI National Liberal Federation of India, Poona, 1923.



Reception of the President-Elect at the Poona Railway Station.

By courtesy of the *Manoranjan*.

profession. The Government of India selected him as the representative of this country at the Imperial Conference in London. How successfully he carried out his duties and how forcibly he pleaded the cause of our people in that Conference in face of a strenuous opposition from all quarters is well known to us all.

Election of the President.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

As our Chairman of the Reception Committee has told us, the Liberal cause at present is somewhat on the downward path. Therefore we want the lead of a stalwart like Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in order to guide us in our deliberations and point to us the right path for our further progress. I do not think that it is necessary for me to say anything more to recommend the proposed nomination of our distinguished guest and I hope you will carry this nomination with acclamation. (Applause).

Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras):—Brother-delegates, I rise to support the proposition which hardly needs any support. I am sure that Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur's services are so widely known, and whatever people might be inclined—unkind critics—to say of Liberals, no one for a moment would suggest that Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru sought office. For we know that the office was thrust upon him and that he accepted it under great sacrifice, and those that have known something of his great work—not only public work but the work which has hardly come to light in the Press or on the platform—work which he did secretly and unostentatiously—will ever remember the lasting service which he has rendered to our country. I venture further to assert that whatever may be our temperament in regard to the position of Indians overseas, when considering the difficult position in which he was placed, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has tried his best to help us and he is certainly entitled to our thanks for all that he has been able to achieve in that direction. I do not wish to stand any longer between you and Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whose address, I am sure, you are now most anxious to hear. (Loud applause).

Mr. G. A. Natesan.

Mr. A. P. Sen (Lucknow): Ladies and gentlemen, I heartily support the proposition.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

Mr. S. M. Chitnavis (Nagpur): I warmly support the proposition that has been so ably proposed and seconded.

Mr. S. M. Chitnavis.

The resolution was then unanimously carried and the President-elect was inducted into the presidential chair amidst loud applause. He was also garlanded by Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the President, who on rising was given a very loud ovation, then delivered the following address:—

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My first duty is to tender to you all my sincerest thanks for the great honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations this year. When about two months ago I received in London cablegrams from Sir Hormasji Wadya and Mr. Ambekar offering me the presidentship of the Liberal Federation, I was not free from considerable doubts as to whether I should accept the offer. But, after carefully thinking over it, I came to the conclusion that if the party to which I have the honour to belong had decided to call upon me to place my services at its disposal this year, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to respond to that invitation (Hear, hear). Much as I appreciate the honour which you have conferred on me and much as I wish that your choice had fallen on some worthier person, I feel, however, that without your support and cooperation

Presidential Address.

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Presidential
Address.

Dr. Sir Tej
Bahadur Sapru.

it would be impossible for any person in my position to achieve any success in what appears to me to be a crisis in the history of the Liberal party. I have no doubt that I shall receive your support in a generous measure and I feel that the very fact that this conference has been called this year in this great and historic city full of political memories of ancient days—a city which in our own generation has been the scene of activities of some of the most outstanding figures of modern India—should inspire us with some high and useful purpose.

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

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

It was only on the 30th of the last month that I returned from England after an absence of over five months. During a part of that period I had to work at the Imperial Conference. I assume that you all have read the proceedings of that Conference relating to the question of Indians overseas and I therefore do not propose to trouble you with much of what has appeared in the press. I desire simply to explain the position as it strikes me, and while I shall no doubt express my own opinions, I shall leave it to you to form your own judgment.

KENYA.

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

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

Presidential
Address.

Dr. Sir Tej
Bahadur Sapru.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE POSITION.

I am aware that it was felt in certain quarters, and by some of my esteemed friends also, that I should immediately sever my connection with the Imperial Conference. I carefully considered the position; but I was clear in my mind that so far from withdrawing from the Conference it was my duty to fight for the vindication of Indians' rights in the dominions and the Crown Colonies and to try either to get the Kenya decisions reversed or at any rate to pave the way for their reconsideration. This is the task that I set to myself. I put myself immediately in touch with some of my political friends in India and I also communicated my views to His Excellency the Viceroy who had deputed me on that mission. The more I thought about it, the more strongly I felt that I should not give up the Conference without at least making a struggle for the vindication of our rights. The friends whom I consulted were distinctly of the opinion that I must stay and fight for our rights and I also received much support and encouragement from His Excellency the Viceroy. The difficulty which then confronted me was that I found that India did not figure in the agenda of the Conference excepting in regard to a small question relating to the mandated territories. I owe it to the support which I received from Lord Peel after I had explained to him my position, that His Majesty's Government agreed to give India a day in the Conference. I then interviewed the dominion Prime Ministers. I explained to them my scheme and I must say to the credit of all, excepting of course General Smuts, that they generally agreed to support me. Here I must state that from the beginning to the end, I took my stand on the resolutions of 1931, which, we owe, in no small measure, to the efforts of Mr. Sastri, and I cannot allow the criticism in certain papers to go unchallenged that I departed in any degree either from the letter or the spirit of those resolutions.

GENERAL SMUTS' ATTITUDE.

Presidential
Address,

Dr. Sir Tej
Bahadur Sapru.

With General Smuts, my experience was, however, different. As I have said more than once, he was adamant. General Smuts has claimed that he showed me every courtesy. I have never denied it. On the contrary, I frankly admitted it in the speech which I delivered at the Lady Emily Lutyens' residence and I cannot imagine that General Smuts could have overlooked that portion of my speech. But if General Smuts at all expected that social courtesies on his part could in any measure or degree make amends for his attitude towards the Indian problem and that they could justify me in overlooking his attitude towards the political issue which was raised, he was sadly mistaken. I had not gone to ask for his sympathy with our aspirations towards self-government. I would much rather that we fought our battle for self-government single-handed than that we should seek his support or the support of any outsider in regard to those aspirations, (Hear, hear). I put before him a definite issue and he rejected it. Not only did he reject it, but he suggested, though he did not move, counter-proposals which, to my mind, were wholly subversive of the principle of citizenship within the ambit of the same Empire and which, if accepted, must necessarily establish a higher and a lower grade of citizenship. Not only did he reject those proposals, but he also openly attacked the Indian Government in a manner in which, by his own standard, he should not have undertaken upon himself to criticise another Government, which is a part of the same Empire; for let me remind you of what he said. "I must say quite frankly," said General Smuts, "that I have been very much perturbed over the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in this matter. They pressed the case against Kenya in a way which seemed to me to exceed the limits of prudence and wisdom, and, when the settlement was ultimately made, language was used in regard to it which I think would certainly not help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire. The whole incident, as I said, has had a very bad effect in South Africa." This was what General Smuts said. Now, if after this language and his whole attitude and after saying that franchise for coloured races in South Africa was "a question of impossibility," he expected me to treat him as the best friend of India, then he indulged in a vain hope. Frankly, gentlemen, I do not care whether he charges me with a breach of international etiquette or anything similar to it. I feel that the South African Government, of which he is the head, has adopted towards our countrymen settled in that part of the Empire, an attitude which, to use his own language, cannot help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire (Hear, hear.)

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

THE SCHEME OF COMMITTEES.

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

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be full consultation and discussion, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a committee appointed by the Government of India, upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. At the same time the Duke was careful to explain that before deci-

sions were taken as a result of discussion with the committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned, and in some cases local enquiry, would be necessary.

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

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

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

THE SCHEME EXPLAINED.

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

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

In reply to this I stated as follows:—

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

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

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

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

Further on he stated:—

"If it were their, (i. e., the Indian delegates') desire to have the Indian delegation given an opportunity of meeting the Parliamentary committee to which the matter will be referred for consideration, I should be glad to see, if the time of their visit so permitted, that they were given a chance to meet the members of that committee and to confer with them at Ottawa. In other words, we would be only too happy to give to any group which may come from India, any person she may send, the amplest opportunities to discuss with our public men all aspects of this particular question. I say this having regard to the method of approach Sir Tej has presented to us here. He has made it clear that the committee would come for the purpose of exploring avenues and ways and means to reach an ultimate result. He should recognise that we may have to take time in this matter, but I would like him to believe that we are sincere in hoping that we will be able to meet his wishes. In seeking so to do, we may have to proceed step by step; but the Canadian people as a whole are, I am sure, really desirous of meeting our fellow British citizens from India in every reasonable particular. I have not the slightest doubt about that."

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

I shall now pass on to the Crown Colonies and particularly to Kenya. For the administration of the Crown Colonies including Kenya, His Majesty's Government is directly responsible through its Colonial Office. During my negotiations, it became quite clear that it was impossible for me to get the Duke of Devonshire or His Majesty's Government to go back at once on their decisions. I was equally clear that the Kenya decisions could not be allowed to go unchallenged

and though they might not be reversed or reconsidered in October, 1923 the situation might change, political conditions might be more favourable at no distant time, and what seemed to be a hopeless position then might improve if we persisted in our attempt to secure justice and equality for our nationals there. It, therefore, seemed to me that the next best thing that could be done was to get an undertaking from the Colonial Secretary that he would extend the scope of the scheme to Kenya also. Accordingly the formula which I have just quoted above was settled and it is "that while the Duke saw no prospect of those decisions being modified, he promised he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him." After the formula was read by the Prime Minister, I stated in my last speech that to me as an Indian it was of course disappointing that the Duke saw no prospect of modifying the Kenya decisions, which could never be accepted in India. I further stated as follows:—"But his agreement with the principle of my scheme, and his consent to give careful attention to such representations as the Committee may lay before him, inspires me with the hope that the door is not barred, and that the Colonial Office may be shown the way to an acceptable solution." Now, speaking candidly, I do not think that there can be any room for doubt that the Kenya decisions have been robbed of that finality which was claimed for them in July last and that they must come up for reconsideration. Meanwhile, since I arrived in India, I have learnt that the Kenya legislature has introduced an Immigration Ordinance which is extremely drastic in its character and which, if allowed to become law, will practically stop Indian emigration to Kenya. I have not yet been able to read the terms of this Ordinance and my knowledge of it is confined to the summary which has appeared in certain newspapers. Of course, we cannot accept an Ordinance of that character and we must plainly tell the Colonial Office that that ordinance, if allowed by them to become law, will complicate the problem still further.

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

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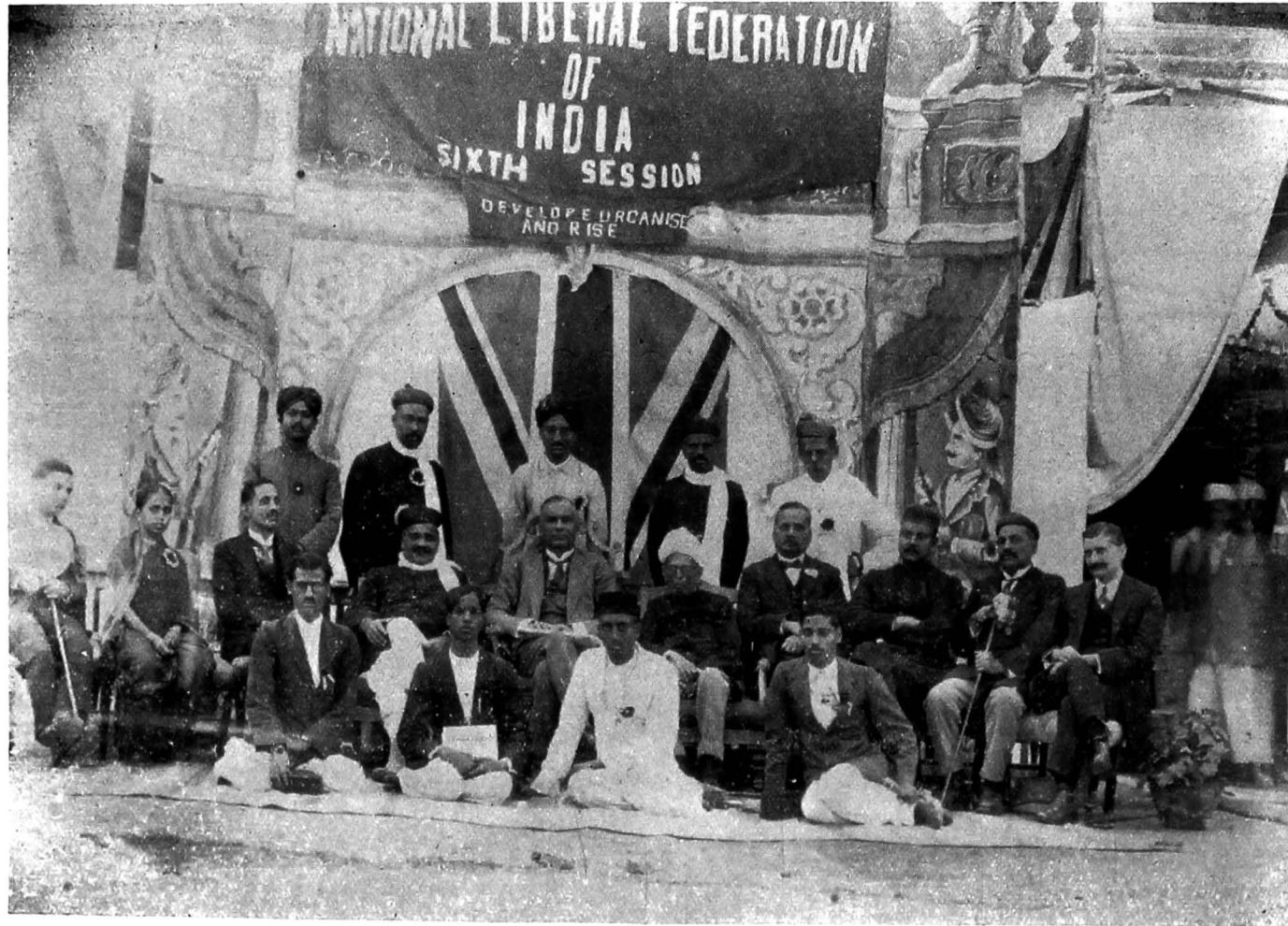
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I am aware of the objections that have been raised to this scheme which has been accepted by the Imperial Conference. It has been said that the committees will be expensive. That they will cost some money I have no doubt, but political fights in these days necessarily involve expenditure. I do not know of any political organisation at present existing in India which can carry on its propaganda or achieve any substantial results without pecuniary sacrifices. At the same time I think that the expenditure involved should by no means be so heavy as to justify our rejection of the scheme. It has next been asked, if the committee fails to achieve any result, what is to be done next. I should not like to anticipate events; but in all constitutional fights, it seems to me the failure of one step is only an incentive to another. Frankly speaking, those who raise objections of this character should be prepared to suggest alternatives and if they have alternatives of their own, why have they not hitherto acted on those alternatives and what has been there to prevent them from taking independent action of their own? (Hear, hear). It is far better that we should work steadily and patiently but with a full determination to get the wrongs remedied than that we should indulge in threats which we do not mean to give effect to or which we know or ought to know cannot be given effect to.

SOUTH AFRICA.

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

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The Presidential Party with the office-bearers of the Reception Committee.

to meet the Indian point of view." This is the unqualified doctrine of white supremacy within the British Empire—a doctrine which, to my mind, cannot be accepted by those who owe allegiance to a common Sovereign. In the first place, General Smuts conveniently forgets that the whites in the South Africa are as much foreigners as the Indians. In the next place, the Indians there, who, according to his own admission, have been educated and have acquired wealth, cannot justly be grouped together with the blacks until the latter have reached the same stage of civilisation. In the third place, even assuming that the predominantly large number of Indians is a standing menace to the safety of the whites, that may be an argument for regulating the law of franchise, but it can never be an argument for the permanent and wholesale disenfranchisement of the Indians and in any case there can be no justification for those economic restraints which have been put upon Indians and which, apart from imposing indignity on them and on India, strike at the very root of their prosperity as well as freedom. What I was most anxious about was that General Smuts should join hands with the Government of India in exploring avenues for the solution of this difficult problem. I knew that he had dissented from the resolutions of 1921 and I had little or no hope that I could persuade him to agree to those resolutions now. But he would give nothing, consent to nothing, and hold out no hopes. On the contrary, as I have shown above, he showed his concern not only in the whites of South Africa but also in those of Kenya, and attacked the Government of India for their attitude towards the Kenya decisions. He also refused to agree to the appointment of a diplomatic agent to be sent by the Government of India, to look after the Indian interests there and to act as an intermediary between it and the South African Government and to keep the Government of India well informed of the facts relating to Indians there. I am satisfied that from General Smuts and his Government we need not expect the smallest possible response to our demands, and I believe that if he persists in the course which he has adopted, the problem of Indians in South Africa will at no distant date become such a grave problem, that it will be a source of the greatest weakness to the very idea of imperial unity, of which he professes to be an ardent exponent and apostle. It is bound to lead to a cleavage among the subjects of our common Sovereign on racial lines and however much we may regret it, it must be recognised that when that stage is reached it will be a most disturbing factor in imperial unity, which will have to be reckoned with seriously by those who are unwilling at the present moment to recognise its evil potentialities. Here let me strongly repudiate one of the propositions urged by General Smuts, viz., "We must not derive from the one British citizenship rights of franchise, because that would be a profound mistake." I regret that even the Duke of Devonshire fell a prey to this confusion, when he sought to make a distinction between imperial nationality and "local citizenship." If, however, imperial citizenship is not a mere shadow but consists of something substantial, then I cannot see how it is possible to divide that citizenship into two grades, a higher and a lower. You may raise your franchise as high as you like, but I do maintain, and maintain very strongly, that notwithstanding any measure of internal autonomy that you may possess, you cannot bar out any section of His Majesty's subjects merely on racial grounds. The question, therefore, arises as to what is to be done with regard to South Africa. General Smuts will not have a diplomatic agent from the Government of India; he will not have a committee to investigate the facts and explore the avenues for a solution; he will not remove the economic restraints imposed on our countrymen and I fear he will persist in his policy of segregation. If we had a fairly substantial population

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of white South Africans living or carrying on trade in India, I should not despair of a solution. But as matters stand, he can pursue his even course in the name and on behalf of the whites there and refuse to be dictated to, by any outside authority on the ground that South Africa is an independent self-governing unit of the Empire. India on the other hand is not a self-governing unit and its Government is still in the leading strings of the India Office and His Majesty's Government. Meanwhile, in recent years, Natal has been making money out of its coal trade with India.

TARIFF AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN COAL.

I certainly think that the time has come when the Governments of India should take courage in both its hands and failing to get any satisfaction out of General Smuts, as it is bound to fail, raise the tariff against South African coal (Hear, hear), reduce railway freights for Indian coal, improve transport facilities, and give other encouragement to the local coal industry. Unless some such action is taken by the Government of India and unless it tells the authorities in England that out of respect for Indian feeling and also on consideration of self-respect it must be allowed to take this line, I think nothing that we may do will produce any impression on the South African Government. I think the safety and prosperity of our brethren in South Africa and our own national dignity demand that we should call upon the Government of India to take a strong line, in dealing with South Africa; for I am convinced that if the Government of India feels that by representations or negotiations it can achieve any satisfactory results now or for a long time to come, such attempts are doomed to failure and their failure is bound to lead to a development of political feeling in this country, which will be extremely embarrassing to it, in regard to its internal administration. (Hear, hear.)

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

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The position of India in relation to the Imperial Conference is a peculiar one. To quote the words of Mr. Duncan Hall, "The recognition of the rights of India to a place in the Imperial Conference is a mark of her special position and circumstances. No other portion of the Empire.....can yet be said to have advanced sufficiently towards self-government to have any just claim to recognition as a member of the Conference." India has got a vote, as every Dominion has, and speaking for myself, I must gladly acknowledge that the Indian delegation was listened to with patience and courtesy. Indeed, the one thing noticeable throughout the proceedings of the Conference was the atmosphere of good will in which we worked. But when I say this, I think I owe it to you to say also that the thought was not absent from my mind that if India were a self-governing Dominion, it could speak with greater authority and greater power (Hear, hear). The Ministers of the Dominions speak with the consciousness that they have their Parliaments and their countries behind them.

Not so in the case of the non-official Indian representatives. The Indian representatives have no mandates from their Parliament and the Indian Government is not yet an independent Government. Undoubtedly, to my mind, India's prestige in this Council of the Empire would be infinitely greater if she could deal with the rest of the Empire on terms of perfect equality, and it is for this reason that I feel that unless and until India first achieves self-government, the position of her nationals overseas must always continue to be more or less unsatisfactory. We are reminded every now and then by our critics, friendly and otherwise, that we must wait and be in no hurry to press the claims of our countrymen in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies until a more favourable change takes place in the opinion of the white settlers. It seems to me that if India were a self-governing country, the necessity for addressing these injunctions to the white settlers would be equally strongly felt. As matters stand at present, the underlying basis for advice of this kind is that Indians can at best expect an indulgence. I do not think that if India were a self-governing country within the Empire, the wishes of her Government or her people could be ignored or a decision which was resented even by the Government of India could be given, as it was in July last, when on the main questions the opinion of the white settlers prevailed. It, therefore, seems to me that while on the one hand it is our duty to emphasise our claim regarding proper, just and equal treatment outside India, our duty is even more imperative, that we should lay still greater stress upon the achievement of responsible government in India itself. This leads me on to the second part of my address.

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THE INDIAN SITUATION.

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

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

LIBERALS' RECORD OF WORK.

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

THE WRECKING OF COUNCILS.

It is true that they are going into the councils with professions of destruction on their lips; but you must make allowance for their very natural desire to seem to be consistent. As to whether they will succeed in destroying the councils, the next three months will show. Speaking here again from my knowledge of the constitution and of the machinery of administration, I have very serious doubts as to whether even a fraction of the threats which are at the present moment held out will materialise. But even assuming that unfortunately the stage is reached when they will succeed in giving effect to their threats and the entire machinery of the Government is paralysed, it will be for these wreckers to give us the alternative to the present constitution. (Hear, hear.) You will at any rate have the satisfaction that you have been no party to the wrecking of the constitution and it may very well be that those of you who may find themselves face to face with a situation like this in the Assembly or the provincial councils may yet try to prevent the machinery from being wholly wrecked. It is assumed, however, by those who are at present going into the Councils that they and they alone desire and are prepared to work for the achievement of responsible government in India. The facts, however, are too strong for such an assumption. Within the very first year of its existence, a resolution was moved in the last Assembly urging further constitutional progress. The Government of India sent a despatch to the Secretary of State

and the present Secretary of State sent a reply which is well known to you. The Secretary of State vaguely hinted at the possibility of further exploring the avenues of progress under the present Government of India Act. What exactly he meant by it I cannot say. But time after time your representative in the Assembly gave free and forcible expression to the desire for further constitutional advance. Meanwhile, opinion has crystallised in Liberal circles all over India, and during the last two years the Liberal party has not hesitated to express its views on the question freely and frankly. I personally think the time has come when you should definitely frame a programme, put it before the country and the Government, work for it and fight for it. I have no doubt whatever that when you put forward that programme, it will be received with strong opposition in certain official circles in India and if the present Government should continue in England, you need expect very little from it in the way of constitutional advance. Arguments which were used thirty years ago against any progress are still being used to-day and I have no doubt they will continue to be so used if the question of constitutional advance arises not now but thirty years hence. Opposition of this character need not deter you. You have conquered such opposition in the past and I have no doubt that you will still be able to conquer it in the future. But, to my mind, it is not enough that you should formulate your programme. It is at least as necessary that you must effectively deal with your opponents' arguments and even more than that, it is necessary that you should set your house in order first.

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THE POSITION IN THE PROVINCES.

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

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

In the central Government, the position, if anything, is even more unsatisfactory. On the top of the central Government is the Secretary of State and it should never be forgotten that the power of direction, superintendence and control, which is vested in him, is not a mere

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figure of speech. It is a very real and living control. At any rate I have not noticed much evidence of any self-abdication on the part of Whitehall. (Laughter). In the altered state of things, notwithstanding, the theory of the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for the good government of India, the centre of political gravity has shifted from Whitehall to Delhi and Simla and yet the position of the Government of India is by no means a very enviable one. On the one hand, constitutionally it is under the control of the Secretary of State; on the other it has to deal with an Assembly which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority. The executive is irremovable, but all the same, excepting in regard to certain matters it feels the pressure of solid non-official opinion in the Assembly. A Government, situated as it is, can never depend upon the support of any party in the Assembly. It may at times accept compromises, which perhaps it would have rejected if it had a party to fall back upon and when it refuses to accept any such compromise, it comes into conflict with non-official opinion in the Assembly and popular opinion outside. On the other hand, an Assembly, which knows that it can criticise the Government and offer obstruction whenever it can close up its ranks, but which is not entrusted with any responsibility, must more or less be always in an attitude of suspicion and resent the limitations which have been placed upon its powers.

A THOROUGH RE-EXAMINATION NEEDED.

Taking the situation as it is, I submit that a true sense of responsibility cannot grow in a soil like that of the Assembly. Admittedly, the constitution, which was given by the Act of 1919, was of a temporary character and the Government of India Act itself contemplates the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions, etc. It seems to me that upon a true construction of section 84 (A), it cannot possibly be held that this Commission cannot be appointed before the expiration of ten years. I think the whole position has been put very pointedly by Mr. Hope Simpson (whose re-election to Parliament I welcome) in a speech, which he delivered last month at the National Liberal Club.

It is patently unreasonable said Mr. Hope Simpson, that India should be condemned to the administration of a faulty constitution for six long years, if intermediate reform is possible, nor can I see any reason why the statutory provision for an examination in 1923 should preclude examination of the question before that date. Only good can come from investigation of the working of the machinery set up under the Act of 1919. If all is well, it is good that this fact should be authoritatively stated. If there are weak points, they should be strengthened; if modification is required, the change necessary should be undertaken. The case is one for detailed, careful and thorough enquiry, in all its aspects by a Commission of first class men, to include an expert in constitutional law.

With these observations of Mr. Hope Simpson I need scarcely tell you that I am in complete agreement and I have repeatedly urged them myself, both here and in England during the last twelve months. There are no doubt dangers in over-acceleration, but, to my mind, there are even greater dangers in undue delay. At a recent debate in the Royal Colonial Institute Sir William Vincent, who can speak with direct knowledge which is by no means out of date, is reported to have stated as follows:—

Sir William Vincent emphatically declared that Britain had given India certain solemn undertakings, and it was impossible for Britain to go back on them. None was more alive to the dangers of over-acceleration of the reforms than those who have some measure of responsibility for carrying on the administration. But it was impossible in the new system, which has been inaugurated, for good or bad, to carry on the old system of bureaucratic government that had got to change with changing times, and the sooner they made up their mind to that, the better it would be for future relations.

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

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AMENDMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

I am aware that it is held in certain quarters that it is possible to make an advance in certain directions under the present Government of India Act itself, without in any way modifying or altering the provisions thereof. Even assuming that the Secretary of State in Council may by rule framed under section 19(A) of the Act, regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in him, with a view to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act 1919, it is obvious that such relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State will be very much different from genuine responsible government. Let us assume further that under the Government of India Act itself, it is possible to establish provincial autonomy. Will you be satisfied with provincial autonomy without a corresponding change in the character and composition of the Central Government? The words "provincial autonomy" seem to have a great fascination for some of us, but I venture to think that when you will take the trouble of viewing the Government as a whole, you will not be free from serious doubt as to whether in actual practice it is practicable to give the provinces autonomy, when the Central Government, which must continue to deal with certain national matters of the most vital character, will continue to own the control of a higher authority. From a purely constitutional as also an administrative point of view, I think the system will not work even fairly satisfactorily for long and I am afraid there will be constant friction between the so-called autonomous provincial Governments and the Central Government. It is true that the sphere of functions of the two Governments may be more clearly defined, but it seems to me inevitable that in certain matters affecting the interests of the country as a whole, your Ministers will be in the unenviable position of choosing between their supporters in the Councils and the Central Government. It seems to me that nothing can be more ill-assorted or more likely to retard the growth of full and real responsible institutions in this country, than to introduce complete responsibility in the provinces and place them under the control of an irremovable and irresponsible executive in the central Government. The spirit actuating the two respectively will be, if not antagonistic, very different and I am afraid that instead of getting the substance of responsibility, you will get the shadow. Among other problems of the future as I envisage, it is the problem of having a central Govern-

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ment which in regard to national matters will be the most cohesive element. For, our provinces cannot in the interest of national safety and national progress afford to be too provincial. I am not pleading for the introduction of diarchy in the central Government. All that I am urging is, that the field of administration covered by the central Government should be carefully surveyed and examined, the sphere of functions of the central and provincial Governments should be precisely defined, and that the civil administration in charge of the central Government should be made responsible to the extent to which it is made responsible in the provinces. This necessarily gives rise to the question as to what we are to do in the future with the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India.

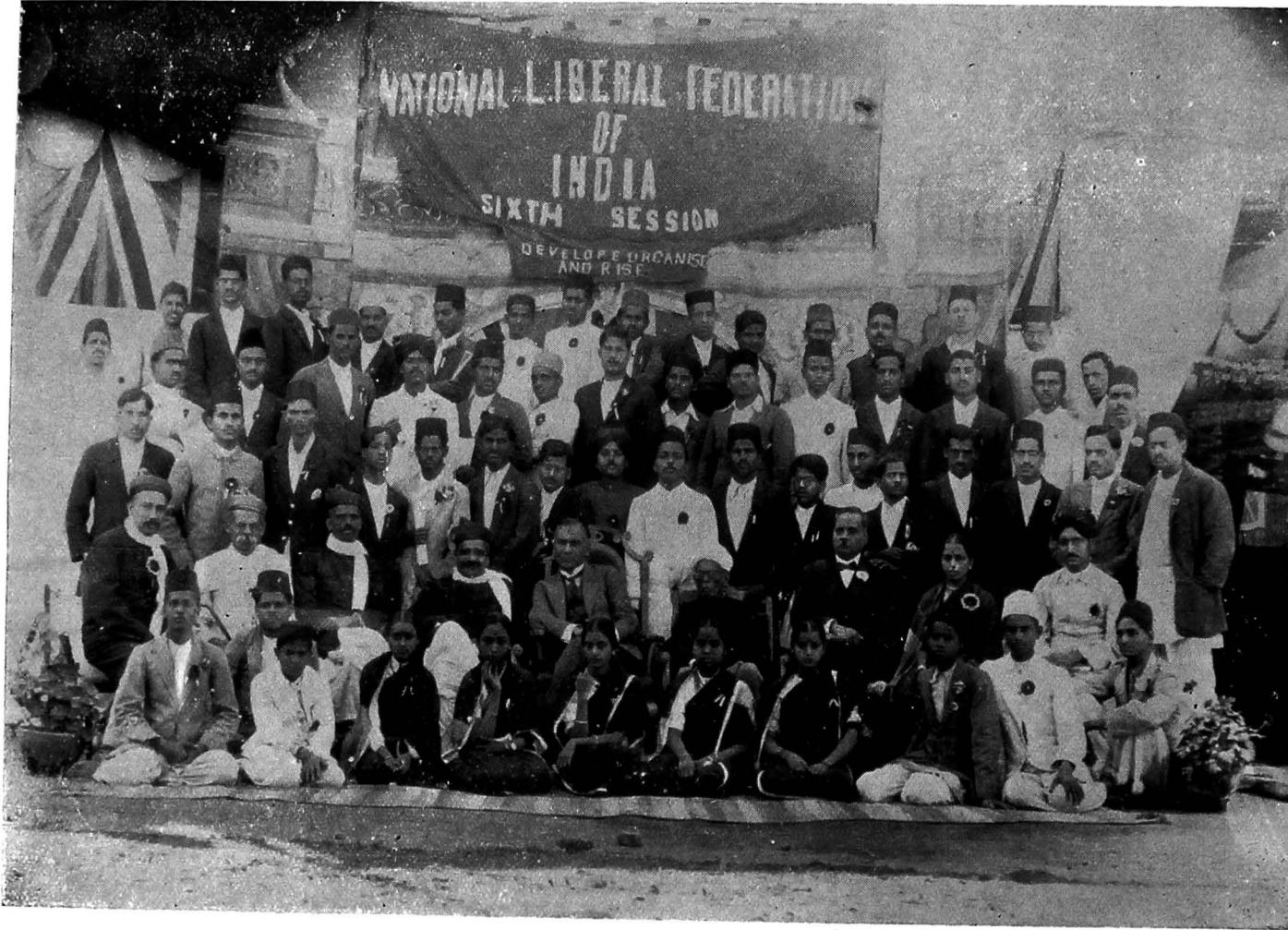
THE ARMY.

As regards the army, I desire to emphasise that it is such a huge and delicate machinery and the problems connected with it are of such a complex and technical character, that I think you will be well advised not to press for its control, until you are ready for it. It should not however be beyond the scope of statesmanship to provide ample statutory safeguards for the army budget. That is a matter for experts. Meanwhile, we should have a definite and steadily progressive programme for the Indianisation of the army, by which, I understand, the providing for the recruitment of Indian officers with the highest training in the different branches of the army. This must necessarily be a slow process, but not so slow as I am afraid will be the case if no further progress is made upon the scheme, which was adumbrated early this year—a scheme which, though it is a concession to Indian sentiment, is very far removed from the real Indianisation of the army and may take generations before our aspiration in that direction bears fruit. If the scheme which was put forward before the Assembly early this year has not evoked much response or enthusiasm, it is to no small extent due to the consciousness that whatever it may do, it cannot achieve the end, which it professes to achieve, within any reasonable distance of time. I shall perhaps be asked, as to who in future is to administer the Army Department and who is to represent it in the legislature. Well, gentlemen, the Foreign and Political Departments are supposed to be in the hands of the Governor-General himself and yet the fact that the Governor-General is not a member of the legislature has not placed those Departments at any special disadvantage. Similarly, I think, some such arrangement will have to be arrived at, by which the Governor-General may assume definite responsibility for the administration of the army and be also represented in the Assembly of the future. These are matters for the examination of the Commission, which I have suggested above, and I, therefore, refrain from going into details. It is sometimes urged that India can never be a self-governing country, unless it is able to assume responsibility for its defence. Well, if in the case of some Dominions England could take responsibility for their defence until they were able to assume that responsibility for themselves, why not in the case of India?

THE INDIAN PRINCES.

Not less important is the problem relating to the Indian Princes and their relations to the Central responsible Government. That there are some enlightened and patriotic Princes I readily admit, but the vast majority of them, I maintain, are extremely jealous of their rights and dignities, and having been accustomed to centuries of autocratic rule, they cannot be expected easily to fall into line with democratic institutions. So far from courting their opposition or arousing their suspicion, it is far better that in the interest of the bulk

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The President, the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and Secretaries of the Reception Committee along with the volunteers.

of the country, you should leave them alone, and let them remain under the direct charge of the Viceroy, than that you should try to bring them into direct relation with your responsible Government of the near future. I am open to argument and should always be ready to accept a better plan; but I suggest to you that you should adopt a definite programme for responsible government in the provinces and a corresponding *simultaneous* modification of the character and composition of the Government of India.

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OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

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

(1) In the first place, it is urged that a democratic responsible Government in India is an impossibility, without an intelligent and capable electorate. Under the present scheme we have got an electorate of some five millions. The election of 1920 was criticised on the ground that a considerable number of electors abstained from voting. This year, although exact figures are not yet available, it is a fact that a very much larger number of electors have gone to the polls. Howsoever we as party politicians may regret the electors' choice, the fact that they have gone to the polls in much larger numbers is significant. You cannot increase the intelligence and the capacity of the masses by keeping them away from the exercise of those rights, which are best appreciated and valued only when they are exercised. If I may be permitted to quote from an article which I contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for November, "I maintain very strongly that the mass of our people are naturally shrewd, and understand their local problems. They are far more orderly than people of their class in any other country. They are responsive to generous treatment and elevating influences. The consciousness of the possession of political power and the repeated exercise of it at elections should in itself be an education of incalculable value. In addition there is an obligation upon those who seek their suffrages to give them political education." To those who constantly remind us of the illiteracy or want of education of our masses without at the same time recognising their own share of the responsibility for that state of things, I shall say, "Do not forget the history of your own country in or about 1832. Your system of elementary education did not commence till nearly half a century later and you are still busy in expanding and improving education; but that has not prevented you from expanding the representation of the people." At any rate, if there was any seriousness about the announcement made in Parliament on August 20th, 1917, as I think there was, the argument of the ignorance of the masses should then have been carefully weighed. I do not wish to minimise the importance of it, but at the same time I maintain that the education of the masses and constitutional development must go hand in hand.

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

So far as the depressed classes and what are called the untouchables are concerned, our sympathies are unreservedly with them and I do maintain that if our passion for political freedom and democratic government is real, we have got to modify our old world notions of

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social relations. Either you value those traditional social distinctions or you value the political institutions you are aspiring after. If you value the latter, then you have to alter radically your old outlook.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM.

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

MINORITIES AND THE SERVICES.

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

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.

As regards religious disputes in which the ignorant masses get at times involved, it is certainly the duty of the leaders to do nothing or

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

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BRITISH INTERESTS AND THE IMPERIAL SERVICES.

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

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NECESSITY FOR A COMMISSION.

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Gentlemen, I have placed these views before you in the broadest possible manner without going into minute details and all that I ask you to do on the present occasion is to give your careful consideration to your future policy and future programme. If you want constitutional progress, you must set to work for it. That work does not and should not consist merely in passing resolutions or making speeches. You have got seriously to educate public opinion in favour of your policy and to acquire support for your views; for unless this is done, the forces of opposition against you will be strong indeed, far stronger than you imagine. Do not reject my suggestion about the early appointment of a Commission, merely because commissions and committees are supposed to be a method of shelving pressing problems. If that were my conviction and belief, I should not have brought this suggestion before you. But I do believe that before any constitutional advance takes place, the whole position will require very careful examination; so many interests have got to be reconciled, so many different points of view have got to be borne in mind, so much readjustment of the system of Government will be necessary, that I cannot imagine that merely because you express the wish for the establishment of Swaraj, it will be an accomplished fact. A commission is the very thing contemplated for such progress by the present Government of India Act and even if it were not so, further constitutional development would in any case have involved the bringing into existence of an agency for giving effect to it. Once a commission is appointed, you can put forward before it your own views on the future of the Constitution and put all the pressure that you are capable of on the Government here and Parliament in England to give effect to your views. That is the only constitutional method which, to my mind, seems likely to yield any satisfactory results. Constitutions are not easy to make, as is sometimes imagined and it is for you to prepare the ground by taking the necessary steps.

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

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

with those who find solace merely in the thought that they might have done better if only their opponents had indulged in less misrepresentation of their views and position. We must frankly admit that much of our present position is due to the weakness of our organisation, the want of party discipline and above all our omission to organise an adequate party fund. For I think that if we are to survive as a party, it is necessary that we should have funds and ample funds. I know the difficulties in the way, but I also know that we have got to fight those difficulties and overcome them. In order to advance our scheme it may be necessary, indeed I think it will be necessary for us, not only to send a strong representative deputation to England but to establish an independent and active organisation of our own there, for the dissemination of our views and correct information in England. Be it said to the credit of Mrs. Besant that hers is the only organisation there that does something for India in the way of propaganda. It is all very well for our countrymen to say that we can afford to ignore English opinion, but do not forget that we have no real living organisation of our own there. Those who are opposed to any further progress and who regret even the present measure of reforms have got powerful organisations, supported by plenty of funds and led by some retired Governors and officials, who still think and talk, as if India stood where she did in their time. The English nation is essentially conservative and fights shy of any change. Its conservatism is all the greater in the case of India, which it has been accustomed to treat as a country full of ignorant people, hopelessly divided among themselves and flying at each other's throats and kept together only by the controlling hand of its representatives here. I do not blame people in England; for they are bound to attach weight to the uncontradicted statements of some of those who claim knowledge and experience of India. Besides, let us not forget that the impression which some happenings in this country have produced, has been most unfavourable to us and yet my experience during the last few months was distinctly hopeful, for, while on the one hand there is a section of die-hards who will continue to oppose our aspirations for as long as they can, on the other there are men of broad sympathies and large outlook but little knowledge who, if properly approached, will be willing to help us. Such help I would not discard or despise. I would avail myself of every such source from which we can gather strength and support. I believe we can do much useful work by sending a strong, well-informed and capable deputation to England. Our work in India must go on simultaneously, if we wish to push the cause to a successful issue. I, therefore, think that if this meeting of the Liberal Federation succeeds in nothing more than in devising means to organise the party and in adopting a definite line of policy, we shall not have met in vain. If we fail in that, I for one must view the future of our party with the gloomiest of forebodings. But I have still hope that the traditions of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale are not dead among us. Howsoever unworthy we may be, as their successors, let us make an honest attempt to live up to their ideals and seek inspiration from what they said or did in their day. Eighteen years ago, it was left to Gopal Krishna Gokhale to give a definite shape to our ideal in his great speech at Benares. Since then that ideal has ceased to be a far-off adorable dream. It has become now a living passion with us. To be in our own country what other subjects of our common Sovereign are in the self-governing Dominions is no longer a dream, which we would leave it to posterity to realise. Our difficulties may be great, they are great, but they have to be conquered and must be conquered. I venture to think that if we approach these big problems in the practical spirit of those great and hallowed names and with their robust faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause, if we only

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realise that constitutionally our position is much stronger than it was in their days, then I have every confidence that we shall succeed in building the edifice of Self-Government within the Empire, the foundations of which were laid by them.

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

Telegrams and
Letters.

Mr. D. V.
Ambekar.

Telegrams and Letters.

Mr. D. V. Ambekar, one of the Secretaries to the Reception Committee, in laying before the Conference letters and telegrams received by the Reception Committee, wishing the Conference all possible success, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, a number of messages from several persons wishing success to this Federation have been received. They are really too numerous even for a brief mention on this occasion and I therefore propose to refer only to the more important ones. I wish first to make mention of the telegrams received from four ex-Presidents of the National Liberal Federation of India, namely, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer. Then we have received an inspiring message from our revered leader, Sir Dinshaw Wacha. He says:—

Sir Dinshaw Wacha's message.

Heartily wish deliberations of Liberal Conference under your statesmanlike presidency will be crowned with success. Come what may, India is bound steadily and speedily to fully realise its cherished aspirations under the old and tried standard of the Liberals and Liberals alone. So long as there are in their ranks good men and true, stirring and self-less patriots of the sturdy type of Dadabhai, Ranade, Pherozeshah and Gokhale to guide and lead them, the future of constitutional progress (of India) is sure and certain. So let the Liberal phalanx go forward as of old, undismayed, erect, and firm, with a stout heart and Spartan courage. Let them bide their time as time is on their side, and theirs and theirs alone is the ultimate triumph.

Then, Sir Hormasji Wadya has also sent his good wishes for the success of the session. Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Sir Moropant V. Joshi, the Hon'ble Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta, Sir Binode Mittar, Professor Gulshanrai from Punjab, Hon'ble Sir A. P. Patro from Madras, Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, from Allahabad, Rai Kishnaji, from Benares; Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani from Akola; Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur from Cawnpore; Rao Saheb Khare from Amraoti; Mr. Ishwardas Lakshmidas, the new Sheriff of Bombay; Mr. S. Rangaswami Iyengar representing Sivaganga Liberals; Rao Bahadur S. D. Garud, Mr. G. B. Pradhan, M. L. C., Sardar V. N. Mutalik, M. L. A. Mr. Badridatta Joshi, Vakil, Haldwani, Mr. Gaurishankar, Benares, Mr. M. D. Altekar from Bombay and Rai Saheb Jagdish Prasad from Muzaffarnagar are among those who have sent us their good wishes. The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Jadhav, the new Education Minister, Bombay, has also written under date Dec. 25, 1923 to Dr. R. P. Paranjpye as follows:—“Many thanks for your kind and earnest invitation to attend the Liberal Federation to-morrow. I am sorry

I cannot avail myself of it as I have to attend the Maratha Educational Conference at Belgaum. I am generally in sympathy with Liberal principles and I wish the Federation every success."

Letters and
Telegrams.

Mr. D. V.
Ambekar.

Formation of the Subjects Committee.

The President: Members of the Reception Committee and Delegates will, as usual, resolve themselves into the Subjects Committee at 6 o'clock this evening. The Subjects Committee meeting will be held here in this pandal and it will be open only to members of the Reception Committee and Delegates. Outsiders will not be allowed.

Formation of
the Subjects
Committee.

The session is now adjourned to to-morrow, at 12 o'clock mid-day.

Second Day's Proceedings.

Thursday, the 27th December 1923.

The Federation resumed its deliberations exactly at 12 noon.

The President:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall read out to you the first resolution in which we express our sympathies with the surviving members of the families of certain distinguished countrymen of ours, and I will ask you all as a mark of respect to their memory to pass that resolution standing. The resolution runs as follows:—

Condolence.

The President.

Condolence.

Resolution I.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals mourns the death during the last year of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kt., Mr. V. R. Gupte, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, and Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutta, all of them worthy sons of India and devoted workers in her cause. The Conference offers its heartfelt condolence to their bereaved families.

I will ask you all, Ladies and gentlemen, to pass this resolution standing.

The resolution was then declared carried, the House standing.

Demand for Self-Government.

Resolution II.

The President:—The second resolution will be moved by the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, and I have no doubt that you will all listen to his speech with that attention which he is entitled to.

Demand for Self-
Government.

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution is in many ways self-explanatory, and I should be sparing myself some exertion if at the outset I read it out to you:

The Right Hon.
V. S. Srinivasa
Sastri, P. C.

Having in view the many inconveniences and anomalies which have been felt in practical administration under a system of dyarchy in the provinces and the incongruity and difficulty in practice of an irresponsible central Government controlling and superintending the administration of transferred departments by ministers responsible to local legislatures, hav-

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ing also in mind the difficulties of the central Government having no majority of its own in a legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people; and having further in mind the immediate necessity of releasing the Government of India and the local Governments from the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and the proved inability of the Government of India, not yet fully responsible to the people, to protect the interests of Indians settled in self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies, this meeting of the all-India Liberals, concurring with the previous meetings thereof, is emphatically of opinion that full responsible government in the provinces and complete responsibility in the central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign departments should be established without delay, and for this purpose urges the immediate appointment of a Commission similar to that provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919 for making a full inquiry into the actual working of the present constitution and making recommendations in respect of future constitutional advance.

The nature of this resolution, the objects it seeks to advocate and the arguments by which that step of progress is supported, all must be familiar to the public of India, because, as we state here, this is merely a re-affirmation at this session of the opinions given expression to in previous sessions of this body. Speaking personally for one moment, before plunging into the subject, I may be permitted to remind this audience that about a year ago when I spoke from the Chair of a similar session, I stated that I was a reluctant convert to this resolution. At first my opinion was a little more backward than we have now taken up. Amongst the many things that converted me at that time was the fact that the Liberal Association itself, when I was away from the country, had committed itself after deliberate discussion to the terms of the resolution. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer who, you remember, was our second President and still to-day leads the Madras Liberal League, a man famous for his sobriety of judgment, had spoken and written to this effect. I need not remind the readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* that he had written there with much fulness of argument recommending the course that we now advocate. Then, I had the benefit of many an earnest conversation with the President of this meeting. He held views much in advance of mine at the time, and he put forth from inside knowledge many a consideration which was new to me, and then I became an absolute convert to the idea. But more than that, during quite recent times, as you know, certain circumstances have happened which have forced my conviction into an attitude of fixed determination.

In the first place, there are two considerations put forth here for our asking for full responsible government in the provinces. I am not prepared to say that diarchy has absolutely failed. Any system in the hands of sensible people like Dr. Paranjpye can be made to work. Diarchy, however, is attended with a great many inconveniences. In daily administration it was the source of almost intolerable friction. Ministers complained that they had very little finance. If you answered them "that was due to the general financial stringency of the country," they said, "Yes, it is true, but it is true also that this trouble arises partly from the fact that the Finance Member of the province cannot be a Minister under the rules under the Act." Then, they complained, for example, that officials were not always amenable to their discipline. Well, on this point I do not expect Dr. Paranjpye to support me. But you had facts published with regard to the United Provinces—facts published at the time that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Mr. Jagat Narayan were obliged to resign their office—which proved conclusively that if it only pleased the head of the administration to intrigue with the officials of a department, he could make the position of the Ministers untenable. Now, I will tell you a story illustrating the extent to which the humiliation of a minister could be carried. I will not name even

the province unless something escapes me without my knowledge. In a certain province there was a European gardener whom, it would appear, the Secretary of State had appointed. He was an old man and he was willing to retire on a gratuity and at the time when the craze for retrenchment was at its height, the Minister took his courage in both his hands, negotiated with this European gardener and nearly persuaded him to accept a gratuity and go home. But the Secretary of State, when he heard of this, sent down orders to the effect that as he had appointed the man, the Minister could not dispense with his services in that way, and therefore much to the surprise of that employee himself he was reinstated in his position. Well, that kind of thing ought not to be allowed to happen in any service, even if it be the Indian Civil Service. That it should have happened in the case of a gardener, shows the extent to which an arbitrary Secretary of State, whom we cannot hold responsible, will go in the exercise of powers still remaining in his hands.

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Then, we go to the Central Government itself and complain of the state in which it is allowed to remain with no sort of responsibility at all to elected representatives of the people. Now, on that matter the argument employed by us is rather on behalf of the Government of India itself than on our own behalf. The Government of India cannot be sure at any time of a majority of their own unless they intrigued to see that particular groups always present in this country, where party politics are not fully crystallized, voted for them. Unless they descended to tactics of that kind, members of the Government of India would always be in fear when they came into the Assembly and they would not know what might happen. Now, that leaves the Government of India weak, irresolute, and unable to take a definite stand with regard to any policy. That, however, is an argument which any one might employ who had seen the working of the Government of India from outside.

I now pass on to a part of this argument which has been hinted at in the words of the resolution released from the control exercised by the Secretary of State." We want the Government of India and the local Governments to be really strong and independent governments looking to the wishes of the people and, where they are willing, competent to carry out the wishes of the people. Unfortunately the Government of India in more than one instance within my own knowledge have been willing to carry out the wishes of people, but could not carry them out, because the Secretary of State was against it. Now, that is a consideration which goes to the very root of the case and seems to me to invest this resolution with an importance almost transcending the importance of anything else. We cannot have a Government of India not continually looking to us but looking outside the country for the inspiration of its policy. We can no longer afford to have that, and where you have two Houses of the legislature each with an elected majority, one with a preponderating elected majority, it is impossible for the Government of India to carry on with any dignity to itself or with great profit to the people.

Now, I will bring out in more detail an argument which may not be always present in your minds. During the time that the Government of India Act was being discussed in England, a principle was laid down at our instance and was laid down with great emphasis by the Joint Select Committee. This principle is exceedingly important, and it would be worth your while to allow me to state it at some length and state also some of its implications. We always feared that, as the Secretary of State for India was an outsider to the Indian constitution, outsider not in the legal sense but in the ordinary sense of the word, it might be dangerous to continue his unlimited and irresponsible power over the affairs of India. But the actual position came to this

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that we placed, according to one of these sections of the Act, in his hands the power to control, to superintend and to direct generally the affairs of India.

We feared that the unlimited exercise by the Secretary of State of this power would leave the Government in India, whether Central or Provincial, at his mercy, unable to enunciate a policy and unable likewise to meet the large and elected legislatures that were then created. For that purpose, the Joint Select Committee enunciated as an ordinary principle of administration this rule, that when the Government found itself in agreement with the legislature on any particular subject, the Secretary of State was enjoined not to interfere but to let that measure take full effect. It is a great and vital principle and if it had been maintained in its integrity, it would really have deprived our contention today of a great deal of its force. But the principle has not been observed. Notice how subtly the defeat of this principle has been brought about. We say that that "concurrence" between an executive Government and its legislature should be a condition precedent to this Secretary of State's non-interference. Suppose, however, the Secretary of State issued an order in his executive capacity to the Government somewhat to this effect: suppose, he said, whenever the legislature in India threatened to raise any important point, the Government of India must first refer that matter to him and then only assume any attitude. Then it would mean that the concurrence between the Government and the legislature would be deprived practically of all meaning. That, I understand, has in practice actually happened. Under instructions from the Secretary of State, the Government of India and some local Governments are compelled to refer important matters to the Secretary of State before they can say anything as their own opinion. So there can be nothing like spontaneous agreement between the Government of India and ourselves unless the Secretary of State had chosen to leave some freedom in any particular matter to the Government. Now, I understand that this principle has really been brought to a nullity by the constant habit which the Secretary of State has fallen into of giving orders to the Government of India beforehand, thus tying up their judgment, and the constant habit that the Government of India have fallen into of referring important matters to his opinion. You all know that the Governments in India are specially fond of secret cables. The secret cables are a terrible foe to the establishment of democratic institutions. Now, it will not be a very gross exaggeration to say that the Government of India of today is a Government by secret cables between the Viceroy acting singly and the Secretary of State, perhaps also acting singly. People may be able to tell you, if they were inclined to be communicative, of cases in which the Members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy did not know what was passing between him and the Secretary of State. Now, you all know human nature. You all know also official human nature placed in subordination. You also know how office, when once taken, binds you down, by attractions and by privileges. I will say this. When the Government of India and its officials are placed in a position of that close and intimate subordination to the Secretary of State, more so if he happened to be a member of a Tory Government, he sends frequent secret cables to them to act in opposition to the people's wishes. You can at once see how difficult the situation is, in which such a Government is placed and how intolerable is the position of the legislatures which you renew by your franchise once in every three years.

Now, let me pass on to the last topic mentioned in the resolution. We have referred in the resolution to the recent knowledge that has come to us, sadly but unmistakably, the inability of the Government of India to protect our interests when we are settled abroad. I will

not go into that melancholy matter at any length, but suffice it to say that while like the President, who occupies the Chair today, I express India's gratitude to the Government of India for the valiant way in which they presented our case to the Dominion authorities and to the Central Government of the Empire, we can never forget that Government with three hundred millions of people, wielding vast power over the resources of a continent, had to yield before a body of rebellious white subjects in a remote little colony of the Empire! They could do nothing and when they protested, they were told that it was not proper for them even to protest (laughter). Now, I do not know what the members of the Government of India themselves feel under that treatment. But I speak, I think, for a great many of you and a great many more in the country when I say that we feel it a humiliation that our Government should be as nothing in the Councils of the Empire.

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What is the remedy? The remedy is to put our Government in the same position with the authorities of Great Britain, with the Governments of Australia and Canada. Make us a full Dominion (Hear, hear). Enable the Government in India to speak for the people, on behalf of the people as their mouth-piece to outside agencies; do not compel the Government of India to talk to us as the mouth-piece of an outside party as they sometimes do, as the Viceroy did the other day when he said the people of England would not tolerate your attempt to get self-government. In saying so, he did not speak as the representative of the people. He spoke as the representative of an outside authority. That position we have always known, but it comes home to us now in such a way that even the mildest of us cannot but resent it. When we the people of India are in dispute with the people of other parts of the Empire, we want our Government to stand up for us and to speak fully and unreservedly. This Government cannot do so. They can do so up to a certain point, but when the Secretary of State tells them to shut up, they have to shut up. But we cannot shut up and we have to go on without the Government of India backing us. The Government of India may feel with us, they may think also that we are injured, that we are on the right track and it is a great pity that they cannot back us up and give us aid, but the constitutional position is such that our Viceroy and his Council with the most excellent of intentions, with the most profound and genuine sympathy with our demands and with every desire to back us up, could only go a certain length but no further.

Now, this is the main defect of our imperfect constitution; we want it rectified by releasing the Government of India from the meticulous control that the Secretary of State exercises over them. But we want them also to be the executive administration of a full grown dominion, where the final authority rests with the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, having said so much on the more important points in the resolution, I have still one word to say with reference to the method by which we seek to attain this great object. We suggest, as you will see in the last part of the resolution, that the Government in England should anticipate the operation of one of the sections of the Government of India Act by a few years and forthwith appoint a commission to make the necessary inquiry and recommend the evolution of India into the status of a dominion. Now, it is agreed that a commission for fully investigating the facts is a necessary preliminary to the advance of a constitution. It is so. It has been laid down in the very Act that governs us. All that we say is, let it take operation immediately rather than a few years hence. It is a very reasonable request and we are all convinced of its reason. But there are people who think that that request of ours is unreasonable. There

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will be a great deal of opposition to it and therefore the attempt that we put forth must be really backed and supported not merely by the voice of the Liberal Federation—a usually discredited body as it is—not merely by the voice of the Indian National Congress, as it is outside the constitution of India, and therefore has handicapped itself not being able to speak to a constitutional country in a constitutional way, (Hear, hear). It is not merely the voice or feeling of this party or that party that will carry weight, and therefore some of us have thought of a plan, not necessarily in antagonism to others, but in our judgment supplementary to others. We have thought of a plan of a National Convention, which should arise out of the section of the non-official part of our legislature, whether with the sanction of the various Governments if it could be obtained, or without the sanction of the various Governments if it is not forthcoming. In any way, we think that the electors under the constitution of India at present working, that these electors should have it in their power to tell their representatives in the various legislatures: "Go ahead in our name and appoint a National Convention for the framing of an outline of a constitution which some of you shall then go and present to the people of England and to the authorities there in the name of the electors in India." Now, with such a demand as that made by us, it is very likely that the appointment of this commission which now some people oppose as premature, will be thought of as the only possible way of meeting the situation that then would arise. Necessarily, therefore, there is no antagonism between that plan and the plan we propose. It is perfectly conceivable that one will help the other and be a complement and auxiliary. I am saying this in particular because there are, I know, a great many outside this assembly, a great many outside even the Liberal organisation, a great many amongst the Swarajists of the day who have pledged themselves to work for the Dominion Status of India by means of a National Convention such as I have tried to adumbrate. To these people I shall specially appeal in this sense that this method that we have suggested, besides being consonant to practice and to the requirements of the Act, is not at all likely to prove prejudicial to the progress of their own plans and might therefore be concurred in even by them. With such support, not only coming from the Liberal Federation but from all who have been parties to the National Conference supported by all and based on the general wish of the electorates of the country, I believe the demand for Dominion Status is a demand which even the die-hard Government of the day installed in Westminster will find it difficult to set aside. (Loud applause).

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona.) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to second the resolution which has been so ably moved by my friend the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. I am going to touch only on some aspects of one part of the resolution of which I have had some experience during the last three years. Do not expect to hear from me any secrets. But I will give you in general terms some of the points in which our constitution presents several difficulties in actual working. Personally when this system of diarchy was first thought of by the Round Table Group, I thought it to be a great improvement upon the old mere autocratic and bureaucratic way of administration of this country and frankly I still think that it is an improvement upon the old state of things. (Hear, hear). That does not mean that there are no defects, that it cannot be improved, and this resolution asks you to insist upon the removal of these defects and that would to a very great extent mean the doing away with diarchy for a much better form of administration. You all know exactly what diarchy means. It means that the functions of a Provincial Government are divided into two parts. One part is what is called the reserved part, in which the administration is carried on by the members of the Executive

Council of the Governor. The Legislative Council can pass resolutions, can vote on matters referring to these departments; but those resolutions and those votes can only be of the nature of recommendations. On the other hand, the transferred departments are in the hands of Ministers who are selected from the elected members of the Legislative Councils and these Ministers must so conduct themselves as always to command a majority in the Legislative Councils. If on any matter about which the Legislative Council is keen, the Ministers are not able to command a majority in the Council, the Ministers must go. Really speaking, with a powerful Legislative Council the position of the Ministers is much stronger than that of the members of the Executive Council. It is true that the Governor can override the decision of the Minister, but if the Minister sticks to his opinion and is confident that the Legislative Council will support him through thick and thin, then it is not the Minister who may have to go, but that it is the Governor himself that will have to go sooner or later. For this, as I have said, a strong Legislative Council is required. Unfortunately my experience of our Bombay Legislative Council shows that it was not so strong as was really required for an efficient working of this diarchy at least in our province. We have had no settled majority at the back of the Ministers. Our Council was divided into a large number of groups which could be manipulated very often in various ways, so that the Ministers had to use a great deal of tact in order to carry on their departments at all.

But at the same time leaving aside the particular question of the Bombay Legislative Council, during the last triennium there were a certain number of difficulties, sometimes of interpretation of the Act, sometimes of the actual working of the Act which have cropped up and which it is not necessary for us to shut our eyes to. You will find in the first place that a great deal of power is given under our present constitution to the Governor. In particular some things are left entirely to the personal discretion of the Governor, especially so far as the individual members of the Imperial services are concerned. If they have got any grievance, they can appeal to the Governor in his personal capacity and not as the head of the Government.

Then, again, as regards the Ministers, during the discussions that were going on while this Government of India Act was on the anvil, it was, I believe, understood that the Ministers were to work jointly as a ministry. As a matter of fact at least in our province, the Ministers have not at all worked as a joint body, at any rate formally. You will find, if you read the *Bombay Government Gazette* every week, there are several notifications in which such and such an appointment is made by the Governor acting with the "Minister," in the singular. It is not a joint responsibility of all the Ministers; but the Governor conducts each department with the advice of a single Minister. You will see how much this practice weakens the hands of Ministers. I believe it was intended that the Ministers were to work in common. But the words used in the Government of India Act in several places and in the Devolution Rules point to contradictory meanings and it has been decided after a reference to the highest legal authority in England that the Ministers have no joint responsibility but that they are to work singly with the Governor. Of course that does not mean that Ministers in practice do not consult each other. We have always been, I am happy to say, on most friendly terms with each other. But a formal joint responsibility and formal consultation are the things which matter. I think this doubt must be put an end to. We must have even at least in this diarchy the Ministers meeting together. So far as I remember, we have had only one or two meetings of Ministers alone before this question was finally settled. Afterwards we have had no meeting of the Ministers separately.

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Then, there was the question of the administration of the whole Government. It was intended not in the Act but in the various papers that were published at the time of the passing of this Act, that although this was to be a diarchy in theory, the administration was to be conducted generally as a unitary administration. Of course as this intention was not on paper and did not form the regular sections of the law, the actual giving effect to this hope depended entirely upon the wish of each individual Governor. In some provinces, I was told that in the beginning the two halves of Government worked together as a unitary Government. In our Presidency I am afraid there was no pretence at working our Government as a unitary Government. (Laughter). I do not say that any single provision of the Act was disregarded. They are all followed to the letter; but the spirit which lay at the root of this new Government of India Act, that the whole Government was practically to be unitary, and that only if at any time a question came to vote then only the two halves were to vote separately—this spirit was not followed. There were generally after a few months joint meetings of the Ministers and Members of the Executive Council; but seeing that the Ministers could not wield any effective influence on the deliberations with regard to the reserved half, we did not very much care, except comparatively rarely, to give our definite opinion on the reserved questions and in fact we were not in a position to do so. According to the rules, we did not see all the papers underlying the various cases referring to the reserved departments of Government, and it was therefore impossible for us, except as mere readers of newspapers and public men, to give a considered opinion upon any question referring to reserved departments. Consequently we were not at all responsible for anything that happened in the reserved half of the Government. Although that was so, the public associated us with the reserved half also and the sins both of omission and commission in the reserved half were laid at our heads in spite of our repeatedly saying that according to our constitution we are not at all responsible for the reserved half of the cabinet. At elections in particular I was continually heckled on this point. It was not possible for me to give expression to what I heard and saw in the joint meetings and we had simply to sit quiet and bear the opprobrium on account of the various acts of the reserved half of the departments. It is not permissible for me to say what happened on individual questions. The Governor can, if he likes, administer this diarchical form of Government in the legal and technical sense of the term and not at all work it according to the spirit which it was intended it should be permeated with during the discussions on the Government of India Act. These are therefore some of the defects of the Act.

In our province there has also been a certain change in the rules as to the way in which the various matters are conducted. I should have myself thought that although theoretically the departments are divided into two halves, a possible way of working this in the proper spirit might have been arranged somewhat as follows. Formerly, before the last three years, each department was assigned to two Members. There was one first Member of Government and one second Member of Government. Every case went to the first Member and after he minuted on it, it went to the second Member and if these two members agreed in their point of view, their opinion went abroad as the united opinion of the whole Government. That was the case formerly. Now, however, at least during the last three years this method has disappeared. Each Member or each Minister works his own department and the second Member practically in every case was the Governor. It is impossible obviously for the Governor to go into details in every matter, even though we had a vigorous Governor like Sir George Lloyd, and it was very difficult for one man to be a second Member for all departments, and it also led to this further difficulty

that the Members of Government did not know much about what was happening in other departments but their own. That was the case during the last three years between the first and second Members. I should have thought that the best way especially under diarchy would have been to have two members for each department. For a reserved department the first Member should be a Member of Council and the second Member should be a Minister. On the other hand, for a transferred department the first Member should be a Minister and the second Member should be a Member of the Executive Council. Of course if the Minister differs from the Member of the Executive Council, the minister may stick to his opinion and then his opinion should stand and *vice versa*. But at the same time if the administration were carried on in this way, it would have been in effect a unitary system of Government. As a matter of fact in our Presidency for all the three years and in other Provinces for the latter part of the triennium, the administration was carried on rigorously according to the diarchical system and consequently several difficulties which might have been avoided by a liberal interpretation of the rules and certainly by a liberal practice, continued always in existence.

Then, there is a further point to which reference was made by the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri, viz. the financial control. The Finance Member in all Governments is a Member of the Executive Council and every proposal, whether in the reserved or transferred half of Government, is to go in general to the Finance Member especially if it has got anything to do with the spending of money. According to the Devolution Rules, the Finance Department considers only proposals which are fully considered in all their details. Now, there is some difficulty in actually carrying out all these rules, because several times your proposals have got to be so arranged as to be within our possible financial competence. It may be possible to make up a scheme costing fifty lakhs of rupees or it may be possible to reduce that scheme to three lakhs of rupees; for you need not take up a complete scheme but you might take a small fraction. But it is a waste of time to formulate a new scheme which would cost fifty lakhs of rupees if the Finance Department is to tell us that it is utterly impossible. Thus the Ministers have even found themselves handicapped by the financial rules. Well, as regards the position of the Ministers, I must say that I have personally had not very much to complain. As a matter of fact we knew what the difficulties were. Every one of us knew that we were faced with very great financial stringency and that we had to cut our coat according to our cloth.

Again, the Governor although of the real Tory spirit in the English constitution, was quite circumspect and knew exactly when to allow the Minister to have his will and generally I found that if I insisted upon any particular point of view being carried out, I was always allowed to do so and was not overruled. At the same time we had to be very careful to see that our rights were not invaded, especially by the Finance Department which, if worked in an unsympathetic spirit, would always lead to interference as a reference to the Finance Department in most matters is necessary because everything practically has something or other to do with expenditure.

Then, again, personally I have had no difficulties in dealing with the various officers even of the Imperial services who were working under me. Personally our relations were of the most harmonious character and they worked as loyally with their Ministers as they would have worked with the Members of the Executive Council or the Governor. But at the same time I have occasionally heard of instances in which the Ministers did not get on properly with the officers of the

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Farquhar.

Imperial services. And that is a difficulty which is inherent in this diarchical form of administration. Only in our province we did not meet with that difficulty.

There are, however, certain other points in which difficulties have also been experienced. For instance, as regards the services. I do not talk about the personnel of those services but about the principle of their recruitment, powers as regards which are entirely reserved by the Secretary of State. The question will come up before this Federation in detail on a later resolution, but at the same time I might say that if a Minister is to manage his department properly according to his views and according to the views of the Legislative Council, he must have some control as to the number of officers that will be recruited and whom he will recruit. Well, it has often happened—it has actually happened even in our own Government—that the Secretary of State sends to our Presidency officers whom we do not want. Some officers were recruited for a department which was already overstaffed and the Secretary of State said he could not help it and told us to make room for those officers that had been recruited several years ago, whether we wanted them or not. These are difficulties which are inherent in our constitution and I believe they will have to be remedied very soon.

Moreover, during the last three years we were especially on our trial. We knew that a large part of our country did not look with favour on these councils. We had to work the reforms as carefully as we could at whatever trouble and expenditure of energy. At the same time you cannot always expect this in future. In the new councils that have been just elected, you will probably find this diarchical form of Government presenting many more difficulties than they did in the preceding triennium. We have, therefore, to see that these difficulties should be got over betimes before they come to a head and before the position became absolutely impossible. No form of Government is perfect. This diarchy certainly is not perfect and it is better that we should remedy the defects, and the only way in which we can remedy it is by giving provincial autonomy to the various provinces.

This is not a new proposal that I have been making. When the question about the division of functions in the various provinces was being considered by the old Legislative Councils, we non-official members of the old Bombay Legislative Council said that at least in our Presidency we might have all departments transferred and I believe we have shown that the departments of Government are not to be turned topsyturvy if they are to be handed over to be managed by the elected members of the Legislative Council who have got a majority of the Legislative Council behind them. I always felt that the apprehension of the officers of the Services as to their position in the hands of Ministers from the Legislative Council are entirely unfounded. When these councils and the Ministers feel that they are the final masters, they will necessarily treat their services in the most sympathetic and proper way. After all members of the services have the advantage of their experience and the Ministers are all quite new to the office routine. Most of the Ministers are not experts in their departments and they have only their commonsense to guide them and that could be done in conjunction with the expert opinion and knowledge of all the various members of these services. I do not believe therefore that there will be any difficulty if all the departments of Government are transferred to Ministers. Especially there are some large departments in which people take a very great deal of interest. The departments of Land Revenue, of Law and Police are questions on which members of the Legislative Council and the public are keenly interested and I think there will be very much less trouble in the country if these departments are in the hands of the

Ministers. When we see and know the inner details, we find that some of the public talk is not justified; but let all information come to the surface and not be always hidden in files of papers in the Secretariat.

Dr. E. P.
Paranjpye.

As regards the finances under this diarchical form, well, although the theoretically reserved departments are to have the first claim on the finances, in our Presidency, and I believe practically in all provinces,—the finances have been on the whole fairly divided between the reserved and transferred half. Of course you can change your policy and say that you definitely want to reduce the expenditure on reserved departments and even abolish police. But there certainly has been no change for the worse so far as the transferred departments are concerned during the last three years. At any rate this is something different from saying that the reserved departments have gone on increasing their expenditure by leaps and bounds, keeping the transferred departments entirely starved. You will find that last year in our Legislative Council we made a deliberate cut of sixty lakhs which was properly distributed over all departments, though it was quite within the power of Government to say that we must have more money for the reserved half. But they did not say so, though on the other hand it may be said that the transferred departments should not have been brought under reduction. At the same time, I would say that the actual position there was not so unfair as it has been tried to make out.

The question of fresh retrenchment in various departments has got to be considered separately and independently. But when the actual machinery is considered, I can at least say that in our province there has not been any special discrimination against the transferred departments.

Well, I do not wish to speak much about the other part of this resolution which refers to the Central Government. I have had no personal experience of the Central Government. I would only say that having seen that dyarchy has a certain number of defects in actual working, either actual or potential, we should take care that when we ask for responsibility in the Central Government, we are not laying ourselves open to the same difficulties in any constitution we ask for. We have in this resolution said that the Military, Foreign and Political Departments should be practically reserved. I would, however, like to lay down a certain definite safeguard as regards the management of these departments also. It would not do for these departments to say, for instance, that they must have so much money for those departments whatever might happen to other departments. Certain restrictions should be put at least in regard to monetary demands. They should be at least to a certain extent under the control of the legislative bodies.

Well, in this way, then, we want our constitution to be improved by the conferment of full responsibility in all departments in the provinces, giving complete provincial autonomy, and incidentally of course doing away with the reserved half of the Government and the Members of the Executive Council and giving responsibility in the Central Government. I shall not speak any more about the way in which this is to be done, but I feel that any change in the Government of India Act can be brought about only in the British Parliament. The Parliament has laid down the *modus operandi* by legislation,—the way in which legislation will proceed. They have laid down that in the year 1929 a statutory Commission will be appointed which will go into the whole matter and make proposals for further changes. Mr. Montagu has given his opinion that this does not mean that the statutory Commission could not be appointed before the year 1929. It could be appointed tomorrow if the British Parliament and the British Government so desired, and we say that seeing the advance we have made and seeing

**Dr. R. P.
Paranjpya.**

that public opinion has advanced very fast after the introduction of constitutional reforms, it is better to take time by the forelock and appoint the statutory Commission and get to work six years before the appointed time. I have always felt that political concessions when given early enough are far more satisfying, and lead to no agitation, which, if you only delay them for a few years, are found unsatisfactory, and do not satisfy any demands. That has been the case with Britain in its dealings with Ireland and with India. Things which might have satisfied all reasonable demands now or a few years ago have been thrown aside as utterly useless now. Well, that has been the history of the political advancement of Ireland and India. I hope that at least in the future the words "too late" will not be written on the slate of India's political history. We want that measures should be taken betimes in order that this trouble which we all foresee should be avoided as far as possible, and therefore it is that this Liberal Federation asks that this Commission should be appointed early enough in order that we might learn from the experience of the last three years and not have further experience which might not possibly be easy but which might be very bitter in the near future. We, therefore, want that this resolution should be passed unanimously by this Federation.

**The Hon. Mr. S. M.
Chitnavis.**

The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis (C. P.) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to support the resolution which has been so ably moved by the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and seconded by Dr. Paranjpye. Dr. Paranjpye, with his experience of dyarchy, has placed before you the difficulties which he found in the working of it and my experience has been more or less the same. I am, of course, talking under restraint, as I am not yet free from official trammels, although I hope to be so within the course of a week. But dyarchy is bad in principle, quite vicious. In our province, under the exemplary statesmanship of our Governor Sir Frank Sly, the whole Government used to a great extent to work as one Government. Ministers were consulted on more or less important questions in the Reserved half, but we had the feeling that although our advice was sought, we had no vote and that our advice might be disregarded and not acted up to; while at the same time when any question came up in the Council, we were bound to vote on the side of Government. Well, we have during these three years worked the reforms for what they were worth. We knew that they were not perfect and that great improvements were called for. But we worked them and we found that there were several defects and deficiencies which must be removed. We have testimony, according to popular verdict and according also to opinions expressed by the Viceroy downwards, that the work of the legislatures has been satisfactory, and the time has therefore arrived to say that no further time should be lost in putting all the departments as transferred and doing away with dyarchy altogether. Land Revenue, Forests, and Law and Justice, and all other departments can be worked just as satisfactorily by the transferred half as they are by the reserved half. We do not want to lose revenue. In Bombay, although "Forests" is a transferred subject, there are no complaints that the department has been mismanaged by the Minister in charge. We are just as solicitous as the Reserved half for safeguarding the interests of revenue. The division of subjects, into 'Central,' 'Reserved' and 'Transferred' has not been found to be satisfactory. For instance, in the excise department, we could not give proper effect to the policy of Prohibition accepted by the C. P. Government unless we had control over "Foreign Liquor." There are other matters which stand in a similar position. It is therefore absolutely necessary that all subjects should be transferred and worked through popular ministers, and that they should be subject to the full control of the legislatures. With these remarks, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale: (Ahmednagar) addressed the meeting in Marathi. The following is a summary of his remarks :—

Rao Bahadur
G. K. Chitale.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been placed before you is that of self-government or Swaraj, I need hardly say that the Liberal Federation gives prime importance to this resolution. My friend, the mover of the resolution, has explained to you how the system of dyarchy works and how it has worked. Our ex-Minister (Dr. Paranjpye) has also explained it to you and given to you his experience. The sum and substance of all these explanations is that both the Provincial Governments and even the Government of India are mere puppets, so to say, in the hands of a superior authority sitting six or seven thousand miles away—I mean the Secretary of State in Whitehall. If this be true,—and I am myself inclined to believe it is substantially or at any rate to a great extent true,—then one must admit that the whole position is unfortunate and pitiable. As things stand, the Secretary of State for India gives orders to the Provincial Governments and to the Government of India in most of the important matters. You have got many instances of that in the last few years. Mr. Montagu simply because of his authorising the publication of a telegram from India to him had not only to resign his position, but he could not even secure a seat in Parliament in the elections which took place subsequently. He was completely thrown out. It might interest you to know that some of the officials in India were delighted at Mr. Montagu's being compelled to resign. It would be no exaggeration to say that Mr. Montagu was solely responsible for the very existence and introduction of this Government of India Act. I have myself heard the expression "kicked out" used by certain officials on the resignation of Mr. Montagu. If we were told beforehand that the Government of India was only a subordinate branch of the Government in England,—as we were told emphatically some little time ago—probably men like our President of this session might not have cared to accept the high posts which they held.

Now, if we analyse the work which the Councils were able to do during the last three years, and try to ascertain to what extent the Government has met the people's wishes, you will find that Government has thrown out almost all our resolutions. The reason for that is, in my opinion, that Government knew that the Liberals who had gone into the last Councils had not behind them, had not at their backs, the support of the people. Therefore, they said to themselves " We can very well disregard these councillors and refuse to give effect to their resolutions or recommendations." Now in the recent elections, other people have come in, but because they have not enough confidence in themselves they say : " We shall have nothing to do with your Council ; we are not going to accept any office or responsibility." Now we find in some provinces these people have come in, after the elections, in the proportion of 40 to 60 ; in some provinces they are in the ratio of 42 to 75. I must say I had some hopes that at least in those provinces where the Swaraj party had a majority, they would be ready to accept the responsibility of office and not shirk it. But I consider it most unfortunate that even in those provinces they have been saying : " We are not going to accept any office or any responsibility." Their position is that they do not want to accept any responsibility or any office and they do not, at the same time, want people to question them as to what they are actually going to do. In short they have taken up a position of something like *non possumus*, which I certainly consider wholly improper and unstatesmanlike. In a Council where they have a distinct majority at their command, to say that they won't accept responsibility is certainly a position on which one cannot congratulate them.

Rao Bahadur
C. K. Chitale.

Now, a word about our Ministers. I do not think it would be wrong to describe them as people who have to dance outside the *purdah* (curtain). They cannot say openly what passes inside the curtain. They have got no independence whatever; no power to say anything of their own. I really feel it is a good thing that these ministers have not been re-elected in the recent elections. For, how long can this life of endeavouring to carry out the biddings of two opposite forces, without any hope of pleasing either, be tolerated by anybody? Of course, I do not blame the Ministers themselves; it is the fault of the system itself. The Ministers are simply helpless. It is the defect in the constitution itself that has got to be removed and which is responsible for the whole situation.

Those who say they have faith in the reforms have put forward this resolution in the clearest manner and I am glad they have done so. Now, I must say that speaking personally, when the Government of India have not given us even the few things which they could have given under the existing Government of India Act itself, if they were so inclined, I really have not much faith in the demand for a statutory Commission. Only recently we have been told: "The seed of reform has just been sown; let it work at least for a short time; it is only three years since it is growing; let us see how it takes root and grows; surely you should allow it at least ten years to show what it is capable of producing; you cannot expect to reap the fruit within such a ridiculously short time," and so on and so forth. If the Government do not pay any heed to this resolution of the Liberal Federation for the appointment of a statutory Commission immediately, I think then there will be hardly any alternative left for the party but to refuse to cooperate with them and put forward a unanimous demand from the different parties before them. (At this stage there was some interruption by a member of the audience, probably a delegate.) Well, look at the position in Greece to-day, for instance. Even the King of Greece has been obliged to bow before the people's demand to abdicate and vacate the throne. So I do not think if a unanimous demand were to go up from the people, it could possibly be refused point-blank by the Government.

Now, we have been told in this resolution and in some of the speeches that this system of dyarchy has been worked and found wanting in several respects, and we have to see how the difficulties and defects found in it have to be solved and remedied. It is for that purpose that a statutory Commission is being proposed now. Now, assuming that our request for the appointment of this Commission immediately is granted, even then I am afraid, knowing a little about the working of these committees and commissions, it will take some little time to select the personnel of the Commission; then some time further before it can meet together; then the collection of evidence will take some time. All these things between themselves will easily require two to three years, and then a report will be prepared and submitted to the authorities. Then that report will have to be considered by the authorities concerned, and thus before any effect could be given to any of those recommendations of the Commission, it will easily take another five or six years from now, if not more; so that the year 1929—in which a statutory Commission would have to be appointed under the existing Act—will have been reached in the process. In any case, however, let us begin work now and demand the appointment of a Commission immediately and see how it works. If in spite of our demand as put forward in this resolution Government do not pay any heed to it and refuse our request, then I think it is up to us, up to the Liberal Party, to bring forward a resolution that we do not at all want this dyarchy system of administration and we are not going to work it and we refuse to have anything to do with such a system. If we really

that dyarchy has completely failed, then I think the Liberal Party ought to put forward such a resolution as I have indicated. I am against this dyarchy system altogether. I heartily support the resolution, which, I hope, you will do well to carry unanimously.

**Demand for
self-govern-
ment.**

**Rao Bahadur
G. K. Chitale**

Mr. A. P. Sen, (U. P.) said:—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, after the able treatment of the subject of this resolution by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, very little remains for me to say. Official, or rather ex-official, experts have spoken of the difficulties of carrying on a dyarchical administration. They have spoken of the administrative necessity of making further advance immediately, both in the Provincial as well as in the Central Governments. I will only refer very briefly to what I consider to be the more fundamental necessity for self-government. After all, this resolution embodies a demand for self government complete in the provinces and almost complete in the Central Government. I claim self-government because it is with me a necessity of a more vital character. I claim self-government because my self-respect, because the national self-respect, demands it. National self-respect demands that we Indians should be in our own country what others are in theirs, that we Indians should be in the British Empire equal partners with other members. There is another reason why self-government is a crying need. We are all aware that the doctrine of white domination, the doctrine of race superiority is being preached and practised within the British Empire. Self-government alone can protect us against the invasion of that noxious doctrine. I think it was a Japanese gentleman, who said "what the future has to fear is not a yellow peril but a white danger." We can avoid that danger if we are autonomous. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I support the resolution.

Mr. A. P. Sen

The President:—The resolution has been moved, seconded and supported, and I put it now to the vote of the House.

The President.

The resolution, on being put to the vote, was declared to have been carried unanimously.

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Resolution III.

The President:—The third resolution will be moved by Mr. Kamat.

Mr. B. S. Kamat, (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I am moving now reads as follows. It is about Indians overseas.

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(i) This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its indignation and resentment at the Kenya Decision of July last which, besides being grossly unjust and invidious, violates the most solemn pledges of the Crown and other constituted authorities, and its firm determination which is likewise the determination of the whole of India, never to accept any settlement which assigns to their countrymen in Crown Colonies, particularly Kenya, a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. This meeting trusts that the Committee to be appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of the Resolution of the last Imperial Conference will be able to secure for Indians in Kenya a position in keeping with her recognised status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, besides safeguarding in an effective manner their economic interests.

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

(ii) This meeting further views with alarm the tendency of the provisions of the Kenya Immigration Bill and requests the Government of India, notwithstanding the unfavourable attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to press upon him the necessity in ordinary good faith of delaying the progress of the Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee above mentioned should have had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with the Colonial Office. This

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meeting is further of the opinion that the Government of India should without delay appoint a strong and representative Committee and send it to England at the earliest possible date to raise the question with regard to the Kenya Immigration Bill with the Colonial Office.

(iii) In view of the facts that the political, civic and economic interests of Indians in South Africa have been for generations without adequate protection, that at the present moment their economic status is further threatened by the imposition of restraints which are humiliating to this country as well as injurious to their interests and that the position of Indians within the Union of South Africa excepting Cape Colony has, during many years been inconsistent with their status as subjects of a common Sovereign and with the national dignity of India, this meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion whose representative refused even at the last Imperial Conference to explore any avenue for the redress of the grievances of Indians, great numbers of whom were born in that country and own it as theirs. In particular, this meeting recommends the imposition on non-Indian South African Colonials of reciprocal restrictions and disabilities in respect of the franchise, both political and municipal, eligibility for the public service and the right to hold properties and trade, mining and navigation licenses.

(iv) This meeting strongly urges (1) an amendment of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act so as to deprive non-Indian South African Colonials in India of the special privileges still accorded to them in criminal trials, and (2) the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on South African coal, taking care at the same time, by suitable measures, to provide adequate facilities to Indian coal in the way of transport and otherwise.

This resolution is a long one. I am afraid I shall be a little too long, but I do hope considering the importance of the question you will kindly bear with me. I am not going into the long history of the Kenya question or the history of the Indians overseas in other parts of the Empire. The history is probably well known to every one of you. I propose briefly to refer to certain events since the July decision was given and I wish to confine myself in the latter portion of my remarks to what attitude we Liberals at the present moment should adopt with reference to this question of Indians overseas and specially about Kenya. So far as the decision in July last was concerned, most of us have spoken, my friend the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and many others have spoken, about the question on various platforms, and all that we now want to do is to re-affirm our expression of indignation and resentment at that outrageous decision of July last. We have often heard from British historians and others that we in the East are characterised by the sense of what they call oriental cunning and diplomacy. Well, when we went to England and had first-hand experience from men in authority there, men who handled this Kenya question, when we observed how they dealt with this Kenya question, with what subtlety, what misrepresentation, exaggeration and distortion, they tried to meet the issue, I really thought that it is not we the Easterners who have that "oriental cunning" and diplomacy, but it is the Westerners at the present moment, not the general Britisher, but at any rate the British statesmen responsible for that White Paper who are now pervaded with that "oriental cunning and diplomacy" of which we have heard so long. On every page of this White Paper, in every line of this White Paper, there is nothing but subtlety, cunning and diplomacy. All exceptions and explanations are put in in such phraseology that the so-called Oriental cunning and diplomacy is nothing when compared with the cunning, subtlety and diplomacy used in that document.

Now, after this reiteration of this resentment and indignation against the British statesmen on this decision, I shall now turn to the recent events which have occurred since the July decision was given by the British Government and Parliament. We shall then judge what

attitude we have to adopt with reference to Indians overseas and also with reference to the Government of India and the higher authorities. We know since the July decision was given the Imperial Conference has been held. After the decision was given, the whole country from one end to the other was agitated over this outrageous decision. The country was stirred to its depths, meetings were held all over, and at that time we thought that it was our bounden duty to express our indignation and resentment with one unanimous voice and, if possible, to support our distinguished countryman, our ambassador, I mean Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who represented India at the Imperial Conference. I do think that that attitude which the country adopted of universal resentment and indignation has had its effect and we see, partially at any rate, some result of that expression of resentment, at any rate in the proceedings of the Imperial Conference. Now, what has the Imperial Conference done and what have we, through our representative at the Conference, achieved? In the first place, thanks to the efforts, the tact and the skill of Dr. Sapru, one distinct gain is that, so far as the Dominions are concerned, they are prepared to help us and they have given certain pledges, I take it, and we can see from the address of the President yesterday, that Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Bruce and Mr. Massey have in so many words pledged themselves to accord every possible help to any committees whom we might send to their respective Dominions, and to see that the position of Indians there is improved a great deal. I believe the proceedings of the Conference could be split up broadly into three portions: First, with reference to Indians in the Dominions; secondly, what we have achieved with reference to Crown Colonies; and lastly, whether we have achieved anything at all in reference to South Africa. Now, I will just describe to you what Dr. Sapru has been able to do and achieve with reference to the Dominions. I know there are some amongst us in this country who have no faith whatsoever in any committees, in any good coming out of any committees whatever. It is, I confess, arguable that committees are of no avail, and if that is so, then those of us who honestly feel that the scheme of committees will be of no avail are perfectly open to hold that view and to take no further part in the solution of this difficult problem for the simple reason that they have no faith in the committees. But to those of us who do think—and I think that the large majority in this Conference do think—that we have gained at least one step in advance, to those of us who think that these committees might be able to achieve some good, say at least two annas in the rupee, I maintain that in respect of the Dominions at any rate, there is only one attitude and one attitude only possible for us, namely, to hold your judgment in suspense, to await the result of the working of these committees, and not only that, but to go ahead and so create, if possible, an atmosphere of goodwill for the work of those committees so that afterwards you need not repent that you gave no fair opportunity both to your committees or to the Dominions to come to a satisfactory result. With reference, therefore, to the Dominions, I maintain that the only logical conclusion we can arrive at is this that we must create an atmosphere of goodwill for the operation of the proposed committee to visit those parts and to arrive at some satisfactory decision. That is so far as the Dominions are concerned.

Now, with reference to the Crown Colonies, what has happened since the July decision is this: Thanks again to Dr. Sapru's work, the Government of India have now got the privilege of negotiating directly with the Colonial Office, and not only that, after a good deal of hesitation and a good deal of struggle, Dr. Sapru has achieved one thing, namely, that he has taken a promise from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that any committee that may be sent over will be heard care-

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fully and will be given a very close and earnest attention. Now it does not necessarily mean that the Kenya decision will be modified or reversed. But it means at all events this much, that if your committee is to be heard carefully and if the committee has to do any good, the responsibility is on you that you must maintain, till your committee visits the Colonial Office and till the negotiations are re-opened, an atmosphere of goodwill, of co-operation, and not one of retaliation, so far as the working of the committee goes. But, on the other hand, I maintain again that if after giving a fair trial to the scheme of a committee, if after sending a strong and representative committee, you find that the committee was absolutely treated with neglect or that the committee was ignored, then it is perfectly open to us once again to revert to the principle of retaliation and to adopt those measures of which we have been talking since September last. I contend, therefore, that till we see the result of our efforts during the next three or four months, till we watch the operations of this committee, we must remain in a spirit of goodwill, and I say that it would be perfectly open to India to revert to the position of retaliation, after seeing the result of this committee during the next few months. That is so far as the Crown Colonies are concerned.

Now, I turn at this stage to one more thing which has occurred since the July decision was given, namely, the publication of the Immigration Bill, which forms the second part of the resolution in my hands. At the outset of my remarks, I referred to the subtlety, cunning and diplomacy of the British statesmen. I can read in this Bill the same subtlety and cunning to which I referred in the earlier part of my speech. Those of you who have read the White Paper will have noticed one or two things about the Immigration control. In September of 1922, a settlement was arrived at between the India Office and the Colonial Office called the Wood-Winterton agreement. By that agreement both offices then committed themselves to the view that there was no need for any control or for any restriction over immigration or any change whatsoever with reference to immigrants from India into South Africa or Kenya or any other country at all events in 1922. I shall read to you the very words of the agreement of September 1922 and I shall then ask you what has occurred during these fifteen months to change the situation accepted by the Colonial Office last year so as to compel them to introduce in such hot haste such drastic clauses as we have read of in a summary given by the newspapers. In September 1922 with reference to the immigration question, this is what the agreement said: "It will be announced that under the present circumstances no change was contemplated in the existing regulations", namely, regulations about immigration.

Now, if no control on immigration was necessary then, I ask what is the necessity for a change now? Has the influx of Indians into Kenya gone up? I will read an extract from one of the Colonial papers. It shows that so far as the influx of European immigrants is concerned, the wage-earners and the ex-soldiers have increased in the Kenya Colony in the ratio of one to three, and on the other hand, so far as the Indian immigration into Kenya is concerned, it is authoritatively stated by our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews that the Indian influx instead of being doubled, or trebled or anything of that sort, has gone down! Not only has there been no increase whatsoever in the immigration of Indians, but, on the other hand, owing to the harassment and persecution of Indians, people who had set up their houses in Kenya, settled in Kenya, have returned to the Indian shores and there has been no increase, as the white settlers there have been falsely and dishonestly maintaining. If there has been any influx at all, it is the influx of the white wage-earners. If, therefore, any restriction or control is necessary, it is, as my friend the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri

In an address which he gave recently in another place pointed out, the control of the white immigrants and not of Indian immigrants. Yet we find the Kenya Government is showing such dreadful haste to push this Bill through. Not only that, there is still one more evidence of rushing this Bill without making sufficient enquiries which the Colonial Office themselves had promised to make. In the White Paper it was pointed out that a close enquiry into the population of the carpenters, the traders and other artisans in Kenya and Uganda was absolutely necessary and would be undertaken. The Colonial Office took a very astute position. They say: "We do not recognise the colour bar, but it is because of the economic necessity of protecting the African natives that control is necessary." That being the position, they wanted to take a census of the people in Kenya, and, if any control was found necessary after that, then the Immigration Bill was to be introduced. I doubt whether between July and the introduction of this Bill, any close or careful enquiry, which was promised by the Colonial Office, has really been held, and if so, whether it has been a careful enquiry at all, impartial both to Indians and other immigrants into the Colony. We, therefore, have to protest first of all against the haste with which this Bill is being pushed forward and, secondly, we want to demand that if at all they want to introduce this Bill, we must be given a fair opportunity—the Committee to be sent from here must be given a fair opportunity—to examine the details of this Bill before the Colonial Office can accord its sanction to such a mischievous piece of legislation as this Bill promises to be.

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seas.

Mr. B. S. Kamaf.

I now come to the third part of my resolution, namely, with reference to South Africa. As I explained to you in the first part of my remarks, our attitude towards the Dominions ought to be one of holding our judgment in suspense till the result of our sending a Committee is known, and with reference to the colonies I have just explained that we have a right to send a Committee to meet the Colonial Office and we must wait to see what consideration they give to that Committee and what opportunity to reopen the Kenya question they give us. But with reference to South Africa, as the address of the President has clearly explained to us, the position is absolutely impossible owing to the attitude of General Smuts. General Smuts has declared in so many words that to give the franchise to Indians is impossible. We take up that challenge. General Smuts having declared the position to be impossible and, as there is no further hope left, no further avenue of Indians getting redress left, and as we are not prepared to tolerate this position any longer, we are now obliged to concentrate with specific reference to the South African Union upon an attitude of retaliation, wherever possible. The third part of this resolution distinctly lays down that the National Liberal Federation, in view of the attitude of General Smuts with reference to South Africa and of the disabilities of Indians in regard to franchise and other matters, is to-day urging the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion. Speaking about retaliation, I shall explain in a few observations what I mean and what possibly many of my friends mean when we have in view retaliation. If you propose retaliation at all in a country like this, situated as we are constitutionally, I for one feel that there are three or four conditions necessary before we can talk of retaliation. First of all, we must be honestly convinced that our proposed retaliation would be practicable and feasible and likely to be effective in some degree at any rate. Secondly, I feel owing to the constitution through which we are now passing, whatever the limitations of the Government of India might be,—limitations which my friend the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri has given vigorous expression to,—whatever our ambitions to remove those restrictions when the Government of India

Indians Overseas will be really a responsible Government in the true sense of the word, till we reach the stage of having real self-government, our only position possible is that not only retaliation must be practicable, but we must carry the Government of India with us.

Mr. R. S. mat.

Further, we ask that there should be a retaliatory tariff against South African coal. We wish that every man in the country in the first place should call upon every member of the legislatures to take up this question; if the members of the legislatures take up this question of raising the tariff and if they manage the whole thing in the proper spirit in the Assembly, it is conceivable that they will bring to bear upon the Government of India the requisite pressure to adopt this policy of retaliation with reference to South African coal. But, whatever the people of the country might ask their members and their representatives in the legislatures to do and whatever the members of the legislature may be able to do with vigour, ultimately it comes to this that unless, constituted as we are, the Government of India take up the onus on your behalf and give their consent to raise the tariff against South African coal, it is not possible for you to have real retaliation. The second requisite, therefore, I say, is not only that your proposal must be a feasible one *per se* and on its own merits but that at the present moment at any rate it is not advisable for you to estrange the sympathies of the Government of India and yet carry on your retaliation policy so far as at any rate the raising of the tariff through your legislature itself is concerned.

Thirdly, let me further point out that if you want to adopt the policy of retaliation, it is not only necessary to carry the Government of India with you, but it is necessary for us Liberals to carry so far as possible all the political parties in the country, the whole country in fact with us and with the Government of India in our specific proposals for retaliation. In other words, the third requisite is that there should be a unanimity of voice with reference to any specific proposals of retaliation. If, therefore, you propose such measures of retaliation; but if you differ between yourselves, between the different political parties, the only result will be that the people in England at the helm of affairs at the Colonial Office will only say that whatever retaliation is demanded by the National Liberal Federation and supported by the Government of India's personnel for the time being, this is not supported by all the political parties in the country with reference to these specific measures which you select, then naturally I say the result upon them will be not to give sufficient heed to your proposals of retaliation. The whole question, therefore, resolves itself into this, as the fourth part of this resolution points out, we are prepared for retaliation; we are prepared for practical methods of retaliation on South African Coal, but we also recognise that in the situation as we are, until we are able to have a Government of India fully our own, we must carry the Government with us; otherwise I ask, how is this Committee, which is shortly going out, going to meet the Colonial Office? Who is going to select them, if you are going to antagonise the Government of India? How can you ever expect that Committee to receive all the help which it must receive if it is to make itself effective at the Colonial Office? Further, if you are asking that the Kenya Immigration Bill, for instance, ought to be shown to you and that the consent of the Colonial Office should be withheld until the provisions thereof have been examined by the Government of India; if you antagonise the Government of India, I ask again: is it possible for you to get all the help necessary if you wish to carry through the scheme of committees or carry any Bill for the raising of tariff which you are now thinking of venturing upon. I, therefore, think that what is necessary now for us to do is to declare emphatically that we are for retaliation; that so far as the Dominions are concerned, we shall try

the committees and if these committees fail, we shall then revert to the policy of hitting back as hard as we can; that so far as the colonies are concerned, we shall negotiate in a spirit of friendliness with the Colonial Office during the next few months and if they are adamant, if they are antagonistic, we shall again revert to the policy of retaliation, and that so far as South Africa is concerned, we are from to-day out and out for retaliation in respect of South African coal; and also in respect of the privileges given to South African colonials in India.

Indians Overseas

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your hearty and unanimous acceptance.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, (Madras):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose to give my general support to the terms of the resolution which has just been moved by my friend, Mr. Kamat. I do not propose to deal in detail with the many clauses which are contained therein.

Clause (3) of the resolution is a strongly worded clause. It refers to the conduct of General Smuts and the situation of our helpless countrymen in South Africa; and when I think of this clause, my memory takes me back to the days of the heroic struggle which Mr. Gandhi and our brave countrymen waged in South Africa and to the conclusion which, reluctantly but after a long series of experiences, he came to viz., that as between British and Indian interests, in the end Indian interests are bound to suffer and justice could not be obtained at the hands of the British Cabinet. The truth of this statement, however unpalatable it may be, is brought home to our minds when we find that to-day in South Africa itself, General Smuts, who, under pressure of the Imperial Government, then was a party to what is called the terms of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement, has not only broken some of the terms most shamefully but is also forging fresh weapons for harrassing and ill-treating our countrymen in South Africa. If further evidence were needed to show that when the interests of Indians and of whites conflict, the British Cabinet has no scruples in sacrificing our interests, we have only to look back to the Kenya decision which came a few months ago as a bolt from the blue not only to us but to our countrymen in that part of Africa. Our countrymen are the earliest settlers and they are much larger in number than the Britishers who went there much later. And I make the statement, which is accepted by all parties and by men of all creeds, by all statesmen and politicians, that we are all united in saying that the interests of the Indians there, the self-respect and the honour of India have been sacrificed most cruelly by the British Cabinet. Considering the situation a little further, we find that a number of Europeans of Kenya threatened disobedience, not civil disobedience, but actual rebellion. In contrast to that, our countrymen there pursued the path of peaceful and constitutional agitation, and are still pursuing the same path. They go to London, they send a deputation, and they ask the Government of India to send a deputation; all their methods are peaceful, whereas the British settlers in Kenya held out threats of armed rebellion and in the end we find that those that threatened armed disobedience and rebellion have succeeded. It is not a very happy lesson indeed to be taught to Indians when already some are talking of civil disobedience! More than this, within a week or a fortnight after the deliberations of the Imperial Conference, in which our esteemed President, Dr. Sapru, was able with considerable difficulty to wring out a sort of promise from the Duke of Devonshire that he would be glad to consider the proposals of committees which would be sent, the news is flashed forth that the Kenya Immigration Bill is to be passed! Its provisions, to say the least, are atrocious; they are revolting; they are unjust; and the fact that the

Indians Overseas.

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

terms of this Bill have been adumbrated in Kenya in spite of the formula devised and accepted by the Imperial Conference is proof enough, to my mind, that the authorities there and even the British Cabinet are but flouting public opinion and insulting us in our faces. My friend, Mr. Kamat, who has had considerable experience and who has had the privilege or the misfortune of dealing with British statesmen in connection with this question, has come to the lamentable conclusion that they are cunning (Laughter). In the matter of Indians Overseas, the conduct of the British Cabinet has been most ignominious; to use the words of the late Lord Morley, it has been a masterpiece of melancholy meanness and with the authority of my friend Mr. Kamat, who has counselled care, prudence and patience in handling this difficult problem, I wish to recall to you the words of an American poet who says "that earth is weary and Heaven is sick of all the hollow words that kings and statesmen utter."

Now, from this unfortunate and unpleasant situation I turn to the attitude of the Government of India, and, as has been acknowledged by the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri and others who have had anything to do with the Government of India, and also realised by those of us that have also read the Government of India's documents and despatches published for public information, I wish to express my gratefulness to the Government of India for the gallant and brave stand they have made on behalf of Indians overseas. But, gentlemen, my friend, Mr. Kamat, will allow me to say that the limitations of the Government of India are still there, and I think, will continue to be there for some time longer—longer perhaps than even most of us think it necessary. I think, therefore, it will be a great pity if we now suspend our agitation, if we now stop our programme of making Britishers in England feel that this country is at one with our countrymen in Kenya with regard to the injustice and humiliation that has been inflicted on them and that we are not going to stand this nonsense any longer. By all means, let the Committee go to England. I want, if I may say so respectfully, that there should be a parallel agitation here unparalleled in the history of this country which will make Britishers in England feel that India is very serious about this question and that we are not going to take this insult lying down. By all means, let our methods be constitutional; but even constitutionally I feel that all Liberals have not exhausted all possible sources of constitutional agitation. There is yet a great deal to be done and I do wish and plead earnestly that all that can be done is done. More than anything else, the humiliation, the helplessness, and the feeling of despair that overcomes us often when we consider this question is due to the fact that with all the help the Government of India is giving us the Government of India is not one of our own. If the Government were our own, no Secretary of State would have dared to refuse even to have a few parting words with so distinguished, illustrious and honoured a countryman of ours as the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri (Shame, Shame). It is because the Government is not ours, that we have had to stand the Kenya insult. While, therefore, we are continuing this agitation for the removal of the grievances of our countrymen overseas, it seems to me that success and victory, if it is at all to come, can only be achieved when we come near the day we shall have self-government in this country. But Self-Government cannot be achieved, if even amongst ourselves, even in this small body and in our relations with our bodies, we should show to England that we are divided, that we are not united in our agitation, that we are not earnest and sincere in all that we say about the treatment of Indians overseas and in our demand for self-government which will enable some of our countrymen to rise, it may be even after many years, to rise up as citizens or members of a self-

governing India, to enable Indians to say : "If you will not give us what we demand by right, our country to-day is self-governing, it has resources of its own, and will see that her rights are not denied."

Indians Overseas'

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, (Bombay), speaking in Marathi, explained the clauses of the resolution. Mr. Joshi impressed upon the Federation that the question of Indians overseas affected not only Indians but the whole coloured part of the world.

Mr. N. M. Joshi.

The first question, he said, related to the Kenya Colony. That colony was really an Indian colony; Indians first went to live there several years before the Europeans ever thought of migrating to that part of Africa. Not only that, but even the railways, telegraphs and such other public works had been built with the help of Indian labour and Indian mechanics settled there.

The second thing to be remembered was that the number of Europeans was very much smaller than the number of Indians and there was no reason whatever why Europeans should seek and be given any preference at all. The British Government had given their Kenya decision which, in the opinion of Indians throughout the country and outside, is most unjust, unfair and ought to be protested against with all the means open to them.

The Indians settled in East Africa i. e. Kenya, were somewhat more educated and financially better-off than Indians settled in South Africa. In South Africa the Indians had gone under what is called the Indenture system. They were mostly labourers, mechanics, carpenters, agriculturists, traders. The South African Whites having succeeded in developing the country and in improving agriculture with the help of these indentured Indian labourers, they were now trying to get rid of those self-same Indians and had recently begun a campaign of persecution and terrorism. As Mr. Kamat had told the meeting, first all possible peaceful means should be used. After they were exhausted, they might take to retaliation. They should remember particularly that when they adopted retaliation, their countrymen in South Africa would be prepared for certain trouble. It would be a sort of war between two nations and both sides were bound to suffer some losses by a policy of retaliation. Retaliation by means of a high tariff against South African coal and other produce would mean increased price for coal consumed in India. If concessions for the transport of coal were given, there would be so much less revenue for railways. That would necessitate the deficit being made good to Government by the richer classes who would, I believe, be prepared to bear it rather than throw it on to the poorer sections of the population.

The President then put the resolution to the vote of the Federation and declared it carried unanimously.

Boycott of the British Empire Exhibition.

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the leave of our esteemed President to make at this stage an important statement. You will see we have on the agenda paper a resolution* upon the subject of the boycott of the Impe-

Boycott of the British Empire Exhibition.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.

* The resolution as adopted by the Subjects Committee for being placed on the agenda paper was as follows—

IV—Boycott of the British Empire Exhibition.

As a protest against the Kenya Decision given by His Majesty's Government in July last, this meeting of the all-India Liberals urges the withdrawal by all Governments in India from participation in the British Empire Exhibition.

To be moved by :— Mr. Surya Narayana Rau (Madras).

To be seconded by :— Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoblay (C. P.).

To be supported by :— Mr. V. N. Barve (Dhulia).

Boycott of the
British Empire
Exhibitions.

The Right Hon.
V. S. Srinivasa
Sastri, P. C.

rial Exhibition. Certain differences have come into view over this question which, if it were permitted to reach the final issue of a vote, might lead to consequences which we should all deplore and which none of you would forgive us for bringing about. It is, therefore, considered desirable that this Federation should not discuss this subject at all and we seek your permission to drop the matter at this stage. The rules of procedure and courtesy alike require that before making such an announcement, I should have obtained the consent formally of the Subjects Committee. That has, however, not been possible and I ask the indulgence of the members of the Subjects Committee and of this Federation as well for overlooking that point. We are the more bold in overlooking it, because we believe that if it had been submitted to the vote of the Subjects Committee, the result would have been just the same.

The President.

The President: With the wish of the House that the question should be dropped, I have only to say that so far as the proceedings of the open House are concerned to-day, they will be over now and we shall meet within an hour to discuss some very important questions relating to the organisation of the party itself in the Subjects Committee. I, therefore, propose that the members, who are entitled to be present at the meetings of the Subjects Committee, should meet in this very *pandal* at 4 o'clock and I will beg them to be here at that time so that we may give the amplest possible time at our disposal for the consideration of the Liberal Party's organisation. I think the Liberal Party, if it wants to live and I hope it does, must first of all organise itself before it passes resolutions.....

Rao Bahadur
W. R. Dhobblay.

Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoblay (Central Provinces):—Mr. President, may I enquire as to what should be the attitude of individual members so far as the boycott of the Imperial Exhibition is concerned?

The President.

The President: The Liberal Party as a Party does not stand committed to the policy of boycott.

I may also inform you further that the open sessions will begin to-morrow, Friday, at 12 o'clock noon.

The Federation then rose for the day.

Third Day's Proceedings.

Friday, 28th December 1923.

The President.

The President: You have, ladies and gentlemen, in your hands, I believe, printed copies of resolutions which it is proposed to adopt to-day in the morning sitting. It was decided last night that we should have two sittings to-day, one lasting up to two o'clock and then another from 3-30 till as late in the evening as it may be necessary for us to sit. The afternoon programme will be rather a crowded one and I only remind the members of the Federation who are entitled to vote that according to the arrangement of last night we have got to meet here at 2 o'clock to discuss an important matter. That will be a meeting of the Subjects Committee and it will not be open to outsiders. We then meet publicly at 3-30 p. m.

Now we shall go on with the resolutions before us. There are only three resolutions which have got to be moved and seconded and supported by speakers. So far as the other resolutions are concerned, they will be put from the Chair and if you will permit me, I will dispose of those which have got to be put from the chair. I now take up first the following resolution:—

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions.

Resolution IV.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals deplores the delay in carrying into effect a long overdue reform viz. the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it.

On a show of hands, the resolution was declared to have been carried.

Separation of
Judicial and Executive
Functions.

The President.

Labour Representation.

Resolution V.

The President: The next resolution on the agenda paper refers to Labour Representation and runs as follows:—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals desires to press on Government and Liberal organisations the need of encouraging the establishment of trade unions in the country and of labour being adequately represented in Provincial and Central Legislatures by direct election instead of by nomination as at present.

On a show of hands, the resolution was declared to have been carried.

Labour Representation.

The President.

Repeal of the Princes Protection Act.

Resolution VI.

The President:—The next resolution to be taken up runs as under:—

This Conference urges that the Indian Princes Protection Act should be repealed as early as possible, as it is opposed to the interests both of British India and of the subject of Indian states.

On a show of hands the resolution was declared to have been carried.

Repeal of the
Princes Protection
Act.

The President.

Retrenchment.

Resolution VII.

The President:—All these resolutions having been passed, I will now call upon Mr. C. M. Gandhi to move the resolution which deals with Retrenchment.

Mr. C. M. Gandhi (Surat): Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

While taking note of the recommendations of the Inchcape and the various Provincial Retrenchment Committees, this meeting of the all-India Liberals calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments concerned to give full effect to them and lose no time in exploring further avenues of retrenchment.

It is a matter of regret that such a resolution should have to be moved from this platform, but to me it is not a matter of surprise at all, knowing full well that Government hesitated long before they accepted the resolution moved by my honourable friend Rao Bahadur Kale. Having had to accept it, they made the best of a bad bargain as well as they could and a Retrenchment Committee was appointed after a considerable time. The results of the deliberations of that Committee were published in due time and we find that Government is not very active in considering and passing orders on those recommendations. The reason is not far to seek. The financial stringency which beset the Administration at that time is now considerably relieved owing to improvement in the sources of revenue and also because of the additional taxation which the Council voted at that time, to relieve the stringency. Sound finance is the foundation of good Government and

Retrenchment.

Mr. C. M. Gandhi

Retrenchment.

Mr. C. M.
Gandhi.

therefore if Government is to be carried on on a sound footing and all nation-building departments are to be properly attended to, then Government should not only effect all possible economies but try to explore all further avenues of retrenchment. You will excuse me, gentlemen, if I have to differ from my esteemed friend Dr. Paranjpye. No doubt he fought valiantly for his department and tried to maintain the level of the educational budget at as high a figure as was handed over to him. Perhaps he even raised it to a little extent; but so far as the other transferred departments are concerned, my own study of the figures of those departments has been that all the other transferred departments have fared worse. No doubt one may differ from him when he says that all the Ministers were equally bound to share the burden of the general out of sixty lakhs which was imposed upon Government by the Council. At any rate that was not the intention of a large number of members of the Council. They thought that economy should be effected in other departments and all avoidable expenditure should be ruthlessly cut down. However, retrenchment was effected in all departments including the transferred departments also, but as soon as the occasion passed off, Government have become very indifferent and one wonders whether the promise which they gave to the Council, namely, to effect retrenchment and effect a cut of sixty lakhs has been faithfully carried out. No doubt no less a personage than His Excellency the late Governor, Sir George Lloyd, claimed that they not only carried out faithfully the promise they gave to the Council but they further effected a much larger cut and reduced the expenditure by one hundred lakhs. It is open to doubt that statement, although it comes from so high an authority. Government have been asked publicly to give us the figures of retrenchment effected in all the several departments just to show as to whether the economies were effected in recurring expenditure or only in cutting out some items of non-recurring expenditure for the year and though the Director of Information was publicly invited to do so, up to this time he has not vouchsafed to give us figures to satisfy the doubt which is lingering in the minds of most of us. It is, therefore, that we now call upon Government by this resolution that they should not only effect retrenchment to the extent to which they promised it to the Council, but carry out all possible retrenchment in the items suggested by the several provincial retrenchment committees and also to explore further avenues of retrenchment. This is not going to be merely a begging resolution. We have the power to enforce it and if your requisition is not carried out, the new Council will have ample powers to enforce it. I will only show you how. Gentlemen, you will remember that when the last Council shouldered the responsibility of voting additional taxation, they also reserved the power of enforcing their wishes upon the Government by saying that the duration of the Court Fees Act would only be for two years and that if Government did not accede to their desire, and carry out the retrenchment as they desired, then it would be open to the Council to refuse any further extension of that Act. The life of the Court Fees Act will be over in February next and if Government do not pay proper heed to our requisition as contained in this resolution, it will be quite open to the Council to enforce the desire of the people by refusing to vote the further extension of the Court Fees Act, so that here is a proposition in which we call upon Government to do a thing which is dear to our hearts and which we are in a position to enforce if Government is not prepared to carry it out. But knowing full well that several recommendations by the several Retrenchment Committees may in practice be not feasible or may be inexpedient for the time being, we say that if all recommendations may not be carried out, at least such as could be carried out immediately should be carried out and Government should explore further avenues of retrenchment so that they may be able to place our finance on a sound

footing. That is the prayer of this resolution and I am sure you will all carry it with acclamation (Applause).

Retrenchment,
Mr. C. M. Gandhi.

Mr. R. R. Jayavant, (Nagpur), speaking in Marathi, said :—

Mr. R. R. Jayavant.

I take great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has just been commended to your acceptance. As you know, there were two types of Retrenchment Committees, one appointed by the Government of India with Lord Inchcape at the head and the others brought into being by the various provincial Governments known as Provincial Retrenchment Committees. When a deputation of commercial and business men waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Reading assured them that as the Inchcape Committee consisted mostly of business men, their suggestions would be given the greatest possible effect. Lord Inchcape's Committee suggested various cuts in the several departments of the Government of India, Civil as well as Military. The Inchcape Committee was alive to the importance of military expenditure. It could not be said by anybody to have been capable of disregarding it. But the way in which Government treated their recommendations in spite of assurances to the contrary shows the Government mind. Out of a proposed cut of 10½ crores in military expenditure, effect was promised to the extent of only 5½ crores, while out of the 8½ crores cut recommended by the Inchcape Committee, in so far as the other departments were concerned, 6½ crores have been given effect to! These departments touch the daily life of the people and in these departments, it is noteworthy to remember that such a huge cut has been made already.

The results of the recommendations of the Bombay Retrenchment Committee and the action taken thereon by Government have been related to you by Mr. Gandhi.

Now as regards the Central Provinces, I was a member of the Committee appointed there. We had a very high I. C. S. British Officer of the rank of Commissioner as the Chairman. This Committee had in all seven members. I have the report of the Retrenchment Committee here in my hands. It gives a list of the various suggestions put forth and the action taken thereon by Government which had promised all the best consideration to the suggestions of the Committee. I have made an analysis of the recommendations. There were 114 items. The Government Resolution dealing with them says that 57 were considered by Government to be impossible owing to various difficulties. Out of the remaining 57 items, Government gave a definite "No" to 36. Of the remaining 21, ten were partly accepted and eleven were accepted in full by Government. Our Committee recommended a total cut of 80 or 81 lakhs out of which only 5 or 6 lakhs has been retrenched.

There was a very important recommendation in regard to the reorganisation of the Central Provinces by cutting out some six districts. Some of our districts at present consist of two or three talukas as against 10 or 12 in the Bombay Presidency. Each district as now constituted has a Deputy Commissioner or a Collector, a District Superintendent of Police and a Civil Surgeon, each with an establishment of his own. This reminds me of my College days. We had an American Professor who once told us that the Swiss Republic is composed of smaller republics, the size of which is such that a man could easily spit across them. This description is by no means inappropriate to some of our districts, and yet Government does not seem to be moving in the direction of reducing their number!

Similar is the woeful tale of the action taken by the different Governments now operating in India and I would, therefore, commend the resolution before you to your whole-hearted acceptance.

The resolution was then put and declared carried.

Removal of the
Sex Disqualifica-
tion.

Removal of the Sex Disqualification.

Resolution VIII.

The President.

The President: I will now call upon Mrs. Ramabaisaheb Ranade to move resolution No. VIII on the removal of the sex disqualification.

Mrs. Ramabai-
saheb Ranade.

Mrs. Ramabaisaheb Ranade (Poona) on rising to address the meeting, was given a loud ovation. Speaking in Marathi, she said:—

Mr. President, sisters and brothers, I had never thought that I would be called upon to move this resolution. But I could not refuse to obey, when called upon by the President to take part in this discussion. As you know, all things have a limit. True it is that woman has the good qualities of patience and of suffering rather than making others suffer. True also it is that although women, though unable to redress their wrongs by themselves, at present seek the help of their men. Equally true it is that where the reputation of women is concerned, they do not let their inherent spiritedness and bravery lie low. You have known of instances when women, driven to the wall by men, have come out and defended their honour. Women do not propose any longer to content themselves with the second place in life which men have assigned to them. They are determined to come to the front, to take part in the various movements of the country not merely social but political also for the betterment of their country. I, therefore, on behalf of my sisters plead to you, men, to accept the resolution which runs as follows:—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the time has arrived for the removal of the sex disqualification in regard to membership of and franchise for the Provincial and Central Legislature.

This resolution affects nearly fifteen crores of the population of this country, not a mere few hundreds. I express an earnest hope, therefore, that all men will come forward to help woman in this respect and not allow this question to remain dormant.

As I said at the beginning, I am not well and did not expect to take part in these deliberations to-day. With these remarks, I once again request you earnestly to pass this resolution.

Mrs. Kashibai
Deodhar.

Mrs. Kashibai Deodhar (Poona): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is often with unselfish and farseeing gardeners to work hard at the churlish soil, sow the seed of a big tree and rear the plant with tender care without minding whether it will be his good fortune or that of posterity to enjoy the fruit.

Such was the case with our western sisters when they agitated for woman's enfranchisement, nay, even suffered innumerable hardships for the attainment of their goal.

But women of Bombay, Madras and United Provinces should congratulate themselves upon being saved all those troubles chiefly because our enlightened and sympathetic brothers promptly rising to their sense of dignity and recognising us as better than lunatics and children, championed our cause and helped us to claim the first rung of the political ladder. To the same sympathetic and enlightened brothers, I offer a sincere vote of thanks on behalf of my sisters.

I take this opportunity also to express our deep sympathy with those of our sisters who have not yet succeeded in securing the right to vote. I urge them, however, to work with untiring zeal till they succeed in bringing home to the minds of the public that not only woman's cause is man's but man's cause is woman's too, and that happiness and peace cannot reign in any country by treating with disgrace that half of the nation which has in its hands the moulding of the character of the whole nation and which is the source of inspiration to the dispirited, the disappointed and the humiliated.

Let me assure you humbly, however, that I do not stand before you simply to do the soft duty of offering thanks and congratulations or expressing sympathy, but to do the most difficult duty of laying before you the eager desire of my sisters to climb the next rung of the ladder in the near future, that is, of getting woman's disqualification to be elected as members of Legislative Councils removed.

To this some of you might say that we women must remain contented with what we have gained under the present circumstances. But here I may humbly ask my enlightened brothers if they too are prepared to remain contented with the share they are given in ruling their mother-land. If it were so, what need was there for the recent Kenya agitation or what further need is there for the splitting of hair with regard to that question? Do not ideals change to suit changed conditions?

Whatever enthusiasm and sympathy our champions might show at the Legislative Councils, they plead our cause there only from imagination. It is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. From the low economic position we hold in the eyes of the law and society, we have come to see that men will plead our cause only if it suits and when it suits their purpose, without caring to see that we women as human beings have any ends of our own. But we cannot blame men for doing this. As, if we had the making of laws in our own hands, we might have been tempted out of partiality to our sex to render men as mere guardians or like the Tarawads of Malabar, we might have introduced the ceremony of *Putradan* in place of *Kanyadan* and got it sealed with heavy dowry.

Some of you might be inclined to say that it is rather too soon to demand the right to be elected as members of Legislative Councils. But when India can produce able ladies like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Navarange or Miss Tata, will she not produce many more in the near future if locked up potentialities be liberated and proper opportunities be given? Though many of my abler sisters are not coming forward to plead their cause, still their electing me to speak on their behalf is sufficient proof of their being alive to the sense of dignity of the place they occupy in the nation.

The resolution was carried unanimously,

Protection to Indian Industries.

Resolution IX.

The President: Resolution No. IX, Mr. C. S. Deole of Bombay

Mr. C. S. Deole (Bombay): Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been entrusted to me reads thus:

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that protection to industries of national importance should be given, the period, form and degree of protection depending upon the condition and prospects of each industry.

Ladies and gentlemen, this resolution is a very simple one and, therefore, it stood in danger of being crowded out. I found at the Subjects Committee two classes of people who were opposed to it. One class was of opinion that it was too late in the day to pass such a resolution as it was quite simple. Another class thought that it was too complicated for a body like this and therefore, should not be taken up. Well, this is a political body of Indians. Is it possible for a body like this to take such an indifferent view? On the contrary look at Englishmen. What are they thinking? What are they doing? I will bring to your notice some of the recent messages that have been received through Reuter's Agency and I shall place before you first of all

Removal of the
Sex Disqualifi-
cation.

Mrs. Kashiba
Deodhar.

Protection of
Indian Industries.

Mr. C. S. Deole.

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the opinion of the person whose name has been heard during the last two days at least more than a dozen times. I mean Lord Inchcape. What does he think of your industrial development? Writing to the *Spectator* as late as the 21st December 1923, he describes as a fallacy the belief that India will benefit by developing her own manufactures and excluding those of England, adding that India's prosperity lay in the exchange of commodities. Nothing was likely to benefit India more than the development of Agriculture. He concludes that India's security from internal warfare and outside aggression and welfare of the people will continue for many generations to be dependent on the central Government headed by the Viceroy representing the British Sovereign. Yesterday we have passed a resolution for the immediate establishment of self-government, and here is Lord Inchcape, an eminent Englishman, who had recently the advantage of knowing India first-hand saying that the welfare and security of Indians will continue for many generations to depend upon the British people! There is the opinion of another Englishman to which I would like to draw your attention. Addressing the East India Association on the 17th December 1923 on the future development of Indian industries, Sir Charles Low advocated gradual decentralization of industries. He was of opinion that there would be a great industrial advance in the next epoch. It was not likely that Government would attempt to pioneer large industries. He therefore advocated Government supervision of suitable crafts and technical training and asserted that England would not be a loser by India's development but a great gainer. This is very good.

Then, I want to bring to your notice the opinion of Sir Thomas Holland who presided on the occasion. He did not share Sir Charles Low's optimism and strongly criticised the delegation of Industries to provincial control, and also condemned a protective policy which was as dangerous as drugs to a healthy man. I think India is not healthy and protection will act as drugs to a sick man, and if for nothing else at least for this reason we should adopt this resolution. If you look at the question only from the political point of view, I think there can be no objection which can be brought against the resolution. If a country is to be politically independent and politically self-sufficient, then its industries must be developed. It should not be dependent upon any other country. But is there an economic argument which can be mentioned in favour of this proposition?

On this proposition, as it is very natural, all economists, even the ardent free-traders, are agreed that protection should be given for the development of industries and that protection should be given in the circumstances in which India is at present placed. If industries, which are developed in foreign countries, are to be naturalized, in a country where they are perfectly suitable to its circumstances, then protection should be given. That is the opinion of all economists. That is the opinion of John Stewart Mill who was an ardent British advocate of free trade. You will see that in India many industries can be naturalized. At present they suffer from foreign competition. Other countries had the advantage of having begun them earlier. If India gets time to acquire skill and experience which should be secured by protection, she will also develop them and grow strong for competition.

There is the question of the iron industry at present before you and you must have read the evidence that is being recorded before the Tariff Board. There are many people who are coming forward and saying that protection should not be given at all to this industry. At the same time our own people, the industrialists who are engaged in developing the Indian iron industry, the Tatas, have asked for protection to the extent of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Whether we can go in for such

a high tariff and for such a kind of protection, well, we are not prepared to say. Protection to
Indian Industries

We have provided in the resolution that the period, form and degree of protection will depend upon the condition and prospects of each industry. We do not say what particular degree of protection should be adopted. We are not in a position to do that. It is the business of the Tariff Board which has been appointed by the Government to investigate the matter. Their report will be out in about February, before the budget is presented and then the country will be in a position to say what degree of protection, what form of protection should be given to industries in general and the Iron industry in particular. But generally speaking, perhaps you will ask me to give you some idea as to the period or degree or form of protection. As to the period of protection which is the first point, personally speaking I will say ten years will not be quite enough. If you want to give real protection and develop industries, twenty years must be considered reasonable. Even thirty years may not be quite unreasonable. If you want to give protection at any cost, you may go even beyond that. In the case of certain industries, the period may extend to forty years. But we need not bind ourselves down to this.

Then as to the degree of protection, it will all depend upon the form of protection that you adopt. If you adopt the form of levying import duties on foreign articles and if the industry is very important, then any percentage may be reasonable and may be defensible. At present the opinion amongst the people who have given any thought to the matter is that twenty per cent. on foreign iron may not be unreasonable. The demand of the Tatas for 33½ per cent. looks too much. In my opinion, 20 per cent. should be enough.

Then as regards the form of protection, whether the form of levying import duties or giving bounty or subsidy should be adopted will depend upon the conditions and upon the prospects that are brought to our notice and to the notice of the country. For the Iron industry, import duties will suit well; but for the shipping industry subsidy will suit better. I will not, however, trouble you at this stage with my observations on this point.

Before asking you to pass this resolution, I would like you to refer to one point. There are people who are opposed to protection for one reason, and that is that protection will benefit the rich at the cost of the poor. It is the consumers' interest that must be protected. I know there are people here who think that no protection should be given, because it will fall heavily on the poor and the rich will profit thereby. Well, there are two aspects of this question. One is the political and the other is the economic. From the political point of view this argument may be overlooked. If the country is to be made self-sufficient, then any sacrifice is welcome, and is necessary. For instance, look at the expenditure of the army. Even you are prepared to be satisfied by a reduction of ten per cent. or twenty per cent. there. But the Brussels Conference of experts that has pronounced an opinion on this question mentioned that not more than 20 per cent. of the national income should be spent on the army. But we are spending more than 50 per cent. Well, why are we spending 50 per cent.? For political purposes. Now, the political purpose here is of those who are governing India. Even if we had our own Government, we may have to spend more. But from the economic point of view also, consumers' interests may be considered. We do not say here that industries should be protected for all time. We are going to protect them as long as they are in an infant condition, till they grow to manhood, till they grow to a stage when they will be able to stand competition. The consumers will suffer for a time, but later on they will gain. Therefore even from the consumers' point

Protection to Indian Industries. of view, protection would be beneficial. So you will see that looked at from any point of view, there is no objection to the resolution which has been proposed, and I hope you will give your support to it.

Mr. C. S. Deole. Mr. H. G. Parkhe, (Ahmednagar): Mr. President, the resolution that I am going to second has been most eloquently and ably proposed by my friend Mr. Deole. I am not going to tire your patience by repeating the same arguments; but I will try to make some observations and treat this question from a different point of view.

Mr. Deole has told you about the importance and the necessity of protection. He has also dealt with the opinion that has been expressed by various Englishmen and in the English press. But now what I wish to point out is this that we want protection. We ask Government to levy import duties. The Tariff Board is going to consider all these things. But the question is what you yourselves are going to do to protect our industries. That is the question that I shall have to deal with in seconding this resolution.

Leaving aside all other things, I would take one industry and that is the cloth industry. You here in this pandal see the saying which says: "Practise Swadeshi." I ask you, gentlemen, whether it does not lie in our hands to protect our own industries. Well, if this is the case, then I ask you at all costs to be patriotic in promoting the cause of swadeshi. I will just give you one instance that is familiar to me. One gentleman, a responsible officer of Government, asked me: "How is it that you are a Liberal? You have got a khadi coat on and how do you say that you are a Liberal?" I told him: "Well, my friend, you are mistaken there. You are quite wrong. Liberals have never condemned khadi. They have condemned that statement of the other party who say that this khaddar movement is the only sovereign remedy to remove all our political grievances and that is what we do not listen to." We Liberals have never found fault with this khaddar movement. We have supported the swadeshi movement. You all are aware that the late Mr. Ranade was the chief pioneer in organizing the swadeshi movement (Applause). It is not an invention or discovery to us.

So I request you, gentlemen, if you would make it a point to put on Swadeshi cloth including khaddar, I think we shall be doing justice to this resolution about protecting our own industries and we shall be helping the cause of our country too. So from the economic, political and social point of view, I think if you all would act according to this resolution, I am sure industries would prosper. With these few remarks, I second this resolution.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried.

The Army.

Resolution X.

The Army.

The President:—Resolution No. X. Dr. Paranjpye.

Mr. R. P. Paranjpye. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which is in my charge reads as follows:—

(1) This meeting of the all-India Liberals is emphatically of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take steps for a more rapid training of Indian officers in all arms of the army including the Air Force so that the army may truly be indianised at an early date.

(2) This meeting of the all-India Liberals considers that with a view to expedite the indianisation of the army and in the interests of national economy, a substantial reduction in military expenditure accompanied with a reduction of British Troops now used for internal security purposes should be effected as soon as possible and that in any case the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in this behalf be given effect to.

(3) This meeting urges that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay.

(4) This meeting of the Liberal Federation is further of opinion that Indian young men reading in Universities or Colleges should be made to undergo some military training and discipline.

(5) This meeting of the Liberal Federation further urges that no distinction should be made in the status of officers of the territorial and auxiliary forces, and in the matter of granting King's Commissions.

Mr. President, this resolution is of the utmost importance if our country is to reach the goal that this Federation and all other political organizations in our country have placed before themselves. I do not consider it reasonable that our people can always leave the defence of our country in the hands of foreigners. If we want Swaraj or dominion self-government, we must be prepared not only to get it but to retain it for the future. We cannot ask the British to surrender every source of power and authority in the country and only to do the business of defending our land and sea frontiers. I think history does not show a single illustration of a country which has remained independent unless it has been prepared to defend itself. And I therefore consider that the question of the army is of the utmost importance to the development of our own country. For the last century the people of this country have been kept out of almost every connection with military and other similar matters. A few communities have only been used in order to recruit the Indian section of the army and other parts of the country have been left entirely in the cold. It has not always been so in history. History records that peoples of different parts have played a very noble and valiant part in the past in military matters. Of course, the times were different. People from one part of the country were fighting with people from the other part of the country, but that does not mean that the various people in this country are unfit to bear the burden of military defence of our own country. They may be somewhat different in their temperament, but with the advance in military science you will find that it is almost possible for any body to make an efficient soldier. At any rate if we once confess that certain parts of the country are not suitable for the recruitment of efficient soldiers, then our demand for self-government is necessarily weakened to that extent. In these days it is not the case of small standing armies all over the world. It is the case of nations under arms. And if we are to meet effectively the competition of all the world, every soul in this country should be prepared to bear his burden in the defence of his country. But in the organization of our army, Government have always adopted a most reactionary policy.

The demand for Indianization of the army and for the recruitment of officers in the Indian army from our own people has been of very long standing. Government have always turned a deaf ear to that very reasonable demand and it is only during the last few years that the Government has made a very small beginning after a great flourish of trumpets. They said a beginning was going to be made, and when we saw to what extent that beginning was made, I was tempted to say that mountains were in labour and out came a wretched little mouse! At present so far as Indian officers are concerned, Government take six Indian cadets every six months and send them to Sandhurst for training. You will wonder whether at least these six cadets materialise as officers. But it is found that during the last two or three years out of these six, only two or three actually returned as officers and others are sent away for some reason or other. I believe there are at present only a very few officers as a result of this policy of sending our young men to Sandhurst.

There is also another experiment of a school, a preparatory school, at Dehra Dun. We have recently had some reports on the working of that school. You will find from them that the whole spirit

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is entirely different from what we want it to be. Our army cannot be efficiently officered by taking into these institutions only young men from rich and noble families. In India education has not yet permeated, modern ideals have not yet gone down to the higher and noble classes, and if we seek only to recruit our officers from the old historic families, we shall find that we shall not be able to get a sufficient number of competent young men from those families. We must be prepared to recruit our officers from the educated and intelligent middle classes of our people. They may not be very rich, they may not be able to afford thousands of rupees required to supplement their military pay at least in the beginning, and the conditions of military life must to a certain extent be altered in that regard. But in any case we must go to a new recruiting ground for getting a competent and sufficiently numerous class of officers for our army and it is in this direction therefore that I want a bold step to be taken so that the indianization of the commissioned ranks of our army may be secured. I have said that the steps that have been taken so far by Government are exceedingly disappointing and meagre and our councils and our public bodies must make a very strong effort in order to get a good move in this direction.

I know that complaints are sometimes made that Indian officers are often not efficient, but you cannot get efficient Indian officers when there are no military traditions. What there had been have been completely extinguished during the course of a century. I do not believe that families from these parts of the country, for instance, whose brilliant exploits in all parts of India even upto Attock on the north and Calcutta on the east are the admiration of historians are incapable of producing similar men in future. Of course the conditions may be different. We shall not have to fight our own brothers in our own country.

Idealists are painting a world which will have no need for an army and when every thing will be managed peacefully by a League of Nations. But as practical men we must realise that we have still a world which is human. We have not yet reached the stage when the sword is to be converted into a plough-share and there is going to be no warfare in the future. I myself feel that that day is far distant if ever it is to come and we must therefore be prepared to bear our own burden for defence. This first part therefore of this resolution has reference to getting a big move so far as the recruiting of officers from amongst Indians is concerned.

The second part deals with the reduction of the British ranks of the army at least so far as the troops intended for internal security and order are concerned. Of course I do not say that we should tell the British troops to defend us on the northwestern frontier only and not allow them to be in the head-quarter stations in the plains. But at the same time this recommendation is immediately practicable. And at the same time a reduction of the British forces is bound to lead to some amount of retrenchment in our very bloated army expenditure. The Incheape Committee have recommended a certain reduction in military expenditure and equipment. Those who know about this matter tell us that the military department experts have not the slightest sense of what the value of money is. They spend money in the most lavish manner and at present our public men are unable even to criticise intelligently their proposals because we have so long been kept out of touch with military matters. But even the Incheape Committee who went into all these details have told us that a great deal of reduction in military expenditure is possible and that to some extent this can be achieved by replacing British soldiers by Indian soldiers. I am not prepared to maintain that even with complete

indianization and complete reorganisation of the system of defence for our country, we shall necessarily be able to reduce our military expenditure. That is a question to be decided by experts. But the reduction of British troops is a question on which, I think, this Federation can express a very definite opinion.

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Dr. R. P. Prasad-
Pye.

Then, the third part of this proposition asks that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay. We do not know what that report contains. If rumours are to be believed, that report is of a most important character and makes very far-reaching proposals and I do not see why such an important report should be kept out of the purview of the public, because it will enable us to discuss this army question in a more intelligent manner than we are at present able to do.

The fourth part of this proposition is entirely a new proposal to be made in a Conference of this nature. It is that Indian young men reading in the Universities or colleges should be compelled to have some military training. I myself having been connected with educational institutions for a long time, I am exceedingly keen on this matter. First of all this proposal is all important from the national point of view in that it will familiarise our young men with military matters, and perhaps remove the difficulty which has often been mentioned that Indian young men are not coming forward in sufficient numbers for a military career. At present we do not know what military career means; but if all young men in colleges get this small amount of military training, some of them will at least find that they are cut out for a military career and will once for all make up their minds to take it up. But apart from this purely military point of view let us look at this from the educational point of view. I believe that our young men educated in the universities and the colleges are getting too soft. They are getting unused to the rough and tumble of life. Formerly people used to come from villages and were accustomed to the difficulties and inconveniences of village life. Urbanization of our educated classes is proceeding apace. Large numbers of our young men have had no experience of village life, with its necessary roughness and inconvenience. Our young men, therefore, are not prepared to take any trouble which enjoins physical exertion as far as possible. There is further the discipline that is necessarily acquired from a military training and you will find that our young men are wanting to a certain extent in a sense of discipline. If you see a band of young men walking in the street, you immediately find them carrying themselves lazily without the slightest masculinity about them. On the other hand if you see a band of young men in Germany or France, where every body is required to undergo military training, you see how erect he walks and how vigorous he looks. Many people have remarked this fact and hence I shall not be misunderstood when I say that our young men are getting softer and softer. In order to remove this defect and to create a sense of discipline in them, and to infuse greater physical energy and readiness to undertake physical exertion, I think a certain amount of compulsory military training is eminently desirable. I have found that the few young men who joined the Indian Defence Force a few years ago or have since joined the Indian Territorial Force have received great benefit from it. Even after a month or two's training, you find that they are in many respects vastly different young men and I believe that compulsory military training even of this moderate amount would be of the utmost value to our young men.

Then the fifth part of this resolution has reference to the territorial units that have been recently constituted. Some of our men who have joined these territorial forces have often complained that there are certain invidious distinctions in the way in which they are treated. I

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am not prepared to attach too much importance to complaints about the hardness of military life. But at the same time hardships and difficulties become more galling if there is a certain sense of differentiation between one unit and another. I want that differentiation to disappear. I do not wish that military discipline should be made too easy. I want our young men to have experience of hard life; but I do not wish that our Indian youths should be treated in any manner which compares unfavourably to that in which Anglo-Indians in their units are treated. Especially officers in these territorial units should be treated in exactly the same manner in which officers in the auxiliary force are treated, and therefore I propose that this distinction should also be removed as I have suggested.

This resolution is of the utmost importance and until this question of the army is solved in the only possible way, all our talk of self-government or responsible Government or Dominion Government would be comparatively hollow unless we are prepared to defend our own country to the last drop of our blood. With these words, Mr. President I beg to propose this resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Mr. B. S. Kamat, (Poona): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been just moved by Dr. Paranjpye. He has dealt with the broad features of the question and the importance of it. I believe it is necessary for an audience like this to be as well informed about army questions as it is possible for us laymen to be. I propose, therefore, to take you into a few facts and figures in order to substantiate the statements made by my friend Dr. Paranjpye.

To deal with the first part of the resolution, namely, the indianization question, as Dr. Paranjpye has said, after a great deal of struggle with Government, some small beginning has been made this year in this direction by the Army Department of the Government of India in consultation with the Home authorities. But it is necessary for us to understand what that beginning is. For the present the Government in consultation with the Home authorities, as I said, have decided to indianise eight units of the Indian army. Now, stated in this bald manner it hardly perhaps carries any information at all. Now, there are in all 120 units of Indian infantry and about 21 units of Indian cavalry, making about 141 units as the total of the Army so far as infantry and cavalry are concerned. Out of these it is only eight units which are to be officered by Indian officers. Now, here not only the number decided upon is small but the process is also slow; indeed the actual outlook is so disappointing that we fear it will take us perhaps a century or perhaps more if the process of Indianization is to be carried on in this spirit.

It has been said that military training is a great science and requires a great deal of study and technical and close understanding. That might be perfectly true. We have been told that for an Indian officer to reach the fullest rank of a lieutenant-colonel will take something like 22 years or 23 years after he begins his career as a second lieutenant. Now, if that means we have to wait 22 years for the indianization of these eight units and perhaps as many years in proportion thereafter for the remaining units, it will no doubt be a century before the whole of the Indian army is indianized.

Then, again, there are other branches of the army to which Indians are not admitted at all at the present moment. Our friend, Sir Sivawamy Aiyer of Madras, the very first year we entered the Assembly took up this question and pressed it with a great deal of vigour on the attention of the Government of India, and on the Home authorities. In 1921 in connection with the recommendations of the Esher Committee, he proposed certain resolutions, out of which a few were accepted by the

Government of India and were forwarded by them for acceptance by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Chief of the General Staff of the War department in England. The whole matter had been hanging fire ever since 1921 till this year, until Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer once more pressed for certain information and inquired in July last in the Assembly as to what action had been taken. It was very disheartening indeed to find in reply that although the question was debated both in the Assembly and outside in the country with such strenuous vigour, the response by the higher authorities on the whole has been exceedingly disappointing. The replies given in the Assembly in the July session disclosed to us very irritating things. I have told something as to the Indian officers for the infantry and cavalry. What about the other branches of the army? There are the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery and the Royal Air Force. What is the story about these and of the training of Indians for these? Now in reply to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's question, he has been told that the Home authorities refuse, or as the phraseology runs, they have not agreed, to admit Indians either to the Royal Engineers or the Royal Artillery. With reference to the Air Force which in these days of military science is perhaps the most important branch of military science, the reason assigned for refusing the other two is that the Royal Engineers are a British Unit, that the Royal Artillery is a British Unit and that the Air Force is not Indian Army and is not at all a part of the British Army. Similarly, the Royal Engineers, all British people, who serve in India, form part of the British Units though they are paid out of the Indian Exchequer. Now, if Indians are to be refused admission to these three branches of the Army, I really cannot conceive why we should pay for these at all. In fact the whole of the burden ought to be shifted to the Imperial Exchequer rather than to Indian revenues. They form part of the Indian defence. If that is so and if there is some technical difficulty in admitting Indians to these branches, let them establish an Indian Unit of the Air Force. But there is no reason to refuse admission and say that there should be no Air Force to which Indians could be admissible. Gentlemen, this is so far as Indianization is concerned.

Now, a word about the training of Indians for King's Commissions. My friend Dr. Paranjpye has to some extent dealt with this question in his speech. I shall take you, with the permission of the Chair, through one or two statements which have been made on behalf of the Government of India on this question. The question was; Why is not the question of indianization being accelerated, and the reply from the Army Secretary was as under:—

Indianization has been limited to the gradual substitution of Indian officers for British Officers in eight selected units of the combatant arms, cavalry and infantry. And it must be recognised that on the facts as they are known, His Majesty's Government have grounds for their reluctance to go further. There is no evidence to show that if the present basis for Indianization were largely widened, the larger number of candidates required for the King's Commissioned officers would be forthcoming. On the contrary, it has unfortunately to be admitted that a sufficient number of thoroughly suitable candidates is at present obtained only with difficulty, for the small number of vacancies annually reserved for Indians.

The number of Indian cadets admitted (to Sandhurst) since February 1919 amounts to 43. Of these, 9 were withdrawn as unsuitable, 2 unfortunately died, 14 were commissioned, and of these 2 subsequently resigned their Commissions; while the Commission of one was cancelled. The number of Indian Cadets still at College is 13.

Thus you will notice, gentlemen, that the actual supply of Indian Officers since 1919 is only 11! These figures for the last four years are indeed a sorry tale and show the very small number who were granted Commissions, and if the process is to be continued at this rate, you may just imagine what indianization is going to be.

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Sir Sivaswamy had urged that at least 25 per cent. of the recruits every year for the King's commissions should be Indians. The Home Government has declined to follow that ratio, although the Government of India had accepted that percentage. Gentlemen, such is the history with reference to King's Commissions.

Now, about the military school to which my friend Dr. Paranjpye referred, I mean the Dehra Dun School. It is nothing but a preparatory school to which boys are taken at about 14 and are kept under training on the understanding that they will be ultimately sent to Sandhurst. The number of students who are at present under training is about 75. This provision is exceedingly small for India. That is the state so far as the Dehra Dun School or College is concerned.

And lastly, about the proposal urged by the Assembly to have a military college, something like the college at Sandhurst, in India itself. That demand was made and urged upon the attention of the Government of India by the Assembly in 1921, and the Government of India had accepted that resolution of the Assembly for being transmitted to the higher authorities. The result after two years' negotiation has been that on the ground of finance and on other considerations as well, the Home authorities decline to open any military college like the Sandhurst College in India itself for the training of Indian boys! Gentlemen, you will thus see that about army reform, the story both with reference to the training in military schools and with reference to a College like the Sandhurst College, and also with reference to the King's Commissions, is the most provocatively slow and disappointing one from beginning to end and I believe it is necessary for a Federation like this to urge among all other problems this particular problem of army reform with a great deal of earnestness and persistency year after year, on the attention of Government.

I shall now turn to the second part of the resolution which relates to military expenditure, if I am not tiring your patience (Cries of "No, no"; "go on"). Now, the greatest curse of the Indian system of exchequer is perhaps the absorption of nearly 50 p. c. of its revenues for the Military Department. The total revenue of India is 131 crores, to take the budget figures of last year, and out of this if the Inchcape Committee had not come in, something like 67 crores would have been absorbed, as it were, by military expenditure. Now, thanks to the Inchcape Committee, they recommended, to start with at any rate for the next year, viz. 1923-24, that the total military budget should be cut down from 67 crores to 57 crores and odd, and therefore, the proposed reduction in military expenditure should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 10 crores. Now, this figure was not wholly accepted by the Government of India, but they came to a compromise and although the Inchcape Committee recommended a reduction of nearly 10 crores, the Government of India accepted a reduction of somewhere between five and six crores with the consent and acquiescence of the Commander-in-Chief. They prepared the Home authorities for this cut. But as a result of correspondence between March and July, the Commander-in-Chief has announced in the July session of the Assembly that the Home authorities are not prepared even to go as far as the Commander-in-Chief wanted, but that out of the 10 crores proposed by the Inchcape Committee, Government can give effect to a reduction which will amount to a cut of only about 2½ crores out of the 10 crores proposed by the Inchcape Committee. Gentlemen, I am not going to take you into the various details, but one or two facts might be found interesting. Thus, out of the British troops the Inchcape Committee recommended that there should be a total reduction of something like 5,760 men in all, and they had estimated that each British soldier cost per annum about Rs. 2500 and the reduction expected would

be something like a crore and 45 lakhs. The Government of India are not prepared to accept the whole of this proposed reduction, but only such reduction as would bring down the figure on this head to about 42 lakhs of rupees. The Home authorities are not prepared to go so far as that and, as I told you, the total reduction expected for the present year will come to only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees instead of the 10 crores which the Inchcape Committee had recommended. We must thus go on, still pressing for further retrenchment.

The Army.

Mr. B. S. Kamat

In conclusion, there is one little remark with which I wish to supplement the remarks made by my friend Dr. Paranjpye with reference to the differential treatment accorded to the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force. I think it is well worth mentioning the fact that one great difference made between the Auxiliary Force which is meant for the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians and the Territorial force, is that the men in the Auxiliary force are not liable for service outside India; whereas those in the Territorial Force, are bound to go for military service outside the country, out of India. In this connection, what I contend is that there ought not to be any such differential treatment between the two forces at all. If they want to make the men in the Territorial Force liable to serve outside the country, then the men belonging to the Auxiliary Force, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians, also must as well be obliged to go and serve outside India for military service. In fact, no distinction ought to be made so far as liability to serve in India or outside India is concerned, whether the men belong to the one or the other force. Gentlemen, I do hope you will accord your strong support to the resolution proposed by my friend Dr. Paranjpye.

Mr. A. P. Sen, (U. P.), said : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to support has already been explained to you and I accord my support to it with all the earnestness that I can command. You must have observed that we press this resolution mainly on two grounds. One is that we demand Indianization of the Indian Army—it sounds rather funny “ Indianization of the Indian Army”—because we are anxious to attain Swaraj at no distant date. You will all agree that a nation which cannot defend and protect its homes is not entitled to home rule. We are apt to attach inadequate value to the military aspect of Swaraj. A nation needs be armed, needs be competent to defend its land frontiers and its shores before it can be in a position to be self-governing. You cannot be self-governing unless you are self-defending. Therefore, it is necessary that the Indian nation must have an Indian army manned by Indian units, manned by Indian officers, and I hope before long altogether Indian in its composition.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

The next object with which we press this resolution is the interest of economy. The learned speakers who have preceded me have given you arguments of a very cogent character and have also given you very telling figures. I fear my friend Mr. Kamat has already taken the wind out of my sails by quoting some figures which I would have otherwise placed before you. However, you have heard them. First of all, you must recognise that our army expenditure is appallingly extravagant. You know that out of the total revenue of the Indian Government, more than half is depleted by military expenditure! Taking the provincial revenues also into consideration, it absorbs more than 30% of the total revenues of India. Now let us compare in this connection the position here with that of the premier Asiatic country, namely, Japan. The budgetted revenues for 1923—1924 of Japan is 205 crores of rupees and the estimate of expenditure on land army is 31 crores of rupees, whereas India with a smaller revenue has to expend almost twice as much on its land force! You

The Army.
Mr. A. P. Sen.

see the value of being free. If we were a free nation to-day, I am sure our expenditure on military forces would have been ever so much less than what we have to spend to-day.

We have been promised a little beginning in the matter of Indianisation. It is little in all conscience. The Commander-in-Chief solemnly suggests that eight units should be gradually Indianised to begin with, as an experimental measure. But you should realise that this process will take about 387 years to Indianise the officers in 141 units. What an inspiring prospect! I will give you another figure. For 70,000 men of the British army, including officers, we have to spend about 42 crores of rupees, whereas for about 270,000 of the Indian army we have to spend about 23 crores. I am of course excluding in this calculation the British officers in the Indian army of these 270,000. So you will see that a British unit costs nearly six times as much as an Indian unit. Therefore in the interests of economy also, it is vital that the British element should be replaced rapidly by the Indian element in the Indian army. Our education, our sanitation, and other departments of internal progress are starved on account of the heavy expenditure of our army. It is essential for our national progress that we must proceed with the Indianisation of the army at a much more rapid pace than we have been promised.

Another fact which you must remember is that our army expenditure has gone up by leaps and bounds. You know that in 1884 the army expenditure was somewhere about 17 crores and in 1922-23 the same expenditure came up to 62 crores. Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is urged against us that Indians are not efficient enough to man their own army, there are only certain military classes such as the Rajputs, the Sikhs, and the Pathans who alone are fit to be in the Indian army. Well, Sir, standing in the land of Maharashtra I refuse to be told that we are not efficient. Surely the countrymen of Shivaji could not have lost their military prowess in the course of less than a century of British rule. I take it that the Marathas have not lost their proud heritage. I conclude by one remark. My friend, Dr. Paranjpye, has probably been a little too hard upon our young men. I do not think our graduates will mind military training in their colleges. I take it that our young men, who have courted imprisonment and shown their readiness to undergo the hardships of jail life for the sake of the country, will not shrink from the discipline of military life. I am perfectly certain that our young men will welcome the idea of military training and of enlisting in the Army, knowing that thereby they will bring us nearer to our goal, and hasten the day of Swaraj.

Lieut. Abasaheb
Khardekar.

Lieut. Abasaheb Khardekar addressed the Conference in Marathi. He said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, after the able treatment of this subject by my friends like Dr. Paranjpye, Mr. Kamat and Mr. Sen, I do not think much remains for me to say. However, I would like to add a few words with your permission. Seeing that I am a military man, perhaps you will be expecting to know a great deal more from me than from other friends, but I shall have to disappoint you in that connection, for, as Dr. Paranjpye told you yesterday or the day before that he could not give out certain matters relating to the internal administration of affairs during his Ministership, so also I am not in a position to give out the details of the internal working of the military administration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that my position in that respect is even worse than that of Dr. Paranjpye, for in military administration stricter secrecy has to be observed than in the civil administration.

I consider, Mr. President, that it would be perhaps a better method of dealing with this question if you were to appoint a committee to go into this whole question with a view to settle all the details. Now I

would like to say a word about the Dehra Dun military school or college. I understand there they admit boys as young as 11 years old and the cost per boy for training there comes, I am told, to about Rs. 200, per month. Now everybody can realise that an expense of Rs. 200 per month on a boy of 11 years of age is really too heavy and out of all proportion. A friend of mine, Mr. Mohite, has sent one of his sons there for training and he told me that by the time he completes his full training at Dehra Dun and subsequently in England and returns to India, the total expense on him for the purpose will have been about Rs. 23,000. Another friend of mine, Mr. Kale, from Satara, was also going to send his son for military training, but when he heard about the probable expenditure being likely to come to about Rs. 23,000 in all, it came as a rude shock to him and I do not think he will give effect to his original proposal; he will drop it. I would advocate the establishment of schools and colleges in India itself for military training instead of sending our boys and young men to England or anywhere outside our country. This will prevent a situation like the present when we are told so many candidates were taken up for training, so many out of them passed, so many failed, so many died, and so many were considered unfit, and so on (Laughter). All that could be avoided, Mr. President, if we start the necessary schools and colleges in India itself and give the necessary training here. With these words, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Mr. T. A. Kulkarni (Bombay) in a neat little speech in Marathi further supported the resolution. He pointed out that training for citizenship must go hand in hand with military training, and he dwelt especially on the dignity of labour and manual work.

Mr. Kamla Kanta Verma (Allahabad) said:—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the proposer and the seconder have dwelt on this question at length and I do not wish to go into details. But speaking generally it seems to me that this question of our army and our military training is so intimately bound up,—in fact goes to the very root of the whole question of self-government or swaraj—that it is not possible to lay too much stress on its importance. What good will any self-government or swaraj be if we are not prepared to defend our homes? Therefore, I submit that it is absolutely necessary that on the one hand we should agitate, and agitate vigorously and unceasingly to make the Government give us ample and proper military training in the future and, on the other hand, we should be prepared to undergo military training, so that when the time comes and when the occasion arises, it may not find us unprepared. One argument—and I do not say that is not an important argument—which we have to employ at present for the Indianisation of our army is that it will lead to economy. It is a very important consideration no doubt. But I submit that even if it leads to greater expenditure, in our national interests we ought to press for the Indianization of the army (Hear, hear).

In conclusion, I wish to invite your attention, your serious attention, to the proposition contained in clause (4) of this resolution. Dr. Paranjpye has been accused of being a little too hard on our young men. Well, it is not necessary to go into that question at present. But it seems to me that among the greatest of our national needs at present are the improvement of our physique and the formation of our character. It cannot be denied that military training will solve both these questions. It undoubtedly will improve the physique of the whole nation and will give an invaluable training in discipline. For, military training teaches you not only to obey but also to command. With these words, I support the resolution with great pleasure.

The President:—This resolution has been moved, seconded and amply supported. I put it to the House now.

The resolution was carried.

The Army.

Lieut. Abasaheb
Khardokar.

Mr. T. A. Kul-
karni.

Mr. Kamla
Kanta Verma.

The President.

Appreciation of
the Indian Deputa-
tion's work.

Appreciation of the Indian Deputation's Work.

Resolution XI.

The President.

The President :—Now, ladies and gentlemen, before we proceed further, there are two small resolutions (to be put from the chair) which I should like to put before you at once. The first of these is Resolution No. XI, which reads as follows :—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals records its sense of high appreciation of the work done, under the most discouraging circumstances, in connection with the discussions on the Kenya question by the Indian Delegation consisting of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivas Sastri, P. C., and Messrs. B. S. Kamat and Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

I hardly think any words are necessary from me to commend this resolution to you. Every one of us who has read or heard of the activities of our illustrious countryman, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, has good reason to feel proud of his work. Therefore, without wasting any time, I would ask you to pass this resolution which records this Federation's sense of high appreciation of the work of our illustrious countryman the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri.

The resolution was then put and carried with acclamation.

Appreciation of
Mr. Andrews'
Services.

Appreciation of Mr. Andrews' Services.

Resolution XII.

The President.

The President :—Then, the next resolution is a similar resolution, No. 12, with regard to Mr. C. F. Andrews' services. I may mention here that there is also another resolution which we shall be passing regarding our appreciation of the work of Mr. H. S. L. Polak. But that resolution is not yet printed and therefore I am not putting it before you now. Meanwhile I want to get this resolution disposed of. It reads thus :

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indians overseas in general and of Kenya in particular, especially in connection with the discussions in India and England about the Kenya dispute.

take it that it is carried unanimously? (Cries of "Yes"). The resolution is therefore carried unanimously.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we shall adjourn. But let me tell you one thing that immediately after our adjournment the Subjects Committee proposes to meet in this hall again at 3 o'clock and we shall meet for the open Conference at 4 o'clock.

Appreciation of
Sir Tej Bahadur
Sapru's Services.

Appreciation of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Services.

Resolution XIII.

Dewan Bahadur
K. R. Godbole.

Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, (Chairman of the Reception Committee) : Ladies and gentlemen, I now resume charge of this meeting for the time being and ask your leave to move Resolution No. XIII. The resolution that I want to place before you relates to our President, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and it reads thus :—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D., at the last Imperial Conference to the cause of Indians overseas in general and Kenya Indians in particular and notes with satisfaction that the Kenya decision is no longer found to be treated as final and that the Committee to be sent by the Government of India will raise the entire question with the Colonial Office."

With reference to this resolution, I do not think it will be necessary for me to make a lengthy speech. In this hall we have heard a detailed account of what our distinguished President has been doing in this matter. The problem of Indians overseas that have gone from India

and have settled in the different parts of the British Empire has been before us for a number of years and the question is important to us, because it deals with the surplus population of this country. With the peace and order that reign in this country, our population is increasing very fast and it becomes a question of great importance to find out outlets for our surplus population. We must, therefore, secure all reasonable facilities for the Indians that have gone out of India and settled in the other parts of the British Empire and we must see that their status is not in any way inferior to that of the other members of the British Empire. Their status and position must be equal to those of other members of the Empire and our public men like Gandhi, Gokhale and Polak have been doing their best in this direction in the past. Since the war and since the institution of the Imperial Conference, the question has been before the Imperial Conference on two occasions. The first was the Imperial Conference of 1921, in which our distinguished citizen, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, took part on behalf of the Government of India. By means of his endeavours and by his advocacy of the cause, he secured in that Conference the passing of a resolution establishing equality of all Indians in the other parts of the British Empire with emigrants coming from other members of the British Empire, and this resolution of his was accepted by all the representatives of the Empire, except by General Smuts. The only opponent was the South African Union represented by General Smuts. All the representatives of other Dominions and Colonies accepted this resolution, and in accordance with this resolution we expected that the problem of Kenya would be satisfactorily solved. Unfortunately, however, the Colonial Government, probably under pressure from the White population of Kenya or being afraid of them, have not satisfactorily given effect to this resolution in the decisions that they have come to with reference to Kenya. We sent a deputation from this country consisting of three of our most distinguished men to agitate in England with a view to secure a decision favourable to India. Unfortunately, however, their endeavours did not meet with any success, and in July 1923 the White Paper announcing the Kenya decisions came out. These decisions have been disappointing to us all, from the Viceroy downwards to the youngest novice in this assembly. It was in these circumstances that our distinguished President had to take up the question as a member of the Imperial Conference of 1923. As mentioned in his speech, it was suggested to him that as a matter of protest he should retire from the Conference altogether, but he wisely abstained from doing so and endeavoured to secure avenues of getting what we want. We are all glad to see that he had succeeded in finding the avenue of committees. The Government of India have now the option of appointing committees to go into the question as regards the status of Indians in the different Dominions of the British Empire. Each committee will go into the question, will, if necessary, go to the Dominion concerned or to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, discuss the position of Indians in each individual colony and attempt to come to a satisfactory settlement. We are all glad to find that the question of Kenya has not been left out and the Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed to the Government of India appointing a committee to go into the Kenya question also. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has thus successfully accomplished a task in a position which was extremely difficult (Hear, hear), and therefore he deserves our heartiest and warmest thanks for the good work that he has done. I do not think many additional words are needed from me and I have no doubt that the resolution will be passed by you with acclamation. (Applause).

The resolution was put by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and carried unanimously with acclamation.

Appreciation of
Sir Tej Bahadur
Sapru's Services.

Dewan Bahadur
K. R. Godbole.

The Salt Tax
Certification.

The President:—The meeting now stands adjourned till 4-30 o'clock. The Subjects Committee will meet at 3 o'clock.

The Salt Tax Certification.

Resolution XIV.

The Conference resumed its proceedings at 4-30 p. m.

The President:—Rao Bahadur Kale will now move Resolution No. XIV, regarding the Salt Tax Certification.

Rao Bahadur
R. R. Kale.

Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, (Satara); Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that stands in my name runs as follows:—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals enters its emphatic protest against the certification by His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Finance Bill, 1923, providing for the enhanced Salt Tax in the face of the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Assembly to the contrary. In the opinion of this meeting, the Bill should not have been certified either on economic or political grounds. This meeting is further of opinion that section 67—B of the Government of India Act is wholly inconsistent with any true responsibility of the Legislature and that even under the constitution as it is, it is necessary that the power of certification vested in the Viceroy should be strictly limited to genuine cases affecting the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

Before we adjourned for tea, you are aware that we discussed a resolution dealing with military education and military training in order to maintain the martial spirit among you. Now we come to something which is necessary to keep the physical stamina of the people. That is salt. Salt, ladies and gentlemen, you know is as necessary for keeping up the physical stamina of the people as air and water, and I am not going to enter into details about the desirability or otherwise of taxing the poor people of this country. I can only state that when the salt tax was enhanced in March last, it was estimated that the revenue that would be derived from this enhanced duty would be a substantial increase in the revenues of India. But the estimate, you will find, has not been fulfilled. The realization has been much less than what was anticipated, and that is evidence to show that the consumption of salt has decreased. Hence it is necessary that an article like salt, which is as necessary as air and water, should not be taxed any further. The duty on salt had been reduced in former times from Rs. 2½ to Rs. 1½ and then to Re. 1¼. Last year it was doubled and raised to Rs. 2½. Now, therefore, the circumstances under which this duty was enhanced are, I think, fresh in the minds of every one of us here. The object of the present resolution is to place on record our emphatic protest,—a protest which has already been made and recorded in the various provinces in their provincial meetings all over the country. But this being the first Liberal Federation since the last budget meeting, opportunity is taken at this time to bring on record our protest, and afterwards not being satisfied with mere protests, we want to move for amendment of the provisions of the Government of India Act in order to make such certification in the future impossible. You know when the Government of India Act was passed, section 67 and the clauses that follow had been enacted giving power to the legislature in respect of controlling taxation. Among these powers there was the power of vetoing any tax that may be levied. There are two sections. First of all there is section 67 (2A) which deals with the power of the Governor-General to veto any proposal or any Bill which has been passed by the Assembly. Supposing the Assembly passes a measure, but the Governor-General thinks that it is against the tranquillity or the safety of the Empire, he can veto it. Secondly, under section 67-B as it is framed now, it will be found the provision is that if the Legislative Assembly refuses to pass any Bill just like this Finance Bill which was refused by the Legislative Assembly, the Governor-General in Council has got the

power of certification, and that certification, it will be seen, is to be resorted to as an extraordinary measure, and the words of the section as they stand at present are that it can be done in the interests not only of safety or tranquillity of the Empire, but also, it is stated, in the public interest. The wording is this: "The Bill is essential for the safety, or tranquillity of the Empire or in the public interest." The word "interest" does not appear in section 67-A (2) in the other certification power, that is, whenever a Bill is passed by the Legislative Assembly, it can be vetoed by the Governor General if he thinks the tranquillity or the safety of the Empire requires him to do so. But in the case of a Bill which is refused by the Assembly, if the Viceroy wants to pass that Bill, a third element is also introduced in addition to tranquillity and safety, namely, if he considers the public interest requires it. So the word "interest" has been added there and it is that word which enabled the Viceroy to make the certification legal. If it had been confined merely to peace and tranquillity, it would have been difficult for the Viceroy to say that the certification of the salt tax was necessary in the interests of safety or in the interests of tranquillity. But there being that word "interest" there, he could do so. Hence it is thought necessary that this amendment should be introduced in this section and section 67-B therefore will simply remain as it is by retaining the words "affecting the safety and tranquillity," but we do not want this loophole by adding the word "interest." It has found a place only in the latter clause; it has not found a place in the other clause. So I think it will be clear to you, Sir, that the amendment which is sought to be made is really nothing more than bringing the latter part of the section into line with the former part of the section. By having this amendment, the power of veto, which no doubt all constitutional Governments possess, will be there, but it will be an extraordinary power to be used on extraordinary occasions. That being so, I think that the meeting of the all-India Liberal Federation will accord this resolution their full support and allow it to be passed.

(At this stage, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri took the chair in the temporary absence of the President).

Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit (Nagpur): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I rise to second has been read out to you. It consists, firstly as was pointed out by Rao Bahadur Kale, of a protest emanating from us in connection with the action of the Viceroy in certifying the Indian Finance Bill of 1923, which provided for increased taxation on salt. It also points out that neither on economic grounds nor on political grounds was the Viceroy justified in giving his certificate to this piece of legislation. And, thirdly, as a necessary consequence of this unjustifiable action on the part of the Viceroy, it is necessary for us to point out that whether in the first place the powers vested in the Viceroy under the Government of India Act do or do not enable him, according to the different views taken, to take such action, in a case like the present case, even if the Act does vest in him such a power, it is undesirable that such a power should be vested in him or that it should be exercised in such cases. Now, in the first place, so far as the protest is concerned, we are at one with the whole country which from the time of the Viceroy's action in this matter was ringing from one end to the other with protests of an unprecedented character. Protests have taken place before, but no protest has ever gathered the volume or the strength or the potency which this protest did gather and carry. It was not merely Indians here, members of the Legislative Assembly and others, who protested. It was not merely the publicists in this country who have always been pleading the cause of this country who have protested. Even a well-known European member of the Legislative Assembly, a member

The Salt Tax
Certification.

Rao Bahadur
R. R. Kale.

Rao Bahadur
V. R. Pandit.

The Salt Tax
Certificate.

Rao Bahadur
V. R. Pandit.

who has held a prominent position in European mercantile communities, has protested, and protested most strongly, and not being content merely with protests in this country, has carried the protest to the Mother of Parliaments, the British Parliament, and laid it there as strongly and influentially as possible. Consequently, with all this present to your minds, it is not necessary for me to show any further reasons why we should protest against this action of the Viceroy.

But we have the further fact that supposing there was vested in the Viceroy such a power to grant such a certificate and to enact into law a Bill for the taxation of salt, or rather the increased taxation of salt, which was opposed by the elected Legislative Assembly and which was opposed throughout the country, was there any justification either in the economic situation in which the Government of India was placed at the time, or even apart from that economic situation, was it politically expedient on the part of a Viceroy of the description of Lord Reading to take such an action in such a matter? Now, ladies and gentlemen, economically speaking, we know the great argument that was used by the Government of India in proposing this measure of enhanced taxation of salt was that the finances of the country had come to a critical stage, that from year to year deficits had to be faced, that consequently in order to bring about an equilibrium in the finances of the country it was necessary to find means for raising revenues to a larger extent than was possible previously and that the only means they could devise that, they supposed, could meet with little opposition and that could serve the purpose adequately was the enhancement of the salt tax. Now, in the first place, we deny the necessity for any additional taxation at the time. We do admit and say that as the administration was carried on by the Government, it did disclose a deficit, but it was not a deficit that was unavoidable. In the first place, as you have heard on another resolution, that was moved to-day and passed, the military expenditure has been the greatest absorbent of and drag upon the revenues and the progress of the country. Our representatives in the Legislative Assembly have from time to time been pressing for the curtailment of that expenditure and there are also other avenues for effecting economies which have been pressed upon the attention of Government from time to time. None of those steps were taken, at any rate not to the extent that the representatives of the people wanted the Government to take, and consequently it was merely by reason of the wrong policy of the Government of India—the spendthrift policy if we may call it—that the deficit had been occasioned and consequently that could not afford any justification for imposing any additional taxation, much less increased taxation on salt. You have here shown your determination in this respect by placarding this pandal with the words “salt must be as free as the air you breathe and the water you drink.” Living nearer the seashore, perhaps you are entitled to say that salt should be as free as the air you breathe and the water you drink, but, at any rate, those of us who live further inland can at least say that salt, being a commodity which is necessary for human beings and in the circumstances of the country which has agriculture for one of its principal industries and also on account of the important part it plays in the development of that industry, it ought not to be taxed more heavily, at any rate, than what it had been before, and consequently on that first principle if there was any need for taxation at all, avenues should have been explored for meeting that need from elsewhere than from this commodity which is essential for the keeping of body and soul together in the case of our countrymen, most of whom live from hand to mouth and perhaps live on one meal a day only. But there was a further question with regard to this taxation. After all, it was only a deficit of one or two crores that the Government of India had to face and did that justify

imposing an enhanced taxation upon a commodity of this kind, a taxation, moreover, which always tends to become permanent, once it is imposed and which carries with it a further burden so far as the consumer is concerned in that the retailer of salt never brings the price down sufficiently low once it goes up even if the tax itself may be removed or reduced? So, from all these points of view there was absolutely no economic justification for the increase of taxation on this commodity. I do not wish to labour this point further because the arguments pro and contra have been discussed threadbare in the public press and in the Legislature and must be fresh to the minds of most of you here.

But whatever may be said with regard to the economic standpoint, in respect whereof there have been opinions expressed on both sides, -in fact the Council of State did take a different view from what the Legislative Assembly took—in connection with its political expediency, I submit there cannot be two views on this question. In the first place, the Reforms were deliberately introduced as a step towards responsible government, it may be only a step towards the attainment of full responsible government. If there was no responsibility at all in the Government vouchsafed in the Reforms that were granted, they were not a step at all in that direction. So by their own implication, it was obviously intended and conveyed that a certain amount of responsibility was entrusted to the people with regard to the affairs of their own country. True that the fact that only a small amount of responsibility was vouchsafed necessarily resulted in the reservation to the Executive of a certain power in certain emergencies and, as my friend Rao Bahadur Kale by reading out section 67, sub-section 2 (a) of the Government of India Act, has pointed out in recognition of this responsibility of the Executive, the Viceroy has been vested with the power to stop measures which, according to him, were dangerous to the safety and tranquillity of the people of the country. Well, bearing in mind that the executive has the responsibility of carrying on the Government and the executive is not an elected executive from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Assembly, we could at the time of the initiation of the Reforms reconcile ourselves to the necessity for that provision. In section 67 (b) of the Act, however, whereas "the peace and tranquillity of the people of the country" are retained, a further consideration has been introduced, namely, "interests," and the Viceroy has taken advantage of that word and said that "interests" is something different from "peace and tranquillity" and I am therefore entitled, according to my lights, to say that the interests of the country are involved in this question of the refusal by the Indian Legislature of the Indian Finance Bill providing for increased taxation on salt. Consequently it is in the interests of the country that I exercise this power and give a certificate that this Indian Finance Bill and this increased taxation on salt are absolutely needful or essential, although it is not passed by the Legislature. In the first place, lawyers will probably hold different views on this subject. There is one very familiar rule of interpretation of construction of statutes. It is when several terms are used, then they must be interpreted as being *ejusdem generis*. When peace and tranquillity are referred to, the "interests" following them and referred to in section 67-B must be *ejusdem generis*. That means that interests as grave as peace and tranquillity, not merely fancied, minor or major interests that anybody may take it into his own head must render it essential to grant the certificate. Be that as it may, was it politic of the Viceroy in the very first term of the Legislative Assembly inaugurated under the Reforms Act to stretch the meaning of that word in Section 67-B so as to include in it what is regarded by the whole country as merely a temporary emergency (if emergency it may be styled at all) and use his power in order to flout the Legislative Assembly and go against the sentiment of the country from one end to

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the other which was not for the first time against the salt tax but has been opposed to the salt tax for decades and decades? It is we Liberals who have all along been blamed for taking too rosy a view of the Reforms and for being too easily gulled and satisfied with the small reforms granted to us. Such as they were, we still accepted them; our members went in as representatives of the people in the Legislative Assembly and into the Provincial Councils in spite of the odium attaching then to such entry and did strive to make the Reforms successful and to assist the Government to carry out a policy which would be for the benefit of the people and would provide an adequate record for showing that our people were qualified to run the Government of the country. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer had in the *Nineteenth Century and After* pointed out how difficult it was for us to carry on our work in the Legislature in view of these deficient Reforms; but in spite of that we did our best to give the Reforms a full and fair trial. The Government from the Viceroy downwards and from year to year acknowledge the assistance which was rendered by the members of the various legislatures in carrying out the Reforms. What is it that the Viceroy did to all those people who gave the best part of their own lives to the work in spite of the odium? In the last moment when they were going back to their constituencies and going to show that such and such work they had done for the country's advancement, he has given them this certificate that these members are useless persons (Laughter) and do not understand what the requirements of Government are, that they do not know that this increase in the salt tax was a necessity and the Viceroy further said: "I will overrule you and say that it is in the interests of the country that the salt tax should be enhanced" and he sends these members out to the electorates with this testimonial to their work!!! Well, the result is of course too well known to you (Laughter). I ask you, gentlemen, was it politic of the Viceroy who was desirous of seeing the Reforms carried out in a proper spirit to have at any rate abrogated the law in the very spirit, however much he may have availed himself of the wording of the Act?

In view of the abuse of the powers under section 67-B, if the Viceroy's interpretation were held to be correct, it was obvious that those powers ought to be withdrawn, or at any rate strictly limited; and in the last July session, the Legislative Assembly carried a resolution to that effect and the last part of the Resolution supports that view. No more need be said to commend it to you. With these words, Gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance (Applause).

Mr. N. N. Hingne.

Mr. N. N. Hingne, (Ahmednagar), in supporting the resolution, spoke as follows:—

अध्यक्ष महाराज व कुलान्नी खीपुरवाणी !

आतां आपणांपुढें जो ठराव रा. ब. काळे यांनी मंडळा व ज्याला रा. ब. पंडीत यांनी दुजेरा दिला त्या ठरावाला मराठीतून पुष्ठी देण्याविषयी मला सूचना आल्यावरून मी आपणांपुढें उभा रहात आहे. गव्हर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया अक्टोव्हा जें ६७ बी कलम आहे, त्यांत ब्रिटिश हिंदुस्थानचे स्वास्थ्य अगर शांतता अगर दिनसंबंध यास ज्यावेळी धोका येण्याचा संभव असेल त्यावेळी व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांनी असेंकीचे मनाविरुद्ध आपल्या विशेष अधिकाराचे जोरावर, असेंकीने नाकारलेलें एकांदें बिल सर्टिफिकेट देऊन पास करून कायद्यांत त्याची गणना करावी असा व्हाइसरॉय सहेबांस अधिकार आहे.

कायद्याचे बरील कलम आपण सरळ जर वाचलें तर, बरवर पहागाराचे सुद्धां असें नजरेस येईल की, बरील विरोध अधिकार व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांस विशेष प्रसंगासाठीच दिलेला आहे व त्याचा उपयोग मोठ्या काटेण प्रसंगी अगर संकटाचे वेळीच करावयाचा असून किरकोळ अगर दुसऱ्या एकाद्या अयोग्य प्रसंगी करावयाचा नव्हे.

असें असतां, १९२३ चे फिनांस बिलांत मिठाबरील कर दुपटीने वाढविला होता म्हणून असेंकीने विरोध सटपट करून सदरहु बिल बहुमतानें नाकारून त्याविषयी आपली नापसंती अगदी स्पष्टपणें

जाहीर केली असतांही, व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांनी त्या विलास सर्टिफिकेट देऊन त्याचा कायदा बनविण्यांत अखंत मोठी चूक केली आहे. मिठावरील कर दुप्पट करण्याने सरकारास मासत असलेला पैश्याचा तुटवडा म्हणून तर निघाटा नाहीच, परंतु अंदाजपेशी उत्पन्न फार कमी घेऊन पेशाची उणीव कायमची कायमच राहिली.

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Mr. N. N. Bhagoe.

सुधारणा अमलांत घेण्याच्या वेळी, सुधारणा फेल ओहिन असे म्हणणारा एक पक्ष हिंदुस्थानांत होना. व त्यामुळे सदरहु सुधारणाअन्वये अस्तित्वांत येणाऱ्या कौन्सिलांत मुर्झीच जाऊ नये असे या पक्षाचे मन होते. त्याचा दोष व निंदा यांत न जुमानता सुधारणांचा दिवेला ह्या अजुरा असतांही तो यशस्वी करून दाखविण्यासाठी लिबरल पक्षाची मंडळी कौन्सिलांत शिरली होती. अशा वेळी निड वरील कर दुप्पट करण्याच्या बाबतीत ज्या विलासिंचेची इतर लोकांचे व लिबरल पक्षाचेही मत कर दुप्पट न करण्याविषयी असतां तो दुप्पट करून व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांनी मुत्तद्देगिरी दाखविण्यापेक्षा तिचा अभावच दाखविला असे म्हणावे लागते.

किनासत विल बहुमताने असेवलीत नापास झाले होते व त्यांत जर व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांनी डबळा डबळ केली नसती तर एखादे संकट उद्भवले असते अगर हिंदुस्थानांत बंडे उत्पन्न झाली असती अशा तला भाग नव्हता, तर वर नमूद केलेल्या ६७ ची कलमांत हिततंबंध (interests) असा एक लवचक शब्द आहे त्याचा आधार घेऊन लॉर्ड रेडिंग साहेबांनी वरील सर्टिफिकेशनचे काम केले. दिल्ली येथील असेवरीत त्या कलमांतून interests शब्द गाळून टाकावा असा ठरावही पत्तार झालेला आहे.

तेझां मिठावरील कर वाढविण्यांत व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांनी काहीच साधले नाही. तयब व्हाइसरॉय साहेबांत असलेल्या विशेष अधिकाराचा उपयोग विदेश हिंदुस्थानांत स्वास्थ्य व शांतता यांच्याच कामी हारखुरा झाला पाहिजे व असे करणे जरूर आहे. अशा आशयाचा वरील ठराव आहे, व त्यास भी पुरी देऊन आपला रजा घेतो.

The Chairman (The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri): I desire to make one observation before putting this resolution to the vote. You may remember that after our agitation in India had failed over this salt tax certification, the matter was taken up in England and a debate was raised in Parliament. Most of this agitation is due to the personal energy of a European gentleman whose name we should remember in this connection. It was Sir Montague Webb of Karachi (Applause). I personally witnessed the amount of trouble he took in this matter and the great zeal and enthusiasm he threw into it. I know how many people in the House of Commons he interviewed and I know too that a great deal of what he did bore fruit in the discussion, although final success did not crown his labours. I wish also to point out to you that for this and other services which he did to Indian members of the Assembly, the same fate has overtaken him that Mr. Pandit alluded to, as having overtaken the bulk of the Liberal candidates in country. The number of Europeans in the non-official world of India who have identified themselves with the politics of the Indian Nationalists of to-day is rapidly diminishing. When we have one such person as Sir Montague Webb, I think it is particularly appropriate that on a subject of this kind, we should remember him when we pass the resolution (Loud Applause).

The Chairman
(The Right Hon.
Mr. Sastri.)

On a show of hands, the resolution was declared carried unanimously.

Uplift of the Masses.

Resolution No. XV.

Uplift of the
Masses.

Mr. G. K. Devadhar, (Bombay): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which is entrusted to my care, in my opinion, occupies the most important place amongst all the resolutions which have been moved, seconded and supported from this platform. The resolution runs as follows:—

Mr. G. K. Deva-
dhar.

This Conference is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation building, more strenuous, more sustained and

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char.

more vigorous efforts must be put forth both by the people and the Government so as to bring sound and suitable education within the reach of the illiterate masses at an early date by means of compulsion, to improve their economic and moral condition by adequate measures, to raise their political status by a broadened franchise and in the case of the untouchables to remove untouchability which is a great impediment in the way of national advance; and further calls upon the people to make adequate sacrifices to secure the object in view and also upon Government to find more money for the achievement of nation building, as quickly as possible.

The very wording of this resolution will tell you that it is one of the most important resolutions, as I have said at the commencement, because it lays down the policy, the scheme and the programme of work which our Party wants to carry out not only in the course of the next year but to carry out as long as every individual citizen in this country is not sufficiently educated and is not made the right kind of a citizen who is the great bulwark of our national advance. If that be the goal of any party—and I believe that is the first and the foremost goal of a national party like that of the Liberals,—this programme which is chalked out, call it a scheme, call it a programme or call it a creed, call it anything you like, the fulcrum of the whole is the individual citizen. It is the average man and the strength of the average man is the strength of the whole nation. You have often heard that the strength of a chain lies in its weakest link and so long as we have the misfortune of having in our midst millions of our countrymen who are not sufficiently educated, who are not sufficiently economically sound, who do not yet understand the requirements of national patriotism and the great needs of the country, our chain is bound to be weak and the object which underlies a resolution like this is to give every kind of facility, educational, economic, moral, material (by whatever name you may call it) or political, the object of that facility must be to raise that individual, be he a son of a Shankarscharya or the son of the lowest Mahar, be he a man or a woman. The strength of the individual, the strength of the average man or woman in the country is the strength of the nation. At the same time you must not exclude our vast masses so far as the woman-folks are concerned. We are largely responsible for their backwardness not because they are unintelligent, not because they are block-headed as some say, but because we are not sufficiently prepared to admit them to those avenues of education, knowledge and culture out of selfishness, which we really must generously, at any rate really patriotically but not generously, ought to be prepared to extend to them. The word "masses" used in this resolution is a very comprehensive term and all these benefits have got to be extended to them. Now I ask you: here you talk of electorate and here you talk of a large percentage that can make up a majority. What is the majority in the country to-day? Unfortunately it is illiterate, and therefore our foremost concern (I specially emphasise the words "Liberal Party") must be the uplift of the masses. That is the most redeeming feature of the Liberal Party. We do not exclude anybody on the ground of his caste, on the ground of his creed, on the ground of sex or on the ground of sect. We are broad-minded and unless that basis of our nationality is sufficiently broad unless that basis is made strong and efficient, our nationality will not be worth maintaining and will not stand the onslaught of the West. Therefore we want to make our nation strong, we want that our programme must be acceptable to all. Since yesterday a good deal of our breath has been wasted as to what should be the programme that will appeal to the masses and that will enable them to fill up our ranks. I ask, my brethren, if we take the whole programme and the long list of resolutions that we have passed and if we go to the masses and begin to talk to them, they will examine our position; they will say: "what have you done with regard to the improvement of our economic position?"

Here is the Forest Department, here is the wretched Irrigation Department, here is our sowcar, here is the schoolmaster who is not prepared to teach our children and here is the *Bhikshuk* or *Bhat* who is not prepared to give me the ordinary elementary rights of human beings, what are you going to do for us?" My answer is and will be that the National Liberal Federation of India is going to do all these things (hear, hear) and the National Liberal Federation will not be content unless it has secured for the people by means of its insistent, sustained, strenuous and vigorous efforts every kind of facility for raising the masses, educationally, morally, politically. The economic status of our countrymen including every body in this country must also be raised. I emphasise the word "everybody" because I find sometimes whispers to say "why is it necessary for us to bring in all the depressed classes? Why is it necessary for us to have such a large number of women to attend our conferences?" as though in the process of nation building the depressed classes do not count for anything or the backward classes do not count for anything and women do not count for anything. The Liberal Party, if it has done anything at all, has stood up for the masses, for the backward classes, for the untouchables, and for women. The Liberal Party is true to its traditions, it is true to its professions and principles. The Liberal Party must go forth from here with this fiat of this Conference that everyone who wants to get himself styled as a Liberal—his actions must justify his faith. If really my action is worth anything, worthy of Liberalism, my action must justify my faith, and when we go to our countrymen in villages, when we bring into vital connection the village people with the urban people, when we bring about that vital, intimate, close relationship between the two, they must feel that those who speak from these platforms in cities like Poona, though it is possible for all these people to be brought together physically, they are here in spirit with us, we are thinking of them every moment; if they feel that confidence by our actions, I believe that the Liberal Conference or the Liberal Federation and everyone who wants to call himself a Liberal will have justified himself in the eyes of the country. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I beseech you to pass this resolution with acclamation (Loud applause).

Mr. M. B. Marathe (Belgaum), speaking in Marathi, said:—The uplift of the masses is the first and primary duty of us all, as only five per cent. can be said to have been at all educated and the remaining 95% are steeped in the dark depths of utter ignorance. The resolution embodies the basic principles of the Liberal Party. It is vivifying nectar in the hands of our party. Our Party stands or falls in the fructification or otherwise of the resolution. We have to give this nectar of education and social liberty to such a vast mass of our depressed and backward classes that unless our young men come out in their thousands to help the cause, there can be but little hope of any substantial progress being made in the right direction. Revered men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Gokhale and others enjoined upon us the task of uplifting the masses. It was their firm opinion that without uplifting the masses, we could never get Swaraj which is so dear to us all and without which, even if we got Swaraj, we would not be able to hold it for any length of time. The late Mr. Gokhale said about 20 years ago in one of his lectures at Dharwar: "as long as there are pariahs in India, we shall remain pariahs in the British Empire or I may say, the whole world." This resolution calls upon you to educate and improve the economic, material and political condition of the depressed classes and the backward masses and untouchables. The masses constitute the nation and unless and until they become strong, the nation can never hope to be strong.

Dr. Paranjpye, during his career as a Minister of the Bombay Government, has done a very great deal indeed in the matter of mass

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education and the improvement of the condition of the depressed classes, by the grant of scholarships and opening public schools to children of the depressed classes. His vigorous action towards the fulfilment of the matters contained in this resolution is a menace to our opponents, both to the foreign bureaucracy and to our opponents from among our own people.

Let us for a moment turn to the second class of our own opponents and find out whether or not the general public is being misguided in the matter of taking a favourable attitude towards what are called the untouchable classes. In this connection, I have to enter a strong protest against the Tilak Party (Shame, Shame). What has that party done or is doing to do justice to the untouchables in the matter of watering places? What is the good of crying "shame, shame"? It is not a matter which can be set right by calling out "shame, shame." I challenge any of you who are now shouting "shame, shame" to come out with me to the Sadashiv Peth Howd and let us take a Mahar with us there, and then let us see how far those who cry "shame, shame" on this occasion show that they have enough moral courage to let that Mahar take water from that Howd. Self-government will not be worth one moment's purchase unless and until this backbone of our country, namely, the submerged and backward classes, the women of India who form one-half the population of this vast continent, are raised to a much higher level, the same level at which you now find yourselves. If you fail in this sacred duty, you are sure to be disappointed, seriously and grievously disappointed in your attempts to win Swaraj for yourselves. Before you claim equality in the British Empire, extend a part of that equality to your own countrymen. The Kenya Problem will and can never be solved unless and until you solve the Kenya problem of the depressed, and backward classes in India itself. After doing your duty in improving the status and condition of the depressed classes, you may, if you please, cry shame upon me; nay, you may even burn me alive. With these words, I second this resolution wholeheartedly.

Mr. G. K. Gadgil.

Mr. G. K. Gadgil, (Poona), seconded the resolution in Marathi, explaining that he had been asked by some of the delegates from the Satara District who came from the agriculturist classes and did not understand English, to speak in Marathi. Mr. Gadgil spoke as follows :—

I want to place before this Conference, and especially before the young men of to-day who were only a few minutes ago shouting "shame, shame" what their duty is. If you, young men, fail in this most sacred duty—I may almost say the inevitable duty—of uplifting the submerged and backward classes who are now sunk deep in illiteracy, ignorance and superstition, let me tell them that prompt advantage will be taken by our opponents (I mean opponents of self-government for India) who will lose no time in getting these crores and crores of untouchable and backward classes over to their side. They are already busy in this attempt of theirs. What happened in Ireland as regards the Orangemen and their resistance to self-government will be sure to repeat itself in India as far as the depressed and backward classes are concerned. Among the backward classes, I also include our womenfolk who are now far more illiterate than our male population. You all know how we do not object to have personal dealings with members of the untouchable classes who have embraced Christianity or Mahomedanism. Members of the same classes, which worship Vithoba as their God, are denied similar welcome at the hands of most of us. Why should there be this difference of treatment?

Mrs. Janakibai
Bhat.

Mrs. Janakibai Bhat, (Poona): speaking in Marathi, dwelt more upon the uplift and education of the women of the country, as she

said, women form half the population of this country and unless that half comes up to the same level as the male part of the nation, this nation will never be able to occupy the position which all of us want it to take. I wish to impress upon you the crying need of our female population, namely, education. It will not be so difficult to remove popular misapprehensions or impressions which at present seem to obsess the minds of most of our countrymen. That will no longer be the difficulty which is at present apparently obstructing your path towards self-government. Educate and bring up to your own level your womenfolk and then see how long you have to wait before you get self-government. It has been said that it is the women who rock the cradle that govern the human race. Do not forget it, but bear it in mind day and night and then direct your efforts at self-emancipation.

Mrs. Jamakibai
Chat.

Mr. R. N. Shah, (Sholapur) spoke in Marathi and alluded to the good work done in the matter of improving India's political and social condition by men like Agarkar, Ranade and Gokhale, not to speak of Dadabhai Naoroji and other leaders, in the matter of female education, removal of untouchability and so on. The work done by Dr. Paranjpye during his tenure as Education Minister is well known. He upheld the cause which was so dear to his Guru, the late Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Shah earnestly hoped that the Hon. Mr. Jadhav, the successor of Dr. Paranjpye in the Ministry, would carry on the good work commenced by Dr. Paranjpye in the matter of educating our depressed and backward classes. He then supported the resolution wholeheartedly.

Mr. R. N. Shah.

The resolution was then put and declared carried.

Gratitude for Mr. H. S. L. Polak's Services.

Resolution XVI.

The President : There are a few other resolutions which I shall dispose of, as they have got to be put from the chair and then we shall go on with the resolutions which have got to be moved, seconded and supported by various speakers.

Gratitude for
Mr. H. S. L.
Polak's Services.

The President.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of gratitude for the services rendered by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in connection with the discussions in London on the Kenya dispute.

The resolution was put from the Chair and was duly declared carried unanimously.

Restatement of the Creed.

Resolution XVII.

The President : In addition to this, there are certain other resolutions which I will put now. The next resolution is with regard to the restatement of the creed of the National Liberal Federation of India. It runs as follows :—

Restatement of
the Creed.

The President.

The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and of its component organizations is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (responsible self-government) and Dominion Status for India at the earliest possible date.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Swadeshi.

Resolution XVIII.

The President : Then there is this resolution which I have drafted as under :—

Swadeshi

The President.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges upon the people of India the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to purchase Indian-made goods only wherever possible.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Indians in
Mauritius.

Indians in Mauritius.

Resolution XIX.

This meeting of the all-India Liberals urges the Government of India to enquire into any legislation under the contemplation of the Mauritius, Government which is understood to prejudicially affect the political representation of Indians settled in Mauritius and to take effective steps to safeguard Indian interests against any impending danger. And if our countrymen there fail to get their grievance redressed, this meeting is of opinion that further assisted emigration of Indian labour to that Colony be stopped as soon as possible.

The resolution was put from the chair and carried unanimously.

Appointment of Office-bearers.

Appointment of
Office-bearers.

Resolution XX.

The President.

The President: The next resolution relates to the appointment of office-bearers and runs as follows:—

This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra, Secretaries for the next year and directs that the all-India Council should be constituted in accordance with the lists to be submitted by Provincial Liberal organizations by the end of January 1924.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Indianisation of the Services.

Indianisation of
the Services.

Resolution XXI.

Rao Bahadur
W. R. Dhoblay.

The President: Resolution No. XXI. Rao Bahadur Dhoblay.

Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoblay (Nagpur): Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to place before you for your acceptance is a long one and runs as follows:—

(1) This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the real question on which it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy for the future in connection with the Public Services is the question of the venue of recruitment.

(2) The meeting is further emphatically of opinion that in view of the fact that the traditions of administration established in this country by British Officers have been in full operation for over half a century at least and that many of the British officers now serving in this country will continue to hold their appointments for nearly another 25 years, it is necessary both on economic and political grounds that recruitment in all Public Services should, in future, ordinarily take place only in India, power being reserved to the Government of India to recruit experts on special terms for limited periods.

(3) This meeting is further of opinion that the recruiting, appointing and controlling authority in future should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State and that the Public Services Commission should be appointed by the Government of India to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of public services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Government of India.

(4) That the basic pay of all these services should be on an Indian basis with special allowances to be given to British officers on such conditions as may be determined by the Public Services Commission to be appointed hereafter.

(5) That in regard to any grievances of a financial character or of any other kind, this meeting is of opinion that they should be examined and redress given to public servants consistently with the financial capacity of the country to bear any additional financial expenditure, provided further that before any steps are taken in this behalf, the Legislative Assembly shall be taken in full confidence by the Government.

(6) This meeting of the All-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to appear before the Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Liberal Federation.

Indianisation of
the Services.

Rao Bahadur
W. E. Dhoblay.

I do not think that any strong advocacy or a long speech by me in support of this Resolution is necessary. This Resolution comes in the usual sequence of things and is the natural result of the Resolutions passed by you yesterday and to-day. If we have to be the masters of our own house and if we have to administer our own affairs, the present state of our servants being our masters should forthwith cease. (Hear hear.) The old idea that Indians are not fit to hold administrative appointments, that they make merely good followers and are not good leaders, that in the higher services they do not show their aptitude and that therefore a certain minimum percentage of British and European officers is always essential in those services—this old idea must be forgotten by us. This idea was started, fostered and promulgated by persons in whose interests it was to start it. It was in their interest to reserve those appointments for themselves and to keep out those to whom these appointments legitimately belonged. That the idea is fallacious can be easily proved. Nearly all the Indian States are administered by Indian agency. If Indian agency can be procured for Indian States, there is absolutely no reason why the same agency cannot be found for British India.

The heading of this Resolution is "Public Services Commission." Perhaps, the more proper and appropriate heading would be 'Indianisation of the Services.' The Liberal Federation is of opinion that further recruitment in England should at once be stopped. This view may appear to be a little bit startling. There is, however, nothing unfair about it and it is not so startling as some of you may imagine it to be. Even if you stop recruitment in England to-day, the British and European agency will continue in our service for the next 35 years! It is not I alone who hold that opinion. Its correctness can be proved from an official document. It is what is known as the O'Donnell Circular, and it states:—

In particular the proportion of Indians (including officers holding listed posts) is only 12 per cent. and even with a complete cessation of European recruitment, a period of some 12 years must elapse before the Indian element can rise to 50 per cent. The abandonment of European recruitment will not, therefore, mean that the country will in a short time be dependent entirely on an indigenous agency.

So, even the most cautious amongst us need not be afraid and need not be startled. It is not that this Federation wishes to overlook the grievances or the just demands of those already in service. We want them to continue in service till the end of their time. We also want that their legitimate and real grievances should be removed. We want to see that the demands put forward by them are properly enquired into. At the same time, we must see that they do not put forward any extravagant or exorbitant demands. That some of their demands are of this nature will be apparent from those put forward by them before the Lee Commission. They want not only an increase in their present pay, but they want all sorts of allowances, free medical service, free passage home and back every fifth year for themselves and for their families and perhaps for their servants too! Whatever their nature may be, we want these demands to be enquired into. If these be reasonable, we will always be ready and willing to see that they are met. What we are anxious about, however, is that further recruitment of European agency should at once stop.

It is anomalous that public servants, who are to work in India under Provincial Governments and the Government of India, should be controlled by an outside agency. These servants have to carry out the orders of the provincial Governments and of the Government of India.

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but still they are not to be under the control of these authorities. The position is anomalous; it is absurd. We want to see that this anomalous position is done away with and this can be done only if the public servants who are to serve in India are appointed by the Government of India. It is said that the duty of the Crown is to look after the safety of the Empire. This duty of the Crown is not, in any way, inconsistent, but is perfectly consistent, with the appointment of public servants by the Government here. The duty which lies upon the Crown of seeing that the British Government in India is carried on smoothly can be discharged even if all servants in the public services are appointed by the Government of India.

In this connection, I have to say that the pay to be given to public servants in India should be on an Indian scale, that is, the scale on which Indians would be paid. If and when we need European experts for a certain specified service, they should be paid on the Indian basis together with some allowance in the shape of an overseas or deputation allowance. The basic pay will, however, remain on the Indian scale. In this connection, I have to observe that Indians claim the same pay as has to be paid to Europeans. This is not quite fair. The Indianization of Services is based on two grounds. First, we want to run our business by our own men, and second is the ground of economy. If the Indian public servants claim the same pay, the same allowances and the same concessions as are claimed and perhaps reasonably claimed by Europeans, the second ground altogether disappears. We pay higher remuneration to Europeans, because we are obliged to pay it. There is no way out of it. The European agency is thrown upon us. We have no choice left in the matter. It does not, therefore, lie in the mouth of the Indian servants to say that for the same duties, they should be given the same pay. It is, therefore, my earnest request to the Indian public servants that they should not claim the same pay as that paid to Europeans. Of course, I had also claimed the same pay and privileges when I was in service (laughter), but that is no reason why they should claim it now.

As regards the efficiency of the services, you know that practically the whole of the administration is at present run by what are called Provincial Services. Provincial Services are said to be the backbone of the whole administration. Only the higher duties are discharged by the European agency. Now that the European agency will be employed only in special cases, the whole service should, in my opinion, be provincialized, that is, it should be on a provincial basis. That this will be a sound policy is not only my opinion, but is the opinion of one of the most distinguished and experienced Indian Civil Servants. I quote from the report of the Retrenchment Committee of the Central Provinces, which was presided over by Mr. Slocock, Commissioner of the Jubbulpore Division. The report says :—

All that we need say is that obviously the employment of an agency paid at English rates is more expensive than one paid at Indian rates, and can only be justified on other than merely financial grounds, though we cannot help observing that it seems inconsistent that, after the general principle of Indianization had been accepted by Government, the strength of the all-India Services and the number of European Officers in them has gone on steadily increasing during the past 30 years in spite of the fact that during that time the standard and morals of the Provincial Public Services has improved out of all recognition.

Mr. Slocock further said in his report :—

I am in favour of the recommendations which aim at a simplification of the machinery of administration and the substitution of Provincialisation for Indianization of the all-India Services, both on their own merits and for the economy they would secure.

You will thus see that the Provincial Services are quite fit to take over the duties now discharged by the European members of the All-India Services.

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the Services.

Rao Bahadur
W. R. Bhoblaye

I will now show you how some of the demands put forward by Europeans before the Lee Commission are extravagant. The Provincial Services are, you know, primarily meant for Indians, only a few members in those services being Europeans. These are admittedly subordinate services and Europeans who joined these services and took up appointments there, knew the subordinate position thereof. They accepted these appointments on the same pay and never expected that they would be paid better, simply because they happened to be Europeans. Now, for the first time they claim a differential treatment. There is neither rhyme nor reason in this demand. This will show to what unreasonable length these people go in some of the demands they put forward. I am afraid these demands are being put forward by them with a view to check our progress towards the goal which we have in view; or, it may be due to their desire to take as much out of India as possible.

The province from which I come—the Central Provinces—is considered to be backward. Of late, however, it has been coming to the front and it is on every body's lips, at least since the evidence given by the European Association of the Indian Civil Service before the Lee Commission. European Officers of the Indian Civil Service have got a separate Association of their own in our province! They submitted a memorandum to the Lee Commission and their Secretary was examined the other day. Till now it was acknowledged, and even now it is acknowledged on all hands that we Indians make very good judges. They have not given us credit for any administrative talent; but at least it is admitted that we make good judicial officers. It was left for our C. P. European Association of the Indian Civil Service to say that the idea that Indians made good judges was a mere fiction. They said that Indians were fond of technicalities and caselaw and did not at all make good judges and that it was Europeans with their "breezy commonsense,"—I quote from their evidence—who made good judges! I would translate "breezy commonsense" into a disregard for law and impatience at the restraints put upon a judge by the Procedure Codes. That is perhaps what they mean by their "breezy commonsense." They say that they dispose of cases more expeditiously than Indian Judges do. Why should not one be able to do that, when,—I am speaking from my personal experience—he rushes through evidence and writes short judgments, without caring to go deeply into facts? Why should they not, in these circumstances, dispose of cases in a shorter time? I would emphatically assert that the charge of incompetency levelled by them against Indian Judges is absolutely untrue and unfounded. If in any department complete Indianisation is possible to-day, it is in the Judicial Department. (Hear, hear). It would be a great shame to think that a presidency, say like Bombay, is not able to supply a sufficient number of Indian District Judges, capable and efficient, and of High Court Judges. At least I can say this of my province that if all the Indian Civil Servants serving in the Judicial Department go away to-day—I do not want them to go away though—we can run the department as efficiently, if not more, as it is being run now. (Hear, hear). I of course include in the Judicial Department our Judicial Commissioner's Court as well. So, on all hands you will see that complete Indianisation of the Services is essential for attaining the goal, which we all have before us and I, therefore, hope that you will pass this resolution unanimously. (Cheers).

Indianisation of
the Services.

Principal K. R.
Kanitkar.

Principal K. R. Kanitkar (Poona), addressing the Conference in Marathi seconded the resolution. He pointed out in particular that the people should no longer talk in terms of percentages of the British and Indian element in services, that the percentage may be left alone, that they will automatically adjust themselves without anybody troubling about the same, and all that the public should say is: "Stop all British recruitment."

Rao Bahadur
R. K. Kale.

Rao Bahadur R. K. Kale, (Satara): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to detain you long, but since I have been called upon to speak on this resolution, I will only tell you the genesis of this resolution. At the last Nagpur Liberal Federation, the Royal Commission was opposed. We did not want a Royal Commission at all. We, however, said that if the Government in England was going to send a Royal Commission, then let us have the whole question of the services opened and thoroughly gone into. When the Government of India Act was passed in 1919, when partial responsibility in the Provincial Governments was given to us, the Services were not transferred to the control of the Government of India or the provincial Governments, but the control was retained by the Secretary of State. Consequently that was an anomaly which came in the way of the smooth working of the administration. Hence it has become necessary now so to re-adjust the services, consistently with the grant of partial responsible government at the present time and in view of the grant of full responsible government in the near future,—so to adjust the recruitment of the services that by the time our country is in a position to enjoy full responsible government, the services also who carry on the administration must be fully responsible to the legislature in this country. That being the logical consequence, the point which underlies the present resolution is: what should be the remedy to bring about such a state of things? And the resolution before you aims at fixing the place of recruitment in this country (Hear, hear). So long the Services were divided into two, all-India Services and Provincial Services. All-India Services mean services recruited in England by the Secretary of State, whereas Provincial Services mean services recruited in India by the Government of India. Now we want a complete provincialisation of the services. We want to abolish what is called the all-India Services.

Provincialisation does not necessarily mean that recruitment should be confined to one province or that a recruit from Madras or Bengal should not be recruited for the Bombay provincial posts. Provincialisation means recruitment in this country as distinguished from recruitment in another country, namely, in England. It will be seen that from the earliest times it has been laid down and acknowledged from time to time by the several Charters and the Commissions that were instituted from time to time that irrespective of caste or creed, all appointments in the public services should be thrown open to all, but when the venue of recruitment was placed some five or six thousand miles away, it was impossible for any person in this way to compete at examinations which were held in England. The Indian Civil Service examination was held in England, and some of the other services such as the Indian Police Service were closed to all Indians and no Indian, whatever his qualifications, was allowed even to appear at those examinations held in London. You will therefore be surprised to see that although by one breath they say "we give you appointments irrespective of caste and creed," still the recruitment centre being situated far away it was impossible to carry out this scheme. Now, however, the system is changed a bit. Now that we have a Government which has been made responsible to the people, the time has come when we can legitimately ask that the servants who carry on the administration should be made responsible to the Government in India and not responsible to an outside agency, namely, the Secretary of State, because it

is an anomaly which is inconsistent with the spirit of the Act. You will see from the evidence given before the Lee Commission that the Services, although professing that they are willing to carry out the Reforms, maintain and maintain very strongly that the control should be with the Secretary of State, that the powers of appointment, of making rules for pensions, bonuses, pensions etc., should be with the Secretary of State and every one of them maintains that the control should never vest in the Government in this country, much less in the legislatures, either the Indian Assembly or the provincial Councils. They say they have no confidence in the Indian politicians, they want guarantees, they want safeguards from the Government at Home, namely, the English Parliament. They want security from the Government in England and not from the Government in India. The reason you will see is that the Services have so long come to regard themselves and have been regarded by the people also as though they were masters and not servants, that they were rulers and not administrators, who are expected to minister to the wants of the people whose servants they are. The Civil Services and the other Services are regarding themselves more or less as the constituted Government of this country and therefore they are unwilling to part with the smallest power which they have possessed so long. It is therefore necessary now for them to change their angle of vision. It is stated on their behalf that they have been inconvenienced now under the reformed Government, that they suffer so many inconveniences and so on, but it is the result of democratic constitutions that it is not only the Europeans but Indians also who are public servants of this country that have to bear in mind that they are no longer the rulers of the people, but that they are merely servants of the people, that they are real public servants. That has also got to be remembered by our Indians who are in the public services such as the I. C. S., the Police and so on. If, therefore, they want to look for security, they should look to the people's goodwill and not to Whitehall, where they can no longer look because we have now responsible government promised to us. For these reasons, it is necessary for us to lay down a definite policy and because the Services one after another have been putting forward demands that there should be a particular percentage of recruitment which should be made in England and that there should be the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India, that we must see that nothing is done which is inconsistent with the spirit of the Reforms, namely, the grant of self-government to the people of India. If the all-India Services have any real grievances, we are quite willing to consider them. Their one grievance is that when they entered into covenants with the Secretary of State, they had no idea that the form of Government in India would undergo the change it has undergone, that they must stick to the guarantees given by the Secretary of State. Those persons who are already in service will have to be continued in service until their terms expire. If they find that the guarantees which they were given broken in any way, they may fight for their rights under contract of covenant and if they then fight, they will gain their point. Fresh recruits ought, however, to be outside any such privileges which are claimed by their older brethren. All the preposterous claims of these fresh recruits must be resisted stoutly by those who are anxious to get Swaraj. Even if we get Swaraj to-day, what will be the result? The Services are already there, they cannot be driven away all at once. Then, there will be a moral obligation on the Swaraj Government to recognise their rights. I think no Government, whether it is a National Government, or whether it is a self-government, can afford or will think of becoming so foolish as to give the go-bye to their moral obligations in respect of these services. I am sure that any Government in India which may succeed the present Government will take due care of the vested in-

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terests of all those who are affected by such change of Government. I think, therefore, that you will carry this resolution with acclamation. (Applause).

On a show of hands, the resolution was declared carried unanimously.

The President.

The President: Our work is practically over, excepting that I have to put a very important resolution, indeed what I consider to be the most important resolution, to you; but I propose to defer it until I make my final speech. That will save you time and that will save me also time. Meanwhile, the only thing that remains for me to do is to call upon Mr. A. P. Sen to make the statement, which he wishes to make.

Next year's Ses-
sion at Lucknow.

Next year's Session at Lucknow.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

Resolution XXII.

Mr. A. P. Sen, (Lucknow): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I desire to put before you a non-controversial proposal. It is very pleasing to me; but I do not know whether it will be equally pleasing to you. I stand before you, gentlemen, to ask you to come to Lucknow next year (Applause). I know that we will not be able to give you all the comfort which we have received here and all the comforts to which some of the affluent members of our party are accustomed, but I assure you that even in a cold place like Lucknow, we will give you a warm reception. I implore you all to come to Lucknow in large numbers. You should not be daunted by failure in elections. Don't let that damp your ardour. Come, I say, in very large numbers; come with a stout hope, come with an unshakable resolve to keep aflame the torch of robust optimism of a rejuvenated and chastened Liberal Party. (Applause.)

The proposal was declared carried.

Vote of Thanks
to the President.

Vote of Thanks to the President.

The Right Hon.
V. S. Srinivasa
Sastri, P. C.

Resolution XXIII.

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri P. C.: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this time without informing the President or obtaining his leave, I stand up to propose a hearty vote of thanks on behalf of this session of our Federation to the President (Applause). I am a member of the Reception Committee, having been admitted to that honour about four and twenty hours ago (Laughter). Let me assure you I am guided by no selfish consideration in proposing this vote. I did not recommend him to the Presidentship of this Federation neither did I recommend him to accept this position. I am, therefore, a free man, unconstrained by any commitments and if I propose a vote, it is absolutely disinterested. His conduct in the chair has entirely satisfied me (Voices: 'all, all'). I am glad to hear that in advance of my question which I was just going to put to you, namely, has it satisfied you? But, ladies and gentlemen, there are some people I must say, in the country whose opinion will not be the same as ours. I hear somebody saying "we do not care for them," but I know in our hearts we care very much (hear, hear). I have heard speeches in the course of the last two days in which reference was made to a character not that we really have but which is attributed to us outside the ranks of Liberal politicians. I know how very anxious we are to stand well in the good books of the country and if we were not so anxious, I am sure that the great and important proposition which the President is going to put before you a few minutes later would not have been so enthusiastically accepted, as it was, by the Subjects Committee. Now, what is the character which we bear in the eyes of those who criticise

us in so unfriendly a spirit? The question is somewhat opportune, as the President had a little while ago to protest against the tendency of some of us to entertain in the depths of our hearts fears and apprehensions, to protest against the tendency of some of us to suppose that, because a large number of our countrymen call us by this opprobrious name or by that opprobrious name, there is necessarily something wrong with us. I do not by any means think that we are half so bad as we are imagined to be, but it is necessary to examine what is the matter with us and also to see how far the President of our meeting answers that description. The comparison is worth making; otherwise I would not waste your time in doing so. They say, for example, that we are office-hunters and title-hunters. I am not sure that taking office is a sin in any code of morals that I know of. I do not believe that any political considerations based on a sense of righteousness and patriotism would require us to decline office if it comes our way in legitimate ways. Our President has held office. I can assure you that instead of his seeking it, office sought him (hear, hear), and when in office, I know how he held it. He held it purely as a trust, as a means that gave him opportunities of serving his country, (hear, hear). He did not use office as a means of adding to his income. On the other hand, those of you who know what position he occupied at the Bar in Allahabad would no doubt realise that acceptance of office in his case at all events meant a surrender of a large and lucrative practice in that city (Hear, hear). Has he clung to office with pertinacity when the country asked him to resign? He threw up office not in disgust nor because the country asked him to do so. He threw up office not because the official world had lost confidence in him; he threw up office not because the Viceroy or other higher authorities had begun to mistrust his loyalty or to disparage his efficiency. On the other hand, he is one of those men to whom office has brought no additional consequence. Now that he has resigned office and taken his place again in the ranks of unofficial life, believe me he has not lost one whit of the moral influence he exercised over the Government of India when he held office. His official colleagues, not excepting the most exalted amongst them, his official colleagues still value his counsel, still place the utmost confidence in him. Has it impaired his efficiency as a patriot? Some, who are our critics in undesirable ways, are apt to suppose that when officials smile on us, it necessarily means something corrupt in our nature, that it necessarily means something which cannot entitle us to the confidence of the public or their esteem. You will have seen from Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's speeches and writings since he left office that in tone, in vigour of utterance or in high pitch of aim, they have not lost at all; on the other hand, since he left office, in point of fact with all the shackles of his position when a kind of demi-official authority still stuck to him, I know how well he sustained the duties of a fearless patriot, a fearless advocate of our cause, a fearless exponent of our rights and of our claims in the presence of those who were by no means predisposed in our favour. Ladies and gentlemen, if he is the type of a Liberal, why should we be ashamed of Liberalism? (Hear, hear). Those who standing outside the Liberal ranks wish to judge us by our fruit, let them judge us by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. How pleasant it is to work with such a man many can testify.

I will, however, narrate here one particular incident that came close to me and endeared him to me in a manner which I have not mentioned to him hitherto, but to which I believe public utterance may now be given, so that he may understand how he is valued by those who know him. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that there is amongst us in spite of our protestations to the contrary, in spite of our self-hypnotized exaltations of our own character, you know how amongst us there is a sneaking tendency to look up to those who hold office, to

Vote of Thanks
to the President

The Right Hon.
V. S. Srinivasa
Sastri, P. C.

Vote of Thanks
to the President.

The Right Hon.
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regard a man highly who stands well with the officials and to turn our backs upon him when in the country's cause he has given up his position amongst officials. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is of quite another type.

You remember how I happened some time ago to make a somewhat injudicious speech after my manner in the Indian Council of State regarding services, for which you have no idea how I have been slandered and sworn at in the British press. Even the great paper, *Punch*, thought it necessary to publish a few lines of sarcastic advice addressed to an eminent patriot of India who thought that by a purely Indian agency he could run the affairs of this very great country on a high level. Well, when I went to England on this last occasion, amongst other difficulties that I had about the Kenya affair, there was this bad character that the Indian Civil Servants and their friends had affixed to me viz. as their enemy, one who went about saying things that there was no use for them and as one who had the hardihood to suggest that, even if they all cleared out, India might get on. And then they quoted against me as if to confound and extinguish me the high authority of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. They quoted from some speech or some writing of his—of course they always misquote in these cases.—(Laughter)—and they told me my views did not coincide with those of that great and eminent bulwark of the Empire, whom they knew and honoured viz. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Now, if he were a wise man after the ordinary manner of the wise men, who, having obtained official preferment, wishes to keep it and nourish it and build it up so that it may blossom and fructify for him and his children, if he had been a wise man of that sort, he should have quietly pocketed the compliment, framed it and carried it about as a passport to the good will of eminent persons in England. Of course, he would have had the prudence never to show it to me. Instead, what does this unpatriotic, country-selling Liberal do in England? He took the first opportunity to disown that quotation and that sentiment and to say to the public of London, to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in particular: "I am of the same opinion as my friend Mr. Sastri." Well, ladies and gentlemen, you have seen Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru conducting the proceedings of this Federation. Now, I wish to ask you in all seriousness whether the resolutions which he has guided us to pass during these two days, the resolutions which he has helped us to fashion and to frame in language which he knows how to make acceptable to official examination, (Laughter), I wish to ask you whether in your judgment really they yield in cogency or in patriotic feeling or in accommodation to the needs of practical wisdom, whether in respect of these qualities or any other qualities that you would wish to attach to the resolutions passed by political organizations, they yield to those which, for example, the Indian National Congress is passing from year to year. It is not my purpose to draw invidious comparisons; but with our aims and our methods, with the respect we have for constitutional methods, I do venture to assert, notwithstanding that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru himself is here, that we could not have conducted our Federation meeting under better auspices (applause), under wiser guidance or under maturer counsel. I really hope that our proceedings in the future will surpass the proceedings of these two days in interest and in enthusiasm as such, as the proceedings of these two days have surpassed all the preceding Federation sessions—even the one at Nagpur, which I presided over (Laughter). And now it only remains for me to say that in giving thanks to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, I am not voicing my own feelings, but I know I am voicing the sentiments of the whole of the Liberal organization in India. By a vote quite recently passed in the Subjects Committee which it will be your privilege to confirm in open session in the course of a few moments, we

have entrusted our future fortunes to his guidance. That, Sir, I would value if I were in your position as a testimony of very great significance to the respect and consideration in which we all hold you and your character as a public servant. (Loud Applause).

Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole : Ladies and gentlemen, the vote of thanks that has been proposed by the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri is before you all and I want to ascertain your wishes as to whether you accept it.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

The President was then garlanded by Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Concluding Speech by the President.

In closing the proceedings of the sixth session of the National Liberal Federation of India, the President, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, spoke as follows :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come for me to wind up the proceedings of this session of the Federation. I wish I could have done that without that disturbance of equanimity which has been caused by one of my most valuable friends in life. I feel really overwhelmed by the generous terms—indeed I might say extravagantly generous terms,—in which my friend Mr. Sastri has spoken of me to you this evening. But Mr. Sastri is a man who is supposed by friends and foes alike to have many failings, and as a friend of long standing, and as a colleague of his in public life, I know that his principal failing is eloquence. But this does not mean that I discount or that I am going to ask you to discount the eloquence which he has wasted on me this evening. Of course, whatever else Mr. Sastri may be, whatever faults you may find with him, I do not think those of us who know him can say that there is any slight particle of insincerity in his nature. Therefore in view of his undoubtedly intolerable sincerity, I am not disposed to take very serious notice of that extravagant waste of eloquence and also sincerely hope that you will be indulgent to him.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Sastri has referred to what, I consider, was a very short and temporary episode in my life, namely the fact that I held office. Well, if that is the charge to be brought against me by any one in the country, I simply plead no defence but simply plead guilty, but like Mr. Sastri I also hold—and that is the view to which I have given expression more than once since my retirement—that it should not be merely the pride, but it should be the duty, of every citizen to avail himself of the opportunity which may be offered to him of rendering service in an official capacity. If you seek office, if you take steps to secure office, well, I think you degrade yourself and you degrade your country. (Hear, hear). But if office comes to you and if you feel that you must have a chance of rendering service according to your lights even though you may turn out to be a failure, I think you have no reason to feel ashamed of your failing or feel ashamed that you have gone against the will of an overwhelmingly large majority on the other side.) Personally speaking, I am not ashamed that I did ultimately decide to accept office when it was offered to me. I was in no hurry to accept it and I was in no hurry to reject it. I carefully thought over it and said to myself that having worked for the Reforms on the Southborough Committee with Mr. Sastri, having some idea of their possibilities, I ought not to reject this chance which was given to me. It was in that spirit that I wrote to Lord Chelmsford and I went to hold office. Well, many sins of omission and commission have been found with me. I have no grievances against any charge. A man in public life, particularly one who holds office, must be prepared to put

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up with charges, real and unreal, fancied and substantial. (Hear, hear.) But of one thing I feel sure—and I do not claim too much for myself that never once during the time that I was associated with tried and experienced administrators did it occur to me that I have ceased to be a Liberal. (Hear, hear). The Liberal creed was always haunting me in my office and indeed I am not at all sure whether I was not criticised on that account in certain quarters. Well, therefore, I again repeat that neither am I ashamed of having held office nor am I ashamed of being a Liberal. On the contrary, the one thing of which I am really and genuinely proud is that I belong to your party. (Hear, hear.)

And I do not speak merely as a party politician, because I feel a party has no justification for its existence or to survive if it seeks its own aggrandisement or if it wishes to acquire political power, in order that it may continue to command votes. (The guiding principle of every party should be that it should avail itself of every opportunity that may be given to it of rendering service to the country according to its own lights. It is in that light and in that light alone that your existence shall be judged by your countrymen and unless you do that, you cannot find a justification for your existence and for your activities.) There are men amongst us who sometimes speak in very disappointing and pessimistic tones. I confess that I am not free at times from that spirit of pessimism. But it seems to me that it would be impossible for this party or for the matter of that for any party to work in that spirit in which it ought to work if it were to lose confidence in itself. (Hear, hear). When there are parties or more in a particular country and when each party is trying to serve the country according to its own lights, it is perfectly natural that your opponent should find fault with you. But accepting where you honestly feel that you have gone wrong, I do not think that it is either honest or courageous to give way to that feeling of pessimism simply because there are many in the country who year in and year out, day in and day out, tell you what a bad lot you are. Undoubtedly it is your duty to take stock of the affairs in operation around you and you would be untrue to yourself and doing a great wrong to yourself if you were to forget or overlook the fact that your political fortunes as a party are at a low ebb.

Well, here again let me tell you, as I have said in the course of my address, I am not merely content with finding faults with our opponents. I fully expect that our opponents will find all sorts of faults with us. If they were not to find fault with us, there would be no justification for their existence as a party. But what I do ask you to bear in mind is that you have got to look boldly and courageously at the situation as it has developed.

At first in the year 1919, when the Reforms were put in force, political India was divided into two camps. There is no doubt to my mind that the vast majority of those who took interest in politics—you might say there was such a section amongst us—held opinions wholly different from yours. I remember the echo of those words that the Reforms were totally inadequate, wholly disappointing, unworthy of England to give, unworthy of India to receive. If you had endorsed those views and had remained out of the Councils, possibly your credit might have been higher, even though you did nothing else. But the moment you decided to go against the majority of public opinion into the Councils and took a line of your own, you should have foreseen and been prepared for repeated, strong, violent and non-violent attacks on yourselves. Speaking for myself, I may say I had no doubt in my mind and no misgivings as to what might be expected and when I decided to take this line, I could almost use in anticipation the language which would be used about me and others who were of the same opinion as myself. I have myself been a more or less non-profes-

sional journalist in my day and I can quite imagine how certain editors, how certain sub-editors, how certain special correspondents, can review a particular individual or a particular body of individuals in certain circumstances and on certain occasions, so that that is by no means my grievance. I was prepared for it and I am sorry for those who were not prepared for it and I wish even now, you were to realise that it is a part of your ordinary work in public life, that you should be prepared for these attacks.

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But while you should be prepared for such attacks, you should also be on the alert to remove such misrepresentations about your position and about your views as are indulged in by your opponents. Were you alert during the last three years? What was it that you were doing? Let me speak candidly. I do not think I should have deserved the confidence you have placed in me or the honour you have conferred upon me if I were to keep back my real sentiments in this matter. (I think you were absolutely asleep. I watched you all from a distance, from Simla and from Delhi, and I felt that instead of paving the way for your success at the general elections, you were doing all that you could possibly do to secure your defeat (Hear, hear).) Therefore, this defeat, if it has come as a surprise or a disappointment to any one in the party, has not come to me as a surprise or a disappointment. It will not satisfy me if you were simply to say that you lost your seats simply because you were associated with certain misdeeds or evil deeds of the Government. I recognise the force of a criticism of that character; but in that alone does not lie the explanation of your defeat. Any party which may come in office, for howsoever short a time, is likely to do things which will not be accepted by the other party, and I say with all confidence, let your critics come into office and in three months' time you can call a special session of your Federation to draft your charges or counts against their sins of commission and omission. Therefore, that is not alone, to my mind, the explanation. The real explanation, to my mind, lies in the fact that quite apart from those members of your party who were called away to office, the rest of you did not organize yourselves as you should have done as a party and you never cared to put before the public your view of the matter, excepting one or two papers of the Deccan conducted in the English language. I know there are many statements made with regard to individual Liberals. They have been repeated from day to-day. And why blame those who are prepared to accept misrepresentations or lies which are constantly repeated when there is no one on the other side to contradict them or to meet those charges?

I was sometimes told by some of my over-charitable friends that it is not right or wise on our part to indulge in mutual recriminations. I quite agree; I do not say that it is right or just or fair on your part to indulge in mutual recriminations. But when you find there are criminal charges brought against you, charges of the most atrocious character brought against you, when dirt is thrown on your honour from day to day, I think you owe it to yourselves and to your party to repudiate them and make the strongest possible efforts to put your calumniators in their true light before the public. So far as I am concerned, speaking for myself, I would advise you not to pick a quarrel with any one. There is enough room in this country for people of different thoughts and different views. So long as one party works out its own programme in the manner in which it thinks it should work it out, without misrepresenting your views, without casting dirt on you or your honour, it does not matter how it works out its programme or what it does. Let them do what they like. It is, after all, the country which will judge between you and them. But I certainly think it is

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weak politics on your part to allow, out of any feelings of generosity or charity, misrepresentations to accumulate, lies to accumulate, and never to contradict them.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, apart from that, we have observed during the last three years that even at our gatherings we have been overwhelmed by a feeling of despondency, a feeling quite the reverse of hopefulness. Well, I must say this gathering of the Liberals has been, to my mind, extraordinarily good in point of attendance of members, but I wish I could say that it was quite as good as it might have been. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I want to be plain. There is no room and there ought to be no room in any party for men who, while nominally belonging to that party, are either ready with apologies for explaining to the country as to why they belong to that party or are unwilling to take responsibilities on occasions on which they should turn up in the interests of the party and in the interests of the country.

Similarly, I would say that if your party wishes to survive, you will have to absolutely clearly define your position in regard to the various political issues in this country. There are men among us who think that the Reforms which have been granted to this country are much in advance of the times, that we have got as much as we deserve if not more than what we deserve, and we ought to be content with working those Reforms and not open our mouths too wide. Frankly, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think that there is anything of Liberalism about men of that type. On the other hand, there are men—and here again I am speaking frankly and I hope you will excuse me—who, though they are not non-co-operators—I beg to be excused if in frankly saying this I wound anybody's feelings—would like to talk, howsoever mildly and gently, in the accents of non-co-operators. (Hear, hear.) Speaking for myself, I will tell you it is far more courageous, far more honourable, far better for the individual and far better for the country that men of that type should have the courage of their convictions and not talk in the suppressed accents of non-co-operators, but in the bold and courageous language in which he indulges. Let that be absolutely clearly understood.

A party like this has got to exercise, to my mind, a great deal of self-restraint, particularly in clearing its own ideas and defining its own position. A party like this necessarily starts on its career with this certain disadvantage. There is nothing, and there can be nothing, truly spectacular and dramatic about it, and unless you supply the element of the spectacular and dramatic, you cannot achieve success with lightning speed. Necessarily, therefore, your progress was bound to be slow in the past and it is bound to be slow in the future.

But you have got to decide whether you will make promises indiscriminately and leave them never to be realised or whether you will put a programme before the country, which, you know, is possible of achievement, for which you can honestly and genuinely work and fight, and which may require the utmost patience and the utmost possible energy before you can see the fruition of your aims. I certainly prefer the latter course. There may not be anything spectacular or anything dramatic about it. But if there is something genuine about it, I think that element makes up for the deficiency, for the element of the spectacular and the dramatic. At the same time, it seems to me that it would be a great mistake to suppose that the programme which we have adopted, and for which we have been bringing and supporting resolutions during the last two or three days, is merely phlegmatic. As my honourable friend the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri pointed out this

evening, our resolutions may well compare with the resolutions of any progressive body in this country, and I will, with your permission, very briefly refer to some of those resolutions.

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First of all, you have clearly indicated in a resolution which was moved from the Chair to-day and which was unanimously accepted by you all, what your political creed is. I do not think that your creed as it stood admitted of much doubt, but if it did admit of any doubt there should be no room for any doubt after the resolution that you have adopted this evening. That resolution, let me remind you, says that :

The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and of its component organisations is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (responsible self-government) and Dominion status for India at the earliest possible date.

Well, we may differ as to the methods. We may believe in constitutional methods; others may not believe in them. But certainly no one has got a right to say that we do not wish or are not working for an early achievement of complete responsible government in this country or Swaraj, if you like to call it. Here, again, I think it is absolutely desirable that you should be clear in your mind that when you talk of Swaraj or responsible government or Dominion Status, I think it is only fair that you should not speak with a mental reservation. What we are aiming at is not what is causing so much trouble and controversy in certain camps, namely, independence, but responsible self-government within the British Empire. On that point let there be no room for doubt. If people think that the word "Swaraj" is elastic enough to cover one or the other according as the occasion may arise (Laughter) and that elasticity would provide room in a political party for people of different shades of views and thought and opinion, then I say that you are not playing the game, and I certainly think that however intelligent you may strike in your eyes, you have no right to imagine that the other people who are affected by your demands are so ignorant or are so dull or are so stupid as not to see through your game. Ladies and gentlemen, I tell you honestly that if I felt that it was right for us to demand absolute independence, I would not hesitate to say so and to advise you to adopt the most explicit language on that point. But I do maintain, and maintain very strongly, that questions of independence and questions of that type may satisfy your vanity, may pander the vanity of people who do not understand the bearings of the question, may bring you a certain amount of short-lived popularity, for popularity is never more than short-lived in the case of any party or any individual; it may do all that, but it will make you ridiculous in the eyes of men who understand and it will impose a responsibility on your shoulders which you will not be able to divest yourselves of when the time for testing your aims and professions arrives. (Hear, hear).

Let us, therefore, be absolutely sincere about it. Of course, I do not say that it is not open to people in this country to demand independence or, rather there can be no such demand for independence or aim at independence, but it is no use indulging in language of that type when you know that if it is a possibility, it is a possibility which may happen not in your lifetime or in the lifetime of your sons, but in the distant future. Why, therefore, confound the public? Why, therefore, raise issues which, you know, are wholly false and which, you know, you cannot sustain as constitutional Liberal politicians within the constitution? Therefore, on that question, let there be no room for doubt; but if there is any doubt that in fairness you have got a right to doubt, then let that doubt be removed once and for all by stating that it is the Dominion Status that you want and want immediately. If you do not want to lay down any such proposi-

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tion and you want to assert that you will be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence, then you must be ready for its consequences on your side and the Government will be ready for the consequences of your action on their side, but on that point let there be no room for doubt. If this resolution means what the words in which it is couched do mean and what they do convey, then I say no Liberal should fight shy of this resolution or lose his courage or lose his faith in the creed of his party. Make that quite clear. You can, with a clear conscience and courage, face anyone in England and any one in India and say that this is our aim and we do not wish that the fulfilment of this aim should be postponed indefinitely. On the contrary, we want that this should be realised and realised at the earliest possible opportunity. That is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional line of action and I would certainly advise the party to take it in that light.

Apart from this resolution, what is it that you have done? There was that resolution moved by my friend, the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri, in which he asked you to agree to the proposal that there should be complete provincial autonomy plus a simultaneous change in the character and position of the Government of India. Reading the other day certain statements issued by certain politicians in this country in another province, I was very much struck by the moderation which has already overcome them. They think that provincial autonomy is the goal of our political life. No, gentlemen, speaking for myself, I do not care how I am characterised by officials or by un-officials. I am one of those misguided Liberals who have maintained much longer than you know that provincial autonomy would be a mere shadow if it came to us without a simultaneous change in the Central Government, and at any rate I should not be happy to have mere provincial autonomy. Therefore the resolution which was moved by Mr. Sastri yesterday and accepted by you all unanimously shows that your programme is thoroughly sound, thoroughly progressive and such that you can honestly fight for it among your countrymen and fight for it in the Councils, whenever you may happen to find yourselves there. Sometimes some of our impatient friends ask: what is the rallying cry of the Liberal Party? On what issue are we going to the public and ask them to support us? I say that you cannot have a better rallying cry than that which is contained in the resolution moved by Mr. Sastri yesterday. The only better rallying cry from the point of view of your critics might be a cry for independence, but I only hope that you will never yield to that temptation.

Gentlemen, leaving aside this resolution, you have passed what I consider to be a very fair and strong resolution quite consistent with the dignity of this country and quite consistent with the dignity of yourselves. It is the resolution in regard to Indians Overseas. I do not wish to take up your time unnecessarily over that question, as I have said practically all that I had to say on that question, already. What I wish to say now is that I shall watch the development of this scheme with more than ordinary interest and my services, so far as that scheme is concerned, are entirely at your disposal. I can assure you also that on the question of the dignity of India outside India, I without reservation and qualification of any kind share the feelings of every one of you; at the same time I maintain—and this is the opinion which I expressed when Mr. Sastri made his speech in London,—that the improvement of our position in the Colonies will succeed, not precede, the improvement of our position in our own country (Hear, hear, and applause). During the time that I was discussing all these questions with the Dominion Prime Ministers, I do not mind telling you frankly, at every step I felt that I was talking to the responsible Ministers of self-governing Dominions, whereas I was

neither responsible nor a Minister. Well, gentlemen, still I do think that it is our clear duty to insist upon justice being done to our nationals during this interval. I think you must be prepared for serious disappointments on this question. Let me tell you honestly whatever you may do and whatever you may say, your position overseas, it seems to me, will only and can only be improved when you are masters in your own house, when you can meet the Dominion Ministers on terms of equality. Some kindly critic of mine points out that myself and some of my fellow-Liberals always forget that. Well, I have never forgotten it; it has always been present to my mind; sometimes my critics forget it; they forget that we are not a self-governing Dominion and that we, therefore, need not use the language which can only be used by self-governing Dominions.

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Well, gentlemen, leaving aside that resolution and passing over other minor resolutions, let me congratulate you on a resolution which you have adopted in regard to the Services. I know you will be criticised for that and I too shall be criticised with regard to that resolution; but I have no regrets to express with regard to that resolution. On the contrary, I should have felt sorry if you had been conservative enough to indulge in the language of percentages. I think the time for that has gone. In regard to this resolution, I wish to explain just one or two points. I certainly do not agree with those of my countrymen who think that the Services are a thoroughly bad lot. That has not been my experience. I have been in very close touch and association with some of the distinguished members of the Services. Naturally the point of view of a trained administrator, whether he is an Indian or whether he is an European, cannot always be the same as that of irresponsible politicians like yourselves or myself. There is bound to be a difference of opinion. I know of some of my own most distinguished countrymen, who, by reason of their long training, take a different point of view of a particular problem from that which you or I would instantaneously take. There is no question of bias there; there is no question of selfishness there. Therefore, whenever there has been a difference of opinion between them and me, so long as it was based on administrative experience, I have never minded it. But my experience has been that there are such men with a very high sense of duty and with a very high sense of discipline and I sometimes wish that my younger countrymen before they undertake to criticise these people did something to absorb their sense of discipline and their sense of loyalty to their chiefs which is their outstanding feature. A distinguished member of that Service once told me, that although he was personally opposed to the grant of the Reforms, now that Parliament has given the Reforms, it was his duty to work those Reforms and that he was therefore working the Reforms, whatever might be his personal views, so said he; and I can tell you from personal knowledge that that much misunderstood man most genuinely and loyally carried out the Reforms in his day in the spirit in which they were intended to be carried out. It does not mean that he and I were always in agreement; probably you do not know so much of the disagreement as you know of the agreement. Therefore it will do us no good really to run down the Services on those grounds. Let us frankly acknowledge that they have in their day rendered eminent services to this country and if you find them reluctant to part with power, may I ask you how many of you are prepared to part with your power? In social matters in dealing with men of lower status, have we parted with our political power? Have we parted with our social privileges? That is a very natural phenomenon. I would not mind telling you that if I were to belong to that Service and if I had put in some service and had enjoyed political power and political privileges for certain years, I for one would not make an easy surrender (Laughter). There-

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fore, do not run them down on that ground alone. Again, it is perfectly natural that a person who has enjoyed political power, who has been in the position of the master and a ruler for thirty or forty or fifty years or who has been accustomed to treating you as his ward, should refuse to believe that you have suddenly come of age and are entitled to claim as your own the estate. I say, it is perfectly natural. You have got, therefore, to face the situation as it is. You have got to take stock of these elementary and elemental factors on this subject.

On the other hand, there are men among us who think even to-day, very good men, men for whom I have the utmost possible respect, that the time has not come yet when we can dispense with the British element in our Imperial Services and they take shelter behind the plea which is put forward by the representatives of the Services, that it is in the interests of efficiency and purity of administration absolutely necessary that the British standard should be maintained in this country. The proposition, to my mind, requires careful examination. As the wording of your resolution points out, British traditions have been there for the last sixty years, if not more, and even if you were to stop recruitment to-day, many of the men who are already in service can stay there for the next 25 years, if not more. Surely, if 60 years of the experience of British standards in the past and if 25 years' more experience of those standards in future is not going to be sufficient to instill in you some of the phases of those standards, then your case is hopeless and even if you wait for 25 or even 50 years more, there will again be the need for the British element in the Services. It seems to me, speaking candidly, I feel that it should really have been the business of the new Legislative Assembly and of the fully responsible Assembly of the future to lay down its own policy with regard to the Services, or if that was impossible, it should have been the duty of Parliament to lay down the policy, with our consent, with regard to the Services, but as matters stand, your future will be mortgaged for the next 25 or 30 years and if you get responsible Government during the meantime, you may find that so far as the Imperial Services are concerned, you cannot raise your little finger with regard to them.

I am, therefore, wholly of opinion that the only issue which arises, that the only issue of vital importance which arises before us now and in which we are directly interested is: What is going to be the venue of recruitment in future? We are not going to shut out English people; they have come to India—we may shut out men from South Africa, that is a different matter (Laughter)—but our boys have in the past gone to England to study there for three years in strange surroundings and circumstances and similarly, let English boys come out and take their chance in India. It is a very fair proposition to my mind; we have competed with them in their own country and we are willing to stand competition in our own country with them. Therefore the only question to-night is one of recruitment. On that point, I undoubtedly hold very strong views; I am not ashamed of those views nor am I afraid of any cross-examination on those views. Speaking candidly, I entirely welcome a resolution of this character; let there be no misgiving on that point; whatever may be the recommendations of the Royal Commission, whatever may be the decision which Government here or in England may come to on that point, so far as you are concerned I would advise you never to surrender your case voluntarily.

Now comes the question of the grievances of the Services. Here, again, let us adopt an attitude of fairness. It will not do for you to say that there are no grievances any more than it will do for you to say that there are grievances. That is a question for examination and investigation. I have had something to do with it. Personally speaking,

I am satisfied,—I do not ask you to accept my word for it,—that in certain directions there are legitimate grievances of the Services which require to be looked into. What kind of a report the Lee Commission will submit I cannot say; what is the exact amount of relief, pecuniary or otherwise, which they are going to recommend I cannot say, but I certainly feel that if there is a case made out for relief or assistance to any public service or any class of public servants, well, then in fairness let us not stand in the way of that relief subject only to one overpowering condition and that is, that the relief which is given should not cripple our finances: it must be assistance compatible with our financial capacity to bear any further burdens. That, to my mind, would be a fair attitude to take.

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President.

Then, again, there is the question as regards safeguards and guarantees and things of that kind. I will not go into the details of that question, but I am one of those who maintain that in the interests of an independent service and its efficiency, it is very necessary—whether we have a foreign service or whether we have a national service—you must be prepared to give them the amplest possible safeguards, statutory or otherwise, which will be necessary. Almost every Dominion has got a Civil Service. In England the Services have got much greater security than the Services here have got. No Minister in England can dismiss a public servant there. Sometimes, people talk of control. I want to know one thing. What is the exact mode of control which they want? The other day I was reading a complaint made by a Minister who said that he could not dismiss any public servant. I hope the time will never come when our autocratic or democratic Ministers will find it possible to dismiss public servants at their sweet will and pleasure. You will never get an independent service under those conditions.

And sometimes people talk of control. I do not know exactly what is meant by control. Some witnesses said we cannot dismiss any public servant. I think no time will come for it. I think no Minister will try to dismiss a public servant. You will never get on in that manner. I welcome the adoption of this resolution therefore for these reasons. Place the power of recruitment, appointment and control in the hands of the Government of India and not in the hands of the Secretary of State as is the case at the present moment. I do not wish to say more with regard to this resolution.

I have kept the resolution which I wanted to move for your acceptance till the last moment. Well, I may frankly admit that I am glad that you have adopted this resolution, which I have just been referring to. I am really glad and grateful to you for having passed in the Subjects Committee the resolution which I am now going to ask you to pass openly. It seems to me that if you had done nothing else but prepared the way for the adoption of a resolution like this, you would have justified your assembling this year. At the same time, I approach this resolution with a considerable amount of nervousness, because, as I read it to you, you will find it imposes on my shoulders a burden and responsibility which I honestly feel I am not competent and capable of discharging to your satisfaction. (I am a mere lawyer and accidentally a politician. I am not an organiser. That resolution generally runs thus and I earnestly hope and trust that the Liberal party assembled here and the many more Liberals outside this assembly will read in this resolution an earnest desire on our part to do all that we can to deserve to live.) At any rate it goes to show that at least for the time being we have made up our minds to live. Whether we shall succeed in that resolve remains to be seen. Let us hope and trust that we shall succeed in it and it is in the spirit of hopefulness that I will ask

Concluding
Speech by the
President.

you to approach this resolution and to pass this resolution. Indeed some of our critics may say that the sum provided here is very small. But this is not how I approach the question. I think small though the sum is, it is capable of growing much bigger, if the agency that you are appointing is really earnest about it (Hear, hear). I will now read the resolution :—

Party Organisation.

Resolution XXIV.

Whereas in the opinion of the Federation it is imperatively necessary that effective steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the Liberal Party so as to bring about greater solidarity among its ranks, to extend the scope of its influence and to increase its utility and to carry on an effective propaganda for the early attainment of responsible government and the securing of a status for Indians overseas compatible with India's status as an equal partner of the British Commonwealth, and whereas it is realised that these objects cannot be achieved without first raising a large Party Fund, secondly, without increasing its membership, thirdly, without adopting a definite programme and policy for work, fourthly, without securing public support for that programme and policy and educating the electorates either by speeches or through the Press, English and Vernacular, or by taking other steps that may be necessary, this meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the work of organization should be entrusted to a Committee consisting of :—

- 1 Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D. (Chairman.)
- 2 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
- 3 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye,
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, (Nagpur)
- 5 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; and
- 6 Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. } *Secretaries.*

This meeting further resolves that the gentlemen named above be asked to form themselves into a Committee with power to co-opt such and so many other members of the Party in India as may seem to them necessary.

This meeting directs that the above-named gentlemen shall pay visits to important centres in the country to interview members of the Liberal Party, to address meetings and to take all such other steps as may be necessary for the raising of funds and increasing the membership of the Party and securing support for its programme and policy.

It further directs them to prepare a scheme of work by the members of this Party to be carried on among the electorates and the people at large.

It further directs them to consider the advisability of sending a deputation of two or three members to England at such time as may seem to them proper for securing support there to the programme for further constitutional advance.

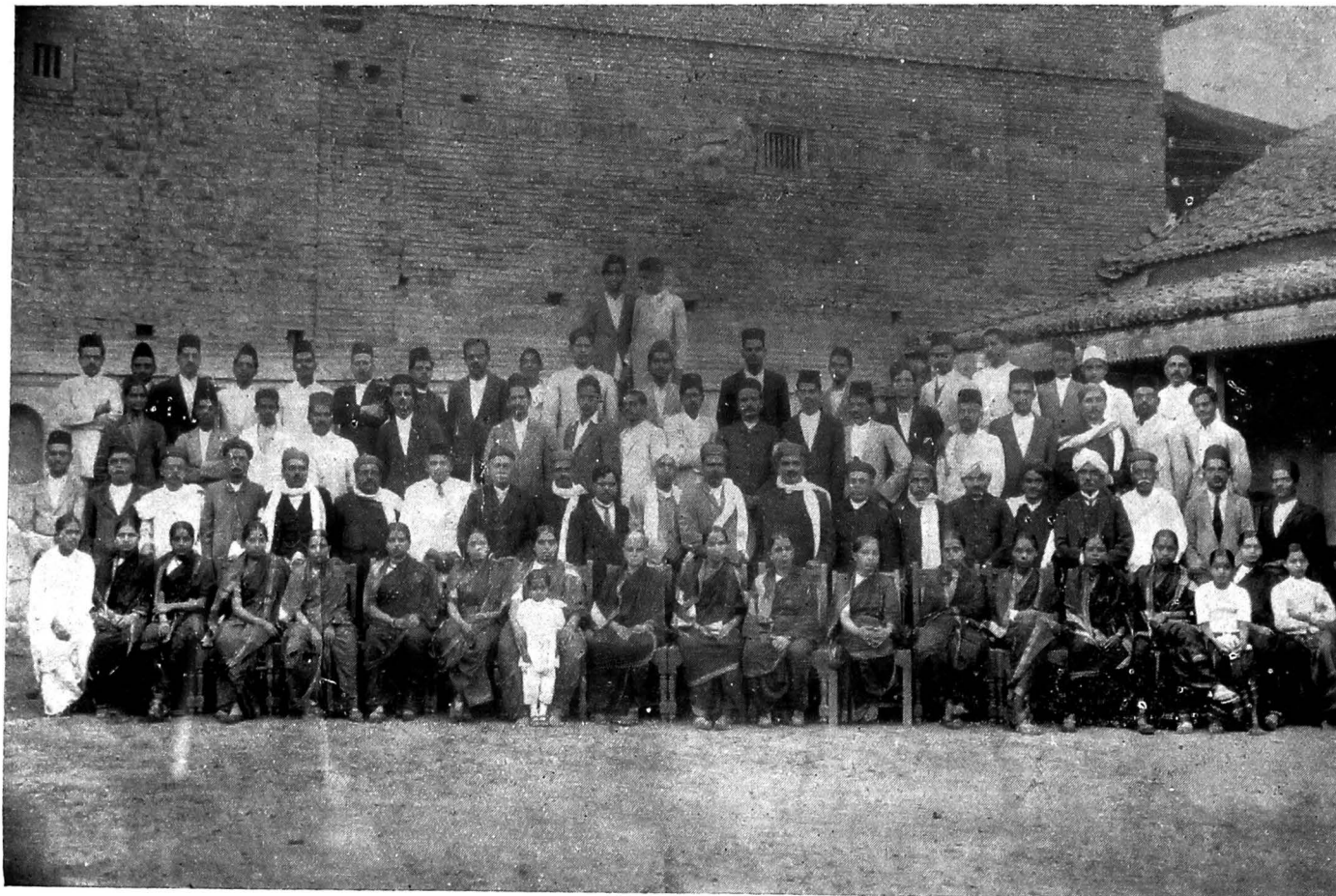
And it further authorises the Committee to take steps for raising Funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the co-operation and support of English politicians and public men. It further directs this Committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May 1924 and in consultation with the Council to arrange for the holding of a special session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

This meeting places a sum of Rs. 10,000 at the disposal of the Organising Committee to enable it to carry on the work indicated above.

The Federation further authorises the Organising Committee to carry on the work of the Council pending its appointment, after which it shall be open to the Council to delegate all or any of its functions to the Organising Committee.

Now, this money is being given to this Committee for the purpose of giving effect to the objects of this resolution. It is to be spent in organizing our forces and in raising funds in various centres. Now, that is the resolution, gentlemen, we have decided to put before you.

VI National Liberal Federation of India, Poona, 1923.



Some of the Workers and Volunteers.

The Right Honourable Mr. Sastri, when speaking of me, said that this resolution was a singular testimony to the confidence that you showed towards me. I accept that assurance and I am rather disposed to treat it as a test than as testimony, and I hope, gentlemen, that in my attempt to carry out the objects of this resolution I shall receive from every single Liberal present here and outside his support and co-operation in an unstinted measure. (Applause). I will beg you all to remember that we have reached really a crisis in our history as a party, and if we are to survive that crisis as a party, let us make an honest attempt to survive. Otherwise let us die a silent death.

Concluding
Speech by the
President.

Gentlemen, I feel that there is no room for despondency. If you feel that our programme is sound, that we mean well to the country, that the line of action which we have hitherto followed has been perfectly genuine, though our Party has not been as active as it may have been, if you also feel that it is our duty to keep into touch with the electorates, that you are willing to put into practice that feeling, then speaking for myself, although I am not prepared to guarantee big audiences or loud ovations in the near future or similar other presents of a different kind and character, I can assure you that in less than two years' time you will again be a competent and powerful factor in the progress of this country. (Applause). Absolutely the first thing is to have confidence in yourself, not to give way to those feelings of pessimism and to imagine that you really are so bad as you are made out to be, but always to hope and believe that you are good and that you may be better in the future. It is in that spirit and in that spirit alone that the Liberal party can hope to face the future and I sincerely hope and trust that it may be given to you all once again to regain the position which was legitimately yours if you have yourselves proved worthy of it.

I must again thank you for the patient and cordial hearing which you have given me. I think I have exceeded your patience. But I cannot close my speech without conveying my own thanks, and associating yourselves also with me in those thanks, to the members of the Reception Committee who have looked after us so generously during these four days and also to our young friends, the volunteers, who have spared no pains in looking after our comforts. And may I also thank the energetic members of the Servants of India Society who have been day in and day out working incessantly for the success of the Federation? I hope, gentlemen, that you will accept this vote of thanks unanimously and so far as this resolution is concerned, I wish you to show your acceptance by raising your hands.

The resolution was then declared carried.

The President : Ladies and gentlemen, I am rather forgetful in this matter that I should not have mentioned the ladies who have added to the success of our Federation. I should have mentioned that before and I must apologise to them for this. But I do think that every one of us feels extremely grateful to the ladies for the interest they have taken in our work and for the encouragement which their presence is certainly giving us during the last three days. I have nothing more to add.

Three cheers for the President, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, were then called and lustily responded to.

The sixth session of the Federation was then dissolved.

Appendix A.

List of Members of the Reception Committee.

Poona City and Cantonment.

- 1 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., Servants of India Society.
- 2 Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, M. C. E., 859, Sadashiv Peth.
- 3 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Fergusson College.
- 4 Mr. B. S. Kamat, Ganeshkhind Road.
- 5 Mr. R. T. Kirtane, B. A., LL. B., P. O. Deccan Gymkhana.
- 6 Rao Bahadur L. J. Apte, B. A., LL. B., Sadashiv Peth.
- 7 Sirdar G. N. Mujumdar, M. L. C., Kasba Peth.
- 8 Sirdar S. C. Mudliar, Raste Peth.
- 9 The late Mr. V. R. Gupte, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Sadashiv Peth.
- 10 Khan Bahadur Dr. E. S. Bharucha, 3, Pyramji Jijibhoy Road.
- 11 Lieut.-Col. K. C. Sanjana, I. M. S., (Retired) 9, Parbat Villas.
- 12 Khan Bahadur M. N. Mehta, 9, Staunton Road.
- 13 Dr. V. C. Gokhale, L. M. & S., Sadashiv Peth.
- 14 Prof. V. B. Naik, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 15 Rao Bahadur V. N. Khopkar, 15, Bombay Road, Kirkee.
- 16 Prof. M. K. Joshi, Fergusson College.
- 17 Prof. N. G. Damle, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 18 Prof. V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., 200 A, Sadashiv Peth.
- 19 Dr. V. B. Gokhale, Amrai Camp.
- 20 Dr. D. H. Kapadia, 12, South Petty Staff Lines.
- 21 Mr. J. K. N. Kabraji, 14, South Petty Staff Lines.
- 22 Rao Bahadur G. V. Joglekar, 204, Shukrawar Peth.
- 23 Dr. D. G. Godbole, M. B. S., 464, Narayan Peth.
- 24 Khan Bahadur Aspandiar Rustom Irani, Sachapir Street.
- 25 Mr. Ibrahim Abdul Kayum, Main Street.
- 26 Dr. V. B. Bapat, B. A., M. B. S., Shanwar Peth.
- 27 Shet Kanayalal Chitarmal, Sachapir Street.
- 28 Mr. Ganulal Dhannulal, Sachapir Street.
- 29 Shet Tuljaram Dhondiram, 361, Centre Street.
- 30 Mr. W. G. Bhagat, 1383, Raviwar Peth.
- 31 Mr. B. N. S. Hasrabudhe, 290, Shanwar Peth.
- 32 Mr. Vishnu Narayan Maval, 578, Kasba Peth.
- 33 Mr. A. A. Bhidey, Tara Mansions, Fergusson College Road.
- 34 Mr. Y. V. Ranade, 101, Shukrawar Peth.
- 35 Prof. M. R. Palande, 576, Budhwar Peth.
- 36 Mr. G. M. Kalabhor, M. L. C., Reay Market.
- 37 Mr. K. B. Kulkarni, Shukrawar Peth.
- 38 Mr. Ramaya Malaya, Main Street.
- 39 Mr. K. N. Raja, Pleader, 735, Shukrawar Peth.
- 40 Mr. G. M. Paraskar, 249, Main Street.
- 41 Mr. S. S. Gaikwad, Post Box No. 38.
- 42 Rao Saheb G. K. Deshpande, Bhamburda.
- 43 Mr. P. R. Naik, 33, Vetel Peth.
- 44 Mr. Ganpat Motiram Naik, 1379, Shukrawar Peth.
- 45 Mr. T. D. Bhut, L. C. E., 432, Narayan Peth.
- 46 Mr. Mohamad Salahuddin, 620, Sachapir Street.
- 47 Mr. Madadeo Baloba Wagh, 645, Budhwar Peth.
- 48 Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Deccan Gymkhana.
- 49 Prof. D. L. Dixit, 109, Shanwar Peth.
- 50 Mr. H. G. Franks, Y. M. C. A. Bungalow, Exhibition Road.
- 51 Mr. A. K. Mudliar, 494, Raste's Peth.
- 52 Dr. G. K. Ranadive, 243, Raste Peth.
- 53 Mr. N. D. Nicholson, 324, Main Street.
- 54 Mr. A. B. Setna, B. A., LL. B., Convent Street.
- 55 Prof. N. G. Suru, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 56 Mr. S. G. Bhat, B. A., LL. B., 487, Narayan Peth.
- 57 Mr. K. G. Limaye, M. A., LL. B., Servants of India Society.
- 58 Mr. K. T. Gupte, M. A., LL. B., 29, Shukrawar Peth.
- 59 Mr. G. V. Gupte, B. A., LL. B., 694, Shukrawar Peth.
- 60 Mr. K. V. Paranjpe, C/o Vishnu Sadashiv & Co.
- 61 Mr. L. R. Kurale, 843, Shukrawar Peth.

- 62 Mr. S. V. Bhide, B. A., 687, Budhwar Peth.
- 63 Mr. B. M. Ruikar, 375, Narayan Peth.
- 64 Mr. Anant Babu Shastri Joshi, 601, Shanwar Peth.
- 65 Mr. K. B. Shinde, 1248, Shukrawar Peth.
- 66 Mr. V. L. Thube, 1247, Shukrawar Peth.
- 67 Mr. Jehangir Pestonji, B. A., LL. B., Sachapir Street.
- 68 Mr. Bomanjee Pestonjee, B. A. LL. B., Sachapir Street.
- 69 Mr. D. V. Velankar, Amrai Camp.
- 70 Mr. B. Chakranarayan, Advocate, Malcolm House.
- 71 Mr. G. B. Garud, B. A., 252, Shukrawar Peth.
- 72 Mr. S. G. Kelkar, B. A., LL. B., 412, Sadashiv Peth.
- 73 Mr. S. A. Manurkar, 1245, Bhawani Peth.
- 74 Mr. J. M. Braganza, 318, Main Street.
- 75 Dr. E. X. Dias, L. M. & S., Main Street.
- 76 Mr. K. J. Sabnis, Photographer, Shukrawar Peth.
- 77 Mr. G. J. Padhye, 528, Sadashiv Peth.
- 78 Mr. A. G. Padhye, B. A., LL. B., 523, Sadashiv Peth.
- 79 Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B. A., Servants of India Society.
- 80 Mr. S. G. Vaze, B. A., Servants of India Society.*
- 81 Mr. V. Venkatsubbaiah, B. A., Servants of India Society.
- 82 Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, Servants of India Society.
- 83 Mr. V. H. Barve, Servants of India Society.
- 84 Mr. N. K. Gokhale, B. A., 51, Budhwar Peth.
- 85 The Late Mr. M. G. Abhyankar, 351, Shukrawar Peth.
- 86 Dr. S. R. Gaikwad, 15, Vetal Peth.
- 87 Mr. V. V. Apte, Sadashiv Peth.
- 88 Mr. G. K. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B., Sadashiv Peth.
- 89 Mr. P. Kodand Rao, Servants of India Society
- 90 Mr. Cawasjee Dhunjeeshaw, 4, Staveley Road.
- 91 Mr. Cawasjee Jamssetjee, East Street.
- 92 Mr. Cawasjee Jijibhoy Shroff, 7, Main Street.
- 93 Mr. J. D. Ghaswalla, B. A., LL. B., West Street.
- 94 Mr. Phirozsha B. Gandevia, 5, Main Street.
- 95 Mr. Meherwanjee Pallonji Frenchman.
- 96 Khan Bahadur M. H. Dastur, Nana's Peth.
- 97 Mr. G. R. Gandhi, Pleader, Sadashiv Peth.
- 98 Mr. L. R. Gokhale, Pleader, Sadashiv Peth.
- 99 Mr. K. M. Bal, Aryabhusan Press.
- 100 Mr. R. Surya Narayan Rau, B. A., Servants of India Society.
- 101 Mr. Ramchandra Bhikaji Joshi, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana.
- 102 Mr. Madhav Ramchandra Joshi, B. A., P. O. Deccan Gymkhana.
- 103 Prof. R. N. Joshi, Fergusson College.
- 104 Mr. V. V. Gole, 202, Shanwar Peth.
- 105 Prof. G. V. Tulpule, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 106 Prof. K. M. Khadye, Fergusson College.
- 107 Prof. V. K. Joag, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 108 Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmulgund, B. A., LL. B., 377, Shanwar.
- 109 Captain N. R. Satpute, L. M. & S., 419, Rawiwar Peth.
- 110 Mr. S. N. Karnataki, 249, Rosta Peth.
- 111 Mr. G. C. Bhat, M. A., LL. B., Budhwar Peth.
- 112 Mr. M. D. Gokhale, M. A., LL. B., Budhwar Peth.
- 113 Sirdar V. G. Hasabnis, Shanwar Peth.
- 114 Mr. K. S. Gupte, Budhwar Peth.
- 115 Mr. N. D. Dange, B. A., LL. B., Budhwar Peth.
- 116 Prof. V. A. Apte, M. A., Fergusson College.
- 117 Prof. D. G. Karve, Fergusson College.
- 118 Mr. W. G. Puranik, 337, Kasba Peth.
- 119 Mr. A. L. Deshpande, Vakil, Kasba Peth.
- 120 Mr. N. G. Virakar, B. A., LL. B., Budhwar Peth.
- 121 Dr. S. G. Nasikkar, M. B. B. S., Rawiwar Peth.
- 122 Dr. B. R. Gune, Budhwar Peth,
- 123 Mr. G. T. Madkholkar, Servants of India Society.
- 124 Mr. G. G. Thakar, B. A., LL. B., Budhwar Peth.
- 125 Mr. S. S. Bodas, B. A., LL. B., Sadashiv Peth.
- 126 Mr. K. M. Chiplunkar, B. A., LL. B., Sadashiv Peth.

*Mr. Vaze was originally appointed one of the Secretaries to the Reception Committee; but on his proceeding to Kenya on the eve of the Federation meetings, his place was taken by Mrs. Kamalabai Gandhi.

- 127 Dr. N. L. Ranade, B. A., M. B. B. S., Sadashiv Peth.
 128 Mr. A. P. Bapat, Book-seller, Budhwar Peth.
 129 Mr. M. H. Deo, B. A., Kasba Peth.
 130 Mr. M. G. Dhaneshwar, Sadashiv Peth.
 131 Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Inamdar, Sadashiv Peth.
 132 Mr. S. G. Gogate, Shanwar Peth.
 133 Prof. T. G. Yeolekar, Fergusson College.
 134 Prof. G. H. Kelkar, Fergusson College.
 135 Dr. K. K. Joshi, M. A. Ph. D. Fergusson College.
 136 Principal K. R. Kanitkar, M. A., B. Sc. Fergusson College.
 137 Prof. A. C. Mukharji, Fergusson College.
 138 Principal N. M. Athavale, M. A., Indian Women's University, Hingne-Budruk.
 139 Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B. A., Bar-at-Law, 580 Sadashiv Peth.
 140 Prof. R. H. Kelkar, Indian Women's University, Hingne-Budruk.
 141 Prof. M. T. Patwardhan, Fergusson College.
 142 Rao Bahadur W. G. Rale, 585, Kasba Peth.
 143 Prof. S. R. Kanitkar, Fergusson College.
 144 Mr. S. Y. Ponshe, M. A., Amrai Camp.
 145 Mr. S. G. Gokhale, B. A., Amrai Camp.
 146 Mr. G. K. Devadbar, M. A., Vice-President, Servants of India Society.
 147 Prof. G. B. Kolhatkar, Fergusson College.
 148 Mr. B. M. Ambekar, 754, Sadashiv Peth.
 149 Mr. D. H. Bhat, High Court Pleader, Sadashiv Peth.
 150 Mr. S. K. Godbole, B. A., LL. B., 859, Sadashiv Peth.
 151 Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Servants of India Society.
 152 Rao Bahadur Hanumantram Rannath, Raviwar Peth.
 153 Rao Saheb Chimanlal Kisandas, Raviwar Peth.
 154 Mr. Ganesh Eknath Wagh, 677, Shukrawar Peth.
 155 Mr. Motilal Ladhaji, 1263, Bhawani Peth.
 156 Mr. Haneraj Hukamchand, 18, Bhawani Peth.
 157 Mr. Haridas Madhavdas, 451, Raviwar Peth.
 158 Mr. Rambhagat Pachhandas, 610, Raviwar Peth.
 159 Mr. Raychand Premchand Gotiwale, Vetal Peth.
 160 Mr. Ranganath Sadashiv Bhagat, 1163, Raviwar Peth.
 161 Mr. Gopaldas Ganpatdas, 610, Vetal Peth.
 162 Mr. Gokuldas Narayandas, 62, Raviwar Peth.
 163 Mr. S. M. Mundhawawalla, Gymkhana Road.
 164 Mr. Rambhau Manohar, 676, Raviwar Peth.
 165 Mr. Manmohandas Vithaldas, 86, Raviwar Peth.
 166 Mr. Lallubhai Damodardas, 167, Vetal Peth.
 167 Mr. V. B. Moodliar, Rasta Peth.
 168 Mr. P. B. Chiplunkar, 27, Somwar Peth.
 169 Mr. K. V. Chiplunkar, 38, Somwar Peth.
 170 Mr. Parmanand Girdharilal, 679, Raviwar Peth.

Lady Members.

- 171 The late Mrs. Ramabai Saheb Ranade, Sadashiv Peth.
 172 Dr. Mrs. Sundrabai Kirtane, L. M. & S., 496 Raste Peth.
 173 Mrs. Anandibai Dhavale, B. A., Amrai Camp.
 174 Mrs. Kamalabai Gandhi, Sadashiv Peth.
 175 Mrs. Laxmibai Gadgil, 583, Sadashiv Peth.
 176 Mrs. Yamunabai Bhat, 580, Sadashiv Peth.
 177 Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan, Narayan Peth.
 178 Mrs. Sundrabai Thakar, Budhwar Peth.
 179 Mrs. Rangubai Gokhale, Sadashiv Peth.
 180 Mrs. Sagunabai Agashe, Shanwar Peth.
 181 Mrs. Tarabai Ranade, 330, Sadashiv Peth.
 182 Mrs. Durgabai Gokhale, Amrai Camp.
 183 Mrs. Radhubai Bhide, 2, Budhwar Peth.
 184 Mrs. Ramabai Shikhare, 431, Narayan Peth.
 185 Mrs. Yamunabai Kamat, Ganeshkblind Road.
 186 Mrs. Draupadibai Chinmulgund, 377, Shanwar Peth.
 187 Mrs. Janakibai Bhat, C/o. The Seva Sadan.
 188 Mr. Umabai Gokhale, 419, Sadashiv Peth.
 189 Mrs. Yashodabai Godbole, 859, Sadashiv Peth.
 190 Mrs. Malatibai Joshi, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana.
 191 Miss Rangubai Ponshe, Amrai Camp.
 192 Mrs. Umabai Sathe, Deccan College, Yerrowda.

Bombay City and Suburbs.

- 193 Sir Hormasji A. Wadia, 37, Marine Lines, Bombay.
 194 Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, Raveline Street, Fort, Bombay.
 195 Sir Gokuldas K. Parekh, Girgaon, Bombay.
 196 Sir Jugmohandas Varjivandas, Kt. Walkeshwar Road, Bombay.
 197 Dewan Bahadur G. S. Rao, Kalbadevi, Bombay.
 198 Mr. J. H. Bhabha, 31, Pedder Road, Bombay.
 199 Mr. H. J. Bhabha, 31, Pedder Road, Bombay.
 200 Mr. N. R. Wadia, 10, Wodehouse Road, Middle Colaba, Bombay.
 201 Major C. Fernandez, M. L. C., Girgaon, Bombay.
 202 Mr. N. M. Samarth, B. A., LL. B., Girgaon, Bombay.
 203 Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M. A., LL. B., 73, Charni Road, Bombay.
 204 Mr. P. K. Khidkikar, Girgaon, Bombay.
 205 Mr. G. M. Gupte, Advocate, Turner Road, Bandra.
 206 Dr. P. N. Daroovala, Bar-at-Law, 14, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.
 207 Mr. V. F. Taraporewalla, Bar-at-law, Chaupaty, Bombay.
 208 Mr. D. R. Vaidya, No. 3, Bell Lane, Fort, Bombay.
 209 The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 210 Mr. R. S. Navalkar, B. A., LL. B., Bombay No. 2.
 211 Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay.
 212 Mr. H. C. Coyajee, Hughes Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay.
 213 Mr. S. G. Velinkar, 1-4, Lamington Road, Bombay.
 214 Mr. Mahomed Hajibboy, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
 215 Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, 20, Bank Street, Bombay.
 216 Mr. S. M. Varde, B. A. LL. B., Girgaon, Bombay.
 217 Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Servants of India Society, Bombay.
 218 Mr. Karam Ali Ebrahim, 167, Khoja Moholla, Bombay.
 219 Mr. G. B. Nare, 957, Cadell Road, Bombay.
 220 Mr. J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., Angre Wadi, Bombay No. 4.
 221 Mr. A. P. Bhate, 388, Girgaon Road, Bombay 2.
 222 Mr. B. M. Sidhaye, Bombay Vaibhav Press, Bombay No. 4.
 223 Mr. V. M. Laud, B. A., LL. B., 18, Kandewadi, Bombay.
 224 Khan Bahadur N. H. Choksy, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.
 225 Mr. P. P. Iyer, C/o. The Times of India, Bombay.
 226 Mr. J. D. Mahlaxmiwalla, C/o The Times of India, Bombay.
 227 Mr. C. Surya Narayan, L. C. E. Welcome Hotel, Girgaon, Bombay.
 228 Mr. S. Y. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B., Girgaon, Bombay.
 229 Mr. B. Y. Dalvi, B. A., 14, Kandewadi, Bombay No. 4.
 230 Mr. V. R. Nerurkar, Urankar's House, Girgaon.
 231 Mr. Y. G. Pandit, Fort, Bombay.
 232 Mr. Vikaji M. Patel, 5, Walkeshwar Road, Chowpaty, Bombay.
 233 Mr. Lakhmsey H. Meisheri, B. A., LL. B. Dhobi Talao, Bombay.
 234 Mr. Nanalal Parbhuram, 1, Gaumdevi, Bombay 7.
 235 Mr. V. N. Naik, M. A., 5, Benham Hall Lane, Girgaon, Bombay.
 236 Mr. Vasanttrao S. Ravut, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
 237 Mr. C. S. Deole, B. A., Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay.
 238 Mr. K. J. Chitalia, Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay.
 239 Mr. G. V. Gadgil, 39, Mohan Building, Girgaon, Bombay.
 240 Mr. G. N. Sahasrabudhe, B. A. Workingmen's Institute, Parel, Bombay.
 241 Mr. N. R. Phatak, Editor, *Indu Prakash*, Bombay No. 2.
 242 Mr. M. D. Altekar, M. A. Haji Cassum Blocks, French Bridge, Bombay No. 7.

Satara District.

- 243 Rao Bahadur M. C. Joshi, Satara.
 244 Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B. A., LL. B. Satara City.
 245 Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B., Satara City.
 246 Mr. S. V. Joshi, Near old Adalat, Satara City.
 247 Prof. P. V. Bapat, M. A., New English School, Satara City.
 248 Prof. V. N. Kumbhare, M. A., New English School, Satara City.
 249 Mr. K. G. Kale, Pleader, Satara City.
 250 Mr. R. V. Pathak, Superintendent, School of Industry, Satara City.
 251 Mr. N. G. Joshi, B. A., LL. B., Satara City.
 252 Mr. V. K. Deshmukh, Inamdar of Kokrud, Kokrud.
 253 Hony. Lieut. Abasaheb H. Khardekar, Ashta.
 254 Mr. D. N. Nabar, Pleader, Satara City.
 255 Mr. S. S. Parulkar, Pleader, Satara City.
 256 Mr. G. S. Athalye, Pleader, Satara City.
 257 Mr. S. M. Patankar, Pleader, P. O. Wai.

- 258 Mr. N. L. Halbe, P. O. Wai.
 259 Mr. G. G. Mankikar, Pleader, P.O. Wai.
 260 Mr. M. G. Khatavkar, Pleader, P.O. Wai.
 261 Shri. N. V. Raddi, Insamdar, P. O. Wai.

Sholapur District.

- 262 Mr. N. O. Limaye, B. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
 263 Dr. V. V. Mulay, Sholapur.
 264 Dr. V. K. Kirloskar, Sholapur.
 265 Mr. K. P. Paranjpye B. A., L. O. B., Old Mill, Sholapur.
 266 Mr. Paudurang Vishnu Phadke, B. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
 267 Mr. Hari Vishnu Kelkar, Pleader, Sholapur.
 268 Dr. S. B. Patankar, L. C. P. S., Mangalwar Peth, Sholapur.
 269 Mr. C. S. Madki, Sholapur.
 270 Mr. G. S. Umbarge, Mangalwar Peth, Sholapur.
 271 Shet Hirachand Nemchand Doshi, Sholapur.
 272 Mr. D. G. Sathe, Kasba Peth, Sholapur.

Ahmednagar District.

- 273 Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, B. A., LL. B., Ahmednagar.
 274 Mr. H. K. Patwardhan, F. T. S., B. A., LL. B., Ahmednagar.
 275 Mr. N. N. Hingne, B. A., LL. B., Ahmednagar.
 276 Mr. H. G. Parkhe, B. A., LL. B., Ahmednagar.
 277 Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, M. A., D. D., Ahmednagar.
 278 Rev. R. S. Modak, Ahmednagar.
 279 Mr. Premeukh Ramdayal Kabare, Ahmednagar.

Nasik District.

- 280 Mr. R. G. Pradhan, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C. Nasik.
 281 Mr. R. G. Kashikar, B. A., LL. B., Malegaon.

West Khandesh District.

- 282 Mr. M. K. Apte, Pleader, Dhulia.
 283 Mr. V. N. Barve, B. A., LL. B., Dhulia.
 284 Mr. S. B. Wadekar, B. A., LL. B., Dhulia.

Caruatac and Southern Mahratta States.

- 285 Principal G. C. Bhatt, M. A., Sangli.
 286 Prof. R. S. Iyer, M. A., Sangli.
 287 Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B., Sangli.
 288 Mr. V. K. Masinkar, B. A., LL. B., Sangli.
 289 Mr. V. G. Karmarkar, Sangli.
 290 Mr. M. B. Marathe, B. A., LL. B., Belgaum.
 291 Mr. K. B. Limaye, Jahagirdar, Bhat Kunki, Via Indi Road, Dist. Bijapur.

Konkan.

- 292 Rao Saheb R. K. Karandikar, President, Taluka Local Board, Chiplun.
 293 Mr. G. C. Bhate, Pleader, Pctt Rohs.

Gujerat.

- 294 Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkantb, B. A., LL. B., Ahmedabad.
 295 Mr. C. M. Gandhi, Pleader, Surat.
 296 Mr. A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E., Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad.

Andhras.

- 297 Mr. V. S. Narain, Kovvali, Ellore Taluk, Krishna District, Madras Presy.

C. P. and Berars.

- 298 The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, D. S. O., Nagpur.
 299 Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoblay, Nagpur.
 300 Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, Bar-at-Law, Nagpur.
 301 Mr. R. B. Jayawant, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Nagpur.
 302 Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, B. A., LL. B., Akola.

Appendix B,

List of Delegates.

Bombay Presidency.

- 1 Prof. S. B. Bondale, M. A., Sangli.
- 2 Prof. H. R. Divekar, M. A., Indian Women's University, Hingne-Budruk.
- 3 Mrs. Gangabai Joag, 19, Shukrawar Peth, Poona City.
- 4 Mrs. Pilutai Abhyankar, Poona.
- 5 Mr. D. R. Valimbe, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Karad.
- 6 Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, B. A., Nasik.
- 7 Mr. Nadir F. M. Garda, B. A., 6, Colaba Causeway, Fort, Bombay.
- 8 Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Ahmedabad.
- 9 Mr. C. D. Mehta, High Court Vakil, Bombay.
- 10 Mr. D. R. Mitra, Editor, *Manoranjan*, Bombay.
- 11 Mr. Ramchandra Tukaram Wayal, Poona.
- 12 Mr. A. N. Nadgauda, B. Sc., Teacher, Belgaum.
- 13 Mr. B. P. Nadgauda, Landholder, Helkarni-Chandgad.
- 14 Mr. G. V. Rahurkar, Electrical and Mechanical Engineer, Poona.
- 15 Mr. S. Y. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B., Girgaon, Bombay.
- 16 Mr. M. K. Apte, Pleader, Dhulia.
- 17 Mr. Baburao R. Ransing, B. A., LL. B., Dhulia.
- 18 Mr. S. B. Wadekar, B. A., LL. B., Pleader Dhulia.
- 19 Mr. Kashinathrao Vaidya, M. A., LL. B., Pleader, Hyderabad (Deccan.).
- 20 Mr. V. N. Barve, B. A., LL. B., Dhulia.
- 21 Mrs. Kashibai Devadhar, 423, Narayan Peth, Poona.
- 22 Mrs. Labanibai Pradhan, 'Parnakuti', Yerrowda.
- 23 Mr. A. K. Sethna, Bar-at Law, Ahmedabad.
- 24 Khan Bahadur Dr. B. H. Nanavati, F. B. C. S., Ahmedabad.
- 25 Mr. H. P. Chahewalla, B. A., LL. B., Ahmedabad.
- 26 Mr. H. K. Bhatt, Editor, *Gujarat Vartaman and Kathiawar Samachar*, Ahmedabad.
- 27 Mr. N. A. Vakil, Editor, *Political Bhomio*, Ahmedabad.
- 28 Mr. Ramchandra Malhari Shinde, Satara.
- 29 Mr. Shankar Degadappa Lakhapati, Satara.
- 30 Mr. Sadashiv Vasudeo Gune, Inamdar, Bhilawadi.
- 31 Mr. Ramchandra Avadbutrao Patil, Yelavi.
- 32 Mr. Govind Narayan Sutar, Yelavi.
- 33 Mr. Dattajirao Balwantrav Patil, Bhilavadi.
- 34 Mr. Shikandarlal Atar, Editor, *Islam Dharna*, Bhilawadi.
- 35 Mr. Shankarrao Ehaurso Nimbalkar, Satara.
- 36 Mr. Mahibookkhan Ahmedkhan Pathan, Vagholi.
- 37 Mr. Anna Daji Bahirat, Pimpode Budruk.
- 38 Mr. Bhaskar Bahirao Kulkarni, Pimpode Budruk.
- 39 Mr. Narayan Vithuji Sulake, Pimpode Budruk.
- 40 Mr. Subhanrao Laxman Nikam, Pimpode Budruk.
- 41 Mr. Ramkrishna Nagesh Abhyankar, Satara.
- 42 Mr. Ganesh Abant Shahane, Inamdar, Chafal.
- 43 Mr. Maruti Manyaba Chaukwale, Satara.
- 44 Mr. G. K. Tatake, Pat n.
- 45 Mr. P. M. Bhide, High Court Vakil, Satara.
- 46 Mr. B. S. Brahme B. A., LL. B., Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
- 47 Mr. P. S. Patankar, B. A., LL. B., Shukrawar Peth, Poona.
- 48 Mr. M. V. Sane, Narayan Peth, Poona.
- 49 Mr. K. S. Nagarkar, B. A., LL. B., Ganesh Peth, Poona.
- 50 Capt. Dr. J. E. Frenclman, M. B. B. S., Sachapir Street, Poona.
- 51 Mr. Govind Krishna Phadnis, Landlord, Dabhol.
- 52 Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar, B. A., (Eom.), S. T. C. D., M. A., (U. S. A.), Superintendent, N. D. T. Kanya Shale, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
- 53 Mr. Y. R. Godse, Shukrawar Peth, Poona.
- 54 Mr. R. S. Sule, Pleader, Shukrawar Peth Poona.
- 55 Mr. B. G. Jagtap, B. A., Shukrawar Peth, Poona.
- 56 Mr. M. S. Mulay, Ahmednagar.
- 57 Mr. S. E. Dhumma, Pleader, Sholapur.
- 58 Mr. N. R. Godbole, B. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
- 59 Mr. G. R. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B., Sholapur.

- 60 Mr. D. M. Ghate, Jahagirdar, Pleader, Barsi.
- 61 Mrs. Ramabai Apte, Anandashram, Poona.
- 62 Dr. S. V. Kirtane, L. M. & S., Rasta Peth, Poona.
- 63 Prof. V. N. Godbole, M. A., Landlord, Poona.
- 64 Mr. N. L. Ranade, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Ahmednagar.
- 65 Mr. Vinayak S. Modak, Ahmednagar.
- 66 Dr. H. K. Ranade, L. M. & S., Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
- 67 Mr. Rajaram Narayan Rajadnya, Aitavada.

Madras.

- 68 Hon'ble Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, B. A., B. L., Mylapore, Madras.
- 69 Hon'ble Mr. G. A. Natesan, B. A., Editor, *Indian Review*, Madras.
- 70 Mr. Kolanthawelu Mudliar, Merchant, Madras.
- 71 Mr. G. Sarvothama Rao, Head-Master, Native High School, Calicut.
- 72 Mr. M. S. Ekambara Rao, Kodialbail, Mangalore.
- 73 Mr. M. S. Madhava Rao, Calicut.

U. P.

- 74 Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Supru, K. C. S. I., LL. D., Allahabad.
- 75 Mr. A. P. Sen, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
- 76 Rai Braj Narayan Gurtu, M. A., Vakil, High Court, Cawnpore.
- 77 Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, B. A., LL. B., Editor, *Leader*, Allahabad.
- 78 Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, B. A., Servants of India Society, Lucknow.
- 79 Mr. A. Hoon, Cawnpore.
- 80 Mr. Mahipat Ram Nagar, B. A., Journalist, Benares.
- 81 Pandit Bishwa Nath Tholal, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, High Court, 131, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
- 82 R. S. Gopal Das Sharma, B. A., LL. B., Vakil, Orai.
- 83 Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, M. A., LL. B., Bar-at-Law, 9, Albert Road, Allahabad.
- 84 Mr. Kamala Kanta Verma, B. A., LL. B., 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

C. P. and Berars.

- 85 Rao Bahadur B. R. Landge, Landlord, Yeotmal.
- 86 Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C. I. E., B. A., LL. B., Akola.
- 87 Mr. N. A. Dravid, M. A., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
- 88 Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Merchant, Yeotmal.
- 89 Mr. R. K. Thombre, B. A., LL. B., Akola.
- 90 Mr. T. R. Gadre, B. A., LL. B., Akola.
- 91 Mr. V. K. Rajwade, M. A., LL. B., Akola.

Punjab.

- 92 Pandit Hardatta Sharma, B. A., LL. B., Servants of India Society, Kartarpur.

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