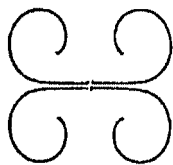


REPORT  
OF  
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THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SEVENTH SESSION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA  
HELD AT LUCKNOW

On the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1924.



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## THE SEVENTH SESSION

OF THE

# National Liberal Federation of India

HELD AT LUCKNOW,

*On the 26th, 27th and 28th December, 1924.*

### First Day's Proceedings.

The seventh session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced in the Rifah-i-Am Hall, Lucknow, on Friday, the 26th December, 1924, at 12 noon amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The spacious hall where the Federation held its sittings was artistically and tastefully decorated with flags, festoons and evergreens. Portraits of national leaders like Dadabhoj Naoroji, Gokhale, Ganga Prasad Varma and others adorned the hall and inspiring national mottoes like "Swaraj the Birthright", "India for Indians", "India first and India last" "Good Government is no substitute for Self-Government", "No alternative to Constitutionalism", "Determination is Achievement", "Support Home Industries", "Uplift the Masses" etc., prominently met the eye on every side of the hall. A special feature of this year's Federation was the presence of a large number of ladies and a good number of Kisans who were cheered as they entered the hall.

The President-elect, on arrival, was received at the entrance to the hall by the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Mr. A. P. Sen), and the members of the Reception Committee and ex-President of the previous sessions of the Federation like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and other prominent Liberal leaders like Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Sir Provash Chunder Mitter, Pandit Jagat Narain, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and Mr. N. M. Joshi.

A procession was then formed, led by boy scouts and girl guides and the president was lustily cheered as he entered the hall. The president was then conducted to the dais, where he occupied a seat by the side of Mr. A. P. Sen, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Among those noticed on the dais were :—

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Provash Chunder Mitter, Pandit Jagat Narain, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Kazi Kabiruddin, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. and Mrs. V. K. Mainker, Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram, Prof. Bhanu Jayavant, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Mr. V. K. Joag, Mr. K. R. Kanitkar, Dr. K. K. Joshi, Prof. N. G. Saru of Poona Fergusson College, Prof. S. R. Kanitkar, Mr. and Mrs. G. K. Gadgil, Mr. M. D. Altekar, Mr. S. G. Vaze, Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Mr. N. V. Deshpande, Mr. V. N. Kumbhara of Satara, Thakur Hanuman Singh, Babu Durga Charan Banerji, Thakur Mashal Singh, Pandit Gokaranath Misra, Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, Munshi Gulzarilal, Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, Lala Behari Lal, Babu Kampta Prasad Kakkar, Pandit Brij Narain Gurtu, Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru and Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of Vande Mataram and other national songs by ladies. Mr. D. L. Roy, a famous musician of Calcutta, followed with another melodious national song in Urdu which was much appreciated.

**Chairman's Speech.**

Mr. A. P. Sen, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then rose amidst cheers and delivered the following welcome address :—

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen :— At this time last year it was my privilege to invite the seventh session of the All-India National Federation to Lucknow ; and in doing so I promised you a warm welcome. I am here today to honour that pledge on behalf of the Reception Committee. It is obvious that by my promise I could not have intended the warmth of the weather, but allow us to make up for the coldness of the climate, for the imperfections of our arrangements, by the warmth of our hearts and the cordiality of our greetings. The Reception Committee warmly welcomes you to this historic city of Lucknow, which traces its name to Lakshmana, the saintly brother of Sri Ram Chandra, a city which was at one time, and I hope still is, the centre of the Garden of India.

As it is customary for the chairman of the Reception Committee to offer a few observations on the present situation, I will be pardoned if I inflict on you a few brief remarks.

I cannot proceed without alluding to the melancholy event of the premature death of Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, than whom India had no more faithful friend, and who sacrificed his great political career at the altar of India ; and who knows, but for this sacrifice his valuable life might yet have been spared to us. In the course of this year we have had to record other sad losses of such eminent men as Dr. Subramania Iyer, whose profound scholarship and juristic attainments were only matched by his robust patriotism ; Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, who was one of our foremost public men and who rose to the eminence of a President of the Indian National Congress. I cannot forget that India is poorer today by the death of two other most distinguished scholars and patriots. I mean the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji and Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. We also mourn the loss of the revered mother of Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mohammad Ali, whose love of her country was even greater than her great love for her children.

**Our Party and Unity.**

In appearing before this assembly of Liberals, the first question that naturally presents itself is : what is the position of the Liberal Party today ? Where do we stand ? It is gratifying to find that in spite of a certain amount of nervousness on the part of some of us, in spite of reckless prophecies of others, the Liberal Party still stands. I am happy that our party has successfully survived storms of ridicule and popular prejudices. True, our party has made little or no advance in numbers, but I venture to think that our aim and our policy stand vindicated. The new party of the Congress known as the Swaraj party has virtually come back to the method of political work for which we had been condemned, I mean the constitutional method. We had been severely taken to task for our opposition to non-cooperation, for our advocacy of entry into Councils. Can it be denied that experience has proved that we were right ? Though our party is even today a party of minority, it is no small gain that our aim and our programme have received assent from unexpected quarters ; and I trust we will soon recover lost ground.

**Unity of Parties.**

It is indeed a happy sign that there is a general desire in the country that all political parties should come together. In the present state of our country's affairs it is of supreme importance that we should present a united front against the advancing forces of reaction and repression. A common field for concerted action is a necessity, and is the desire of all parties. Our acknowledgments are due to our friends of the Congress who invited the leaders of the Liberal Party to the All-Parties Conference at Bombay and requested them to hold this year's session of the Liberal Federation at



Belgaum. We regret for practical reasons we could not accede to that request. We thoroughly appreciate what is more than a friendly gesture, what I consider to be their earnest desire that the Liberal Party should once again meet on the common platform of the Congress. It is, however, frankly recognised that unless we are agreed on the vital question of the Congress creed and of the Congress franchise and a few other matters of principle, it is not practicable to merge all parties into one. What is feasible at the present moment is unity of demands from different organizations. It is essential that mutual recriminations between different parties should cease; that as often as is possible there should be cooperation between them; that as often as we can arrange all parties should meet in friendly deliberation and make joint representations on matters on which they are of one mind. Points of agreements are not few. They are of a radical character.

There is no party of any importance that would reject the goal of Swaraj within the Empire; nearly all parties will be satisfied with complete provincial autonomy and substantial responsibility in the Central Government as the next step forward. Most parties today are in favour of constitutional action. They are agreed that communal feud is fatal to our progress; that no efforts should be spared to bring about real fraternal feelings among communities that profess different faiths; that untouchability is an offence against civilization and humanity and that prompt steps should be taken to purge the Hindu social system of this peril. None will deny that revival of our cottage industries and encouragement and preference of Indian manufactures is a great economic necessity. Indeed, we all believe that Swadeshi is the precursor of Swaraj. In these and other matters of dominating importance, we can seek common action. If different parties and different organizations must exist for the present, let them exist as members of a common fraternity. Let them not waste their energy in the unseemly game of mutual fault-finding. We have enough common difficulties and common dangers to absorb every particle of our energy and every moment of our attention. If identity is not possible, let there be unity.

### Reforms.

As regards further advance in constitutional reform, I have to confess that the outlook is very gloomy. Now that the German menace is a thing of the past, that the spread of Bolshevism has met with a definite check, that the powers of Europe are engrossed in their own troubles, that world opinion no longer demands a high moral standard of government, militant imperialism has again found its opportunity. Those lofty notes of human liberty and racial equality, which we used to hear so often a few years ago, are hushed. In England, with the exit of the Labour Government and the triumphant entry of the Tory party, our prospects have become distinctly darker. We have been warned by Lord Birkenhead that further reforms are not to be expected in the near future and that the only thing that has to be expected almost immediately is the acceptance of the recommendations of the Lee Commission for making the European services more attractive and more lucrative and for making the "steel frame" stiffer and stronger, imposing as a consequence a further burden of over a crore of rupees per annum on the poor tax-payers of this country. And this declaration of the Secretary of State for India is in open contempt of the resolutions of the Indian Legislatures and of public bodies outside.

It is a matter of deep disappointment that even Mr. Thomas, a Labour Minister, refused to undo the Kenya wrong, though, while in Opposition, responsible Labour leaders in the House of Commons promised to revise the Kenya settlement and to do justice to India. In India, the dejected bureaucracy has once again been heartened by the lifting of the atmosphere of democracy, by the advent into power of the party of vested privileges, by the practical disappearance of non-cooperation, and by our own self-destructive communal strifes.

It is worthy of note, however, that the demands of the Liberal Party for further reforms do not materially differ from those of other political

parties in India ; and all are more or less agreed that complete provincial autonomy, responsibility in the civil departments of the Central Government, substantial Indianization of civil and military services, with the consequent reduction of expenditure, will meet the needs of the present situation. I am aware that our European fellow-subjects do not see eye to eye with us in this matter. They do not recognise the justice of our claims. But one thing is certain : that Indian India speaks with one voice in asking that further and substantial advance should be made towards self-government without delay.

It is highly significant that before the Reforms Enquiry Committee all the Indian ex-Ministers, except perhaps one, and even Indian Executive-Councillors, have given their verdict against the continuance of diarchy and have demanded complete responsibility in the provincial administration and substantial responsibility in the administration of the Central Government. It is not denied that these Ministers and Councillors accepted office with a genuine desire to work in a spirit of cooperation and with a determination to work the reforms successfully. Practical experience has, however, disappointed them, and has brought an unshakable conviction in their minds that diarchy is unworkable, at any rate in the atmosphere that prevails. In this connection I must pay my tribute to the brilliant and convincing presentation of the popular demand by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Lala Harkishen Lal, and the valuable evidence of Sir P. C. Mitter and Mr. Chitnavis.

It is a curious phenomenon that some of those who condemned diarchy when it was first introduced are today staunchly supporting it. May it be that this change of conviction is due to the fear that the other alternative is a further constitutional advance which is bound to prejudice vested interests ?

I do frankly admit that if further reforms are delayed the people of India cannot altogether be absolved from blame. At this critical moment of our national history, when all races, creeds and communities should sink their differences and join hands in their efforts to attain Swaraj, there has been an ugly recrudescence of religious and communal disturbances. I am not one of those who would throw the responsibility for these outbursts of fanaticism on the shoulders of others. Even if there be any truth in the assertion which is made in certain quarters, that these troubles are secretly encouraged by some persons interested in retarding our progress, surely ours is the discredit for being led by the nose and for being so foolish as not to see wherein lies our real advantage. Let us cease to accuse others where ours is the paramount responsibility. It is almost heartrending to think that just at a time when forces of reaction are arrayed against the forces of progress, we should ourselves weaken our ranks by internal differences and afford a fresh weapon to those who are concerned in baffling us. It is being repeatedly pointed out that while these communal troubles exist, the maintenance of a neutral party in power is inevitable. We are constantly reminded that if European control was removed we would at once fly at the throat of one another and civil strife would demonstrate our utter inability to govern ourselves.

I maintain that a great many of the causes of communal and religious dissensions would be removed if a better sense of responsibility and of national interests were developed in us ; and I further contend that this sense could best be developed by the establishment of self-governing institutions in this country. We would then best understand that in orderly and peaceful progress lies our salvation, that unless we live in amity, all communities will suffer alike ; that a few more official appointments and a few more seats in popular bodies assured for any particular community is not of the slightest gain in the true interests of the country. Self-Government, I firmly believe, will give us a wider, a more national, and a more altruistic outlook.

It is a truth of universal acceptance that fanaticism and religious feud thrive on ignorance. Now, whatever advantages may be claimed for our British connection, it has to be admitted that a serious attempt to remove mass ignorance is not one of them. On the contrary, Indians rightly think that education of the masses, which is a paramount obligation of all civilized States, has been grievously, if not deliberately, neglected under the British rule. While the people's money is being lavishly spent on purposes intended mainly to maintain and perpetuate British authority, paucity of finance is constantly pleaded as an excuse for inadequate provisions for the uplift of the illiterate populace. I claim that when India will have self-rule, far better attention and a much larger share of the public revenue will be devoted to the removing of the appalling illiteracy and ignorance of our people. I am convinced that with the spread of education, some of the causes which contribute to religious friction and social jealousies will disappear. Hankering after Government appointments is another potent cause of communal bickerings. Had the State made ample arrangements for technical, industrial and commercial training of the educated classes much of this hankering would have ceased. If we have our administration and our revenues in our own hands I am certain provisions would be made to open fresh avenues of occupation to the Indian youth, and another cause of communal trouble would go. In South Africa the British and the Boers were foes ; there self-government did not wait until they lovingly embraced each other. It is self-government which has brought about a fraternal understanding between them. In Canada the French were hostile to the British. It is self-government which has improved their relations. Thus, delay in self-government cannot be justified on the ground of our communal differences.

In the very interests of harmony and friendly feelings amongst the varied races and communities in India, self-government is a supreme necessity.

### Reforms Inquiry Committee.

I do not know what treasures are hidden in the undisclosed report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee, but, if indications are a safe guide, we need entertain no high hopes about the result of this inquiry. From the character of the cross-examination of the witnesses by the European and Indian members of the committee, it appears to be fairly certain that of the two anticipated reports, one would urge further and substantial progress, the other would urge the maintenance of the *status quo ante*, and would perhaps suggest slight repairs in the damaged parts of the condemned machinery of diarchy. We all noticed with regret that the official and non-official European members of the committee treated with encouragement the evidence of reactionaries and inactionaries, and treated the witnesses of progressive views as if they were hostile. In view of all this, and the declaration of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, I very much fear that the labour of the Reforms Inquiry Committee will not advance the cause of further reforms. We have to be prepared for the worst and set about our task accordingly.

### The Bengal Regulations.

Lately the country has been deeply stirred by the promulgation of the Bengal Regulations with the sanction of the Viceroy's Ordinance. They are meant to meet the menace of anarchy in Bengal. There is no one amongst us Liberals who has even a lurking sympathy with revolutionary activities and every legitimate and effective measure calculated to root out this evil from our country has our firmest support. If, therefore, we oppose or criticise the action of the Governor of Bengal and of the Viceroy, we do so because, in our opinion, they are more fruitful of harm than of good, and because they have been resorted to in defiance of the claims of popular assemblies to be consulted before such extraordinary weapons of repression are employed.

To accuse a respected citizen as a revolutionary, to take away his liberty without a trial and without even an opportunity of defence, is the very negation

of justice. I strongly maintain that to enforce Regulation III of 1818 against gentleman of the status of Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose is a travesty of the purpose for which the Regulation was intended. If the materials placed before the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal have satisfied them that the persons, against whom the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation of 192 and Regulation III of 1818 have been applied, are really associated with the revolutionary movement, then they should have no reasonable hesitancy to take the legislative bodies into confidence and to place those materials before an independent tribunal for their impartial scrutiny. A more or less free hand to the executive authorities and the police to restrain the personal freedom of citizens, however respectable, is open to gravest abuse.

And besides, such measures, that have well been characterised as "lawless laws", which defy the safeguard of judicial enquiry and the protection of Habeas Corpus, are but of temporary effect; they do not cure the malady which we are all anxious to eradicate. Repression did not succeed in Ireland; it will not succeed in Egypt; it will not succeed in India. It is substantial reforms that will cure the disease, and not repression or reaction. He is a poor statesman whose only concern is to hunt out the revolutionaries even at the risk of punishing the innocent, but who is indifferent to the causes that provoke revolutionary crimes. If you do not remove the motive for anarchy, you cannot kill it. It will appear and reappear like the poisonous weed of which the stems and branches only are removed, but of which the roots lie secretly buried underground, receiving sustenance from the moisture within.

In the Unity Conference at Bombay, Mr. Chintamani, one of our foremost leaders, very ably and forcibly presented the views of many of us of the Liberal Party on this question; and I for one am prepared to endorse every word of what he said.

### Hindu-Muslim Tension.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would desist from elaborating upon the very unfortunate Hindu-Muslim tension which disfigures our national life and is a perpetual menace to our national progress. I personally hold very radical views on this problem. I am convinced that unless there is a fundamental change in the religious and social outlook of the two communities real unity of hearts cannot be reached. As long as religious intolerance and social prejudices widely divide the two communities, real fraternal feelings cannot be obtained. We must remember that the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man is at the base of all faiths. There is not one Christian God, or a Mahomedan God, or a Hindu God. We are all children of the same Father. I am forcibly reminded of the beautiful lines of Abul Fazl, "O God, in every temple I see people that see Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee. Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee. Each religion says: Thou art one, without equal." It is only when we realize the fundamental unity of all faiths that the clash of creed will be banished from this land of multifarious religions and social systems.

We have all been profoundly impressed by the noble spectacle of the vicarious penance which Mahatma Gandhi imposed on himself to bring the two erring communities to their senses. It is a matter of sorrow and shame that his self-inflicted suffering has not had the effect which we all looked for. The Unity Conference of Delhi, however, has not been altogether fruitless. It has certainly created a more favourable atmosphere for mutual settlement of disputes; and, what is more, the conference has enunciated for our guidance the unimpeachable principle of perfect religious liberty and friendly mutual accommodation. Harmony can be achieved only if we keep this vital principle steadily in view. I was very much touched by the manner in which the Mahatma broke his fast amidst the solemn prayers of Christian, Muslim and Hindu faiths. In this Mahatma Gandhi has given a most lofty demonstration of the catholicity of his mind and the piety of his soul. We are all deeply grateful to Mr. Mohamed Ali for bringing together Indians and

Europeans, and members of all political parties and religious creeds to find a real solution of our communal troubles. I devoutly hope that before long all the communal disputes will be composed and before long a permanent remedy will be found for this evil which stands between us and our destiny.

### **Work before the Liberal Party.**

Fellow-Liberals, let me make an appeal to you before I conclude. The task before us is not an easy one. We have ranged against us forces that are daily gathering strength, while we are ourselves being torn by internal dissensions. At this crisis of our national history there is need for strenuous labour on the part of the Liberal Party. Let not our numerical weakness deject us. Let us be buoyed up by the hope of the ultimate triumph of our policy and our programme. There is already a change in the angle of vision among the leaders of public opinion. The atmosphere is today more favourable to Liberal propaganda. Our destiny demands that Liberal workers should come forward and take the field in the great battle that is before us. We cannot afford to relax our vigilance and energy. Liberals who have faith in their creeds and whose torch of patriotism still burns within them, must come forward to take their place in the front rank of the army of patriots engaged in the battle of national freedom.

But what, to my mind, is far more pressing at the present moment is the work of our national reconstruction; the task of building our strength from within. Our foes within are even stronger than our foes outside. Ignorance and poverty have rendered our masses unutterably helpless. Communal dissensions divide us; the canker of untouchability still eats into the vitals of the Hindu society; our economic slavery is worse than our political subjection. The Liberal Party must therefore incessantly labour in the cause of the educational, social and economic uplift of our masses. The work in the villages for the betterment of the lives of the poor agriculturists and artisans should engage our special attention. Let us organize a band of political missionaries who will selflessly work amongst the villagers for their advancement. Let the members of our party bend all their efforts to the task of removing the social evil of untouchability. Let us demonstrate in our lives and by our action that we will not tolerate this iniquitous social savagery. Let us seriously undertake the duty of removing the causes that divide communities and creeds into opposing factions. Let Hindu-Muslim unity be the special mission of our lives. Let us seek to banish race hatred and class jealousies from the land. Let the revival of the lost industries of India be our special care. Work of a purely political nature alone should not absorb all our attention and energies. The work of social and economic reform demands our devoted efforts. If political agitation is carried on outside simultaneously with nation-building efforts within, we will be in a far better position to combat the forces that are arrayed against us. Whenever nation-building work has to be done, let us, Liberals, be there. Let us labour with trust in Providence and with faith in ourselves; and I am confident we will reach our goal sooner than we imagine.

Let me, ladies and gentlemen, again extend to you our warmest greetings and invite you to formally elect your President and proceed with the deliberations of this assembly, on which I invoke the blessings of God and of our Motherland.

### **ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.**

#### **Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.**

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru moved the election of Dr. Paranjpye as President. In doing so he said:—

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to put forward before you the proposition about the election of the President of this session of the Liberal Federation. I do so with great pleasure. In commending this proposition to your acceptance I hardly think it is necessary for me to detain you by telling you at

any length all that I know about Dr. Paranjpye. I do not know what your feelings as youngmen were towards mathematics, but I can tell you what my feelings were. (Laughter.) And yet, as an Indian, who must feel proud of the achievement of any other Indian in any field of intellectual activity, particularly in Europe, I must share the pride of many of you in reminding you that Dr. Paranjpye was in his younger days a Senior Wrangler of Cambridge. But better than his devotion to mathematics, has been his devotion to his motherland. (Hear, hear.) Having returned with a future which lay before him in any walk of life, he took the vow of poverty and joined that noble band of self-sacrificing Indians in Poona who have shed lustre upon Indian name in so many walks of life. (Hear, hear.) For years past, I should think for the last twenty years, he has guided the destinies of one of the most flourishing and successful colleges in India—I refer to the Fergusson College. He has been identified with activities in every department of life in the Bombay Presidency and during the last few years he has shown what a splendid politician he is by working as a Minister in the Bombay Government.

It has been my privilege during the last few months to have been associated with him on a committee to which reference was made by the chairman of the reception committee this afternoon. I shall not divulge any secrets, but this I shall venture to say, that a more loyal colleague than Dr. Paranjpye it seldom has been my fortune to be associated with, in official or non-official life. Wise in counsel, a man with considerable experience of the practical affairs of life, with boundless faith in the destiny of this country, I think you could not have made a better selection at this particular juncture, when you require, in the midst of such terrible confusion in the country, a clear guidance and a clear lead. I venture to hope that when you have read that admirable address which we are all expecting to hear, you will feel with me that he has given us the benefit of his wise advice and clear lead. With these few words I commend this proposition about the election of Dr. Paranjpye to your unanimous acceptance. (Cheers.)

#### Sir Provash Chunder Mitter.

Sir Provash Chunder Mitter (Bengal), in seconding the proposition, said :—

Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasure, and may I add, my privilege, to be associated with the proposition before you. We all know Dr. Paranjpye. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has placed before you, in a few well chosen words, how from the time when he started life as a student, he held the good name of India before England and the world. I will not repeat what Sir Tej Bahadur has said. But may I add that throughout his long and strenuous public life, throughout his long and strenuous educational activities, he has shown what a true Liberal ought to be? (Hear, hear.) It is his day-to-day work, it is self-sacrifice covering over years and years of his life, that has endeared him to us all, irrespective of party, creed or community. (Hear, hear.) It is there, gentlemen, that I claim him to be a true Liberal, claim his superiority over others, though others are equally patriotic, perhaps more patriotic in the intensity of idealism, in the enthusiasm for the national cause, in the self-abandonment for the national goal. They perhaps may raise pictures which the more practical Liberal in his day-to-day work may not be able to raise. Dr. Paranjpye in his public life as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, as Minister to the Government of Bombay, in times of great trial and financial stress, has shown that an Indian is capable of discharging his duties under very difficult circumstances. As a member of the Reforms Committee, where I had the good fortune of appearing before him as a witness, he has shown how to conduct himself in the best interests of the country with justice to all and liberty to everybody. In the self-imposed task which he has before him today as a member of the Indian Taxation Committee, he has demonstrated that he is willing to do his little bit for the good of his motherland. We could not have a better President than Dr. Paranjpye and I do not think any lengthy remarks are needed from me to commend this proposition to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

**Kazi Kabiruddin.**

Kazi Kabiruddin (Bombay), in supporting the proposition, said:—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition that has just been placed before you by two most eminent speakers present in this hall. You have heard about the brilliant educational career of your would-be President, Dr. Paranjpye. You have heard the brilliant political work that he has done, and I am sure it could not have been testified to by a more eminent person than by our friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. There only remains one thing for me to add. Apart from his brilliant career which Dr. Paranjpye has had, he is one of the foremost social reformers not only in Bombay but throughout India. He is following that brilliant work, most useful work, that was started by the late Justice Ranade and other social workers, and he is doing his best to bring about and create unity and amity among different communities that is most needed at present in India. (Cheers.)

Dr. Paranjpye, President-elect, was then installed in the Presidential chair and garlanded amidst cheers.

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.**

The President, who on rising was received with tremendous ovation, then delivered the following address:—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to the Reception Committee and to the Liberal organisations in the country who have called upon me to preside at this meeting of the Federation. When I consider who have before me occupied this chair, I realise my unworthiness to occupy it. It was, however, impossible to decline the call of so many of my Liberal friends, and I trust you will excuse my imperfections with your usual nobility and good will.

Lucknow was practically the last place at which a real Congress under its old traditions met in 1916. The party that had nearly wrecked the Congress at Surat was finally admitted as the result of the Bombay Congress and actually came in at Lucknow. The party that came in the mood of suppliants soon got possession of the whole organisation and all the sanity, balance and reasonableness of the old Congress disappeared. The ship of the Congress tossed about rudderless hither and thither, now going in for a programme of non-co-operation, now for a so-called constructive programme, and then again for a combination of both. The old leaders, including almost all its ex-presidents, found themselves unable to follow these repeated twists and turns and the Congress was left to pursue its stormy career under the guidance of Mahatmas and Maulanas, rather than of statesmen, politicians, and experienced administrators. The old Congressmen, however, formed themselves into another body which here meets in its annual session to day. Since the Congress met here last, the political situation in India has immensely altered. The world war which was raging fiercely then has terminated, leaving deep traces on the history of the whole world. For India itself the new Government of India Act was passed and has been in operation for four years. Lucknow which gave its name to the Hindu-Muslim pact may well be again the place where Liberals from all parts of India will lay down the lines for the future political development of India.

**The late Mr. Montagu.**

The recent death of the Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montagu has been an irreparable loss to this country. He was in the fullness of his powers and India had high hopes that he would continue to play an important part in its political evolution for many years. It would not be too much to say that Mr. Montagu will long be remembered in history as a real friend of India who made her cause entirely his own. The greater part of his public life was spent in the India Office and the courage, tact, pertinacity and patience which he exhibited in setting India on her path towards responsible government is beyond all praise. His zealous advocacy of the

Muslim point of view in the complicated negotiations attending the revision of the Treaty of Sevres and culminating in the Treaty of Lausanne showed an understanding of the Oriental point of view rare among Western statesmen. I trust that the Federation will place on record its grateful appreciation of the eminent services of this distinguished friend of India.

### **The Labour Government of Mr. MacDonald.**

The closing year has seen the beginning and end of the short-lived Labour Government in England. The Labour Party had always professed great sympathy with the Indian cause in its non-official days and several of its prominent members were, and still are, staunch friends of India. Great expectations were, therefore, aroused in the minds of many of our countrymen from the accession of Mr. MacDonald to power. These expectations did not materialise—except to the very limited extent of mainly verbal sympathy. On the one hand the Labour Party was in office though not in power, the time at its disposal was very short, and, further, to no small extent it considered itself as somewhat on its trial as regards its capacity to manage the affairs of an empire, and therefore occasionally adopted a too imperialistic tone. On the other hand all parties in this country except the Liberals neither realised the limited power of the Labour Party nor gave it any time to consolidate its position in the Parliament; from the beginning an attitude of impatience and carping criticism was adopted towards it which alienated the sympathies of some of its members; and while sagacious statesmanship would have tried to make its path easy in its endeavour to help India on her political progress, the dominant political party in our Councils, heedless of such considerations, went from one extreme to another and gave our political opponents a plausible ground for opposing all our further progress and frighten the Labour Government from taking any effective step towards satisfying India's aspirations. Many a time has it happened in the history of India as in that of other countries that a want of ability to seize the right moment favourable for advance has retarded progress for many a long year. I only hope that the lesson may be learnt for future application that every available favourable force should be utilised to its fullest extent, that neutral forces should be enlisted as far as possible on our side and that opposing forces should be at least neutralised; and that it is suicidal to alienate our friends, to throw neutrals into the ranks of our opponents and to intensify the zeal of our enemies.

### **The Conservative Government.**

The recent elections in England have restored to power, and that with an overwhelming majority, the Conservative Party which has always been, with a few notable exceptions, opposed to a progressive policy with regard to India. It is true that verbal homage has been and will continue to be paid to the policy enunciated in the declaration of August 20, 1917, and that no frontal attack may be made on the Government of India Act. But many flank movements are possible against our position. In any case so far as position in England is concerned, the prospects before India are none too favourable. The new Secretary of State, the Earl of Birkenhead, is a statesman of the first rank in the Tory Party, but his previous record in Ireland is hardly auspicious from the point of view of India. It is true that he had the courage to oppose the scandalous motion passed by the House of Lords whitewashing General Dyer and the Punjab atrocities and that he has a wide outlook coloured though it is with toryism. Still India can hardly hope to have a favourable atmosphere in England for the next four or five years, and it is therefore all the more necessary for us in India to do our utmost to fight the forces of reaction on both sides.

### **The Year's work in the Provincial Councils.**

We met last year at Poona immediately after the results of the elections to the various Legislatures in which our party, which worked the Reforms for the three preceding years in a friendly spirit, was practically routed. We were then speculating on what would happen in the Councils dominated by



the Swaraj Party. We are now able to see what has actually happened. In two provinces, the Central Provinces and Bengal, the reformed constitution has ceased to function except as regards its extra-ordinary provisions. In other provinces the constitution is working, though under a state of continuous strain. The organised Swaraj majorities in the Councils have caused a corresponding reaction, and the Government side in several provincial Councils, with the help of some of the reactionry elements among the elected members, feels even stronger than before, at the price of a few concessions to sectional interests as opposed to the larger national interests. In many cases beneficent measures have been opposed or whittled down. In fact the Swaraj party has generally proved to a certain extent capable of retarding what little progress was possible under the Reforms but has shown itself altogether powerless to do any constructive work. True, it professedly set out to oppose; but its opposition has nowhere made government impossible; Government is still going on, though, being bereft of the reasoning, steady and constructive criticism which it formerly received from the Liberals, it is occasionally acting in a more irresponsible manner than before. In some provinces deliberate advantage is being taken of our communal differences in order to counteract the activities of the Swarajists. Thus in the provincial Councils the Swaraj Party has put back the cause of good government both by what it does and by what it fails to do. In my opinion their condemnation of the Reforms would have been more reasonable and more entitled to weight if they had courageously accepted responsibility under the Act and then shewn its unworkability. The British elector can understand opposition when there is a readiness to shoulder responsibility. But neither he nor any impartial outside observer can have any sympathy with mere deliberate irresponsible opposition; and whatever we may say we cannot afford to alienate the sympathy of the British elector or the impartial outside observer.

### **The Swaraj Party in the Assembly.**

In the Legislative Assembly the case is nearly identical. The Swaraj Party early in the season moved for the calling of a Round Table Conference as an amendment to another motion for further reforms. I shall discuss this question later in detail. The Assembly threw out the whole budget and thus lost all opportunity of constructive criticism and serving as the watch dog of the public purse. It thus did not avail itself of the opportunity of deciding whether it was prepared to do away with the increased salt tax or to reduce the provincial contributions. The party was somewhat more reasonable on certain points as it did not command a majority and had to carry the Independents with it in order to succeed. Its policy of continuous obstruction was not acted upon; in fact on one or two points it almost approached the policy of the hated Liberals, *viz.*, co-operation whenever possible and opposition wherever necessary, in that it agreed to consider on their merits the Steel Protection Bill and the question of the separation of the Railway Budget. Perhaps on at least one of these matters there is even some plausibility in the charge that it lent itself to the cause of capitalism without adequate regard to that of labour. There is no doubt that the party was skilfully led by its leader though we Liberals take legitimate objection to the policy pursued. But as to the actual effect on the daily routine of Government the Swaraj Party may be said to have been ineffectual as it followed on the whole a wrong policy.

### **The End of Non-Co-operation.**

The entrance of the Swaraj Party in the Councils and the subsequent happenings in the Indian political world have clearly marked the final death and burial of non-co-operation which was adopted with such *eclat* in 1920 and for opposing which the Liberals were abused from a thousand platforms in season and out of season. The boycott of the Councils has gone, the boycott of educational institutions has been acknowledged to have been a terrible mistake, the boycott of titles has been a matter of mere words, and the boycott of law courts has been absolutely ineffective. The efficacy of Khaddar is being questioned even by its fervent advocates and foreign goods continue to be imported as before. As regards the constructive

programme so much advertised at Bardoli, Hindu-Muslim relations have become very much worse than before, untouchability is hardly touched, and as to spinning and Khaddar everybody is asking everybody else to spin, God only knowing whether he spins himself. What has been the total result of this campaign of non-co-operation? The Treaty of Sevres has been modified but the Khalifa exists no longer at Constantinople and is taking refuge in neutral Switzerland. Even the modification of the treaty is only due to the valour of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his brave Turks. The Punjab wrong remains unredressed and in fact no redress was possible to the victims of Jallianwalla Bagh. The Sawaraj is still not achieved and the achievement appears even more difficult than before. The only effect of the non-co-operation movement has been the creation of a spirit of unrest among large sections of the people, the intensification of disunion among the various classes and a lamentable exhibition of the helplessness of the Indian people. A campaign of non-co-operation can only be justified, if at all, by success. If it fails it is the most criminal of mistakes in politics. In launching it forth the leaders must carefully weigh the resources at their disposal, choose the proper time for action and take all possible measures to prevent its evil effects from manifesting themselves. What have we, however, found during the course of the last four years? There has been no realisation—far less an adequate realisation—of our capacity to carry on such a campaign; the time was most inopportune as the whole world was sick of conflict after the great war and our rulers had emerged victorious out of a most difficult ordeal; internal disunion is almost the inevitable consequence of such a campaign, the recrudescence of religious fanaticism quite expected and the slackening of a general sense of discipline unavoidable; but no attempt was made to prevent these consequences; on the other hand the campaign led to the intensification of these unfortunate results. The Liberal Party prophesied all these things when the campaign was first opened; theirs was a cry in the wilderness. The country is now reaping the fruit of a defeat.

#### **The Liberal View of Non-Co-operation.**

The Liberal view has always been that progress in India cannot be achieved by such cataclysmal methods. The unity of India under one political system has not yet been of long duration and the various provincial, religious and communal jealousies have not had time to disappear completely. While India can claim to have produced individual men of genius in almost every field, the sense of discipline in every unit that is required for a lasting system of efficient democracy has not been developed to any considerable extent. The vast mass of the people being largely uneducated and unaccustomed to modern political institutions cannot be rushed by means of a whirlwind campaign. Hence even if a successful non co-operation movement had been possible we would have hesitated in launching it forth. But it was not in the least possible. The history of the last few years has only confirmed the Liberals in their policy of steady political advance based on strictly constitutional lines, working on purely peaceful lines and eschewing all futile talk of civil disobedience. The whole mass of the people has to be moved and moved in the right way. Many of their ingrained ideas have to be altered. We understand that the work cannot be done in a day. Even if the political problem were solved and we had seen the last of every Englishman, civilian and soldier, at present in India, the work before our leaders would only have just begun. The leaders, however have only the most hazy idea about this work. Some have even the hardihood to say that with the departure of the last English officer every thing would turn up right in a moment. The Indian Liberal, therefore, cannot lend himself to any such movement of mass civil disobedience. He will continue his steady work in the face of abuse and obloquy with the firm conviction that this kind of work will prove in the end more efficacious.

#### **The Question of Unity.**

This brings me to the question, which has been recently much to the fore, of all parties joining together on the common political platform of the Congress. I have on another occasion fully explained my views and I hold

by them still. Non-co-operation has not been given up by its advocates ; it has only been suspended. The will-o'-the-wisp of civil disobedience is still kept in the distance to lure us from the true path. Fantastic remedies like spinning are still being advocated when every economist agrees that they are bound to fail as being economically unsound. While not openly daring to advocate independence the Congress creed still makes half-hearted concessions to its advocates. I may as well say on this last point that while I can imagine the question of independence becoming one of practical politics a century or two hence and while I have no theoretical and intrinsic objection to independence, I refuse to waste my time in considering it, as I shall only help to befog the issues, mislead the ignorant public into considering it immediately practicable and increase our difficulties which are numerous enough in all conscience. As practical politicians the objective of dominion self-government is sufficiently advanced for us. It is not so impracticable, it is something that with reasonable good luck we may hope to achieve within a decade or two and it is not opposed even to the wider goal. On the other hand there are several positive advantages in it. The association of India with the British will make her progress easier and will not cut us off from intimate contact with the West : and, further, in these days of vast world states and national wars waged with every kind of scientific machinery it is better to be a part of a large organisation than to plough our lonely furrow. Finally we Liberals shall have no part or lot with those who extol the murderer while abhorring the deed and paying lip-service to non-violence. Until we see our way clear on all these points there can be no talk of unity for me at all events. The days of mere formulae are gone for ever.— We tried them once in Bombay and admitted into the Congress the party of extremism which had shown its capabilities at Surat in spite of the warning words of Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta. The result was that the old leaders of the Congress who had nursed it into a powerful and influential organisation had to leave it as it went from one extreme to another, changing its creeds and programmes from day to day, basing its propaganda on mischievous ideals of hatred, civil disobedience and religious bigotry. Its present leaders do not themselves know where they stand. Their one aim appears to be to remain at the crest of the wave of popularity, even at the price of principles and consistency, which is, in the elegant language of some of their leaders, only the virtue of a donkey. They are united, so far as we Liberals are concerned, in showing us up as traitors to our country. It is impossible to pass from this position into one of cordial co-operation. Even the Liberal Unionists who split on the Irish Home Rule policy of Gladstone remained in the wilderness for a few years before merging themselves among Tories. We would also like to see how far the proposed formulae of reconciliation even if they are acceptable will be followed by the other side in actual practice. But a mere unity by physical juxtaposition is worse than useless ; it may even be the union of the wolf and the lamb—the lamb within the wolf.

### The three Political Parties in India.

There are at present various parties in India whose outlooks on political questions are widely different. The three purely political parties are no-changers, the Swarajists and the Liberals. Other parties are more or less on a communal basis though they are also all keen on political advance under certain conditions. These are the Moslem Leaguers, the non-Brahmins, the Sikhs, the depressed classes, Anglo-Indians, etc. Taking first the three purely political parties I do not see that they can work harmoniously on the same platform. Broadly the no-changers are a party that looks backward, considers association with the present system of government a sin and a trafficking with Satan, and would tolerate modern civilisation only if it cannot help it. It is content to be under the command of a single dictator and is willing to follow all his notions reasonable or otherwise. This party is reconciled only outwardly with the Swarajist party to humour their titular leader who, they consider, has disgracefully capitulated without a fight to their opponents. The Swarajist party is an offshoot of the erstwhile extremist party though the offshoot is threatening to overgrow the parent tree. The main ideal of this party is to

extirpate the present system regardless of what is put in its place. It considers the present system so bad that a worse cannot be imagined. It will make use of any means however dangerous or shady to achieve its end. To me it appears to have hardly any realisation of practical considerations. This party has for the moment obtained the upper hand in the Congress organisation and is now the political mouthpiece of the Congress. The Liberal Party is the lineal successor of the old Congress party and is continuing its traditions though the name has been usurped by others. It follows strictly constitutional methods, and its ideal is responsible democratic government on dominion lines for India. It will not raise the question of the British connection, considering it on the whole a favourable circumstance in the present evolution of India. It realises that the present evils in India are due only partially to the present system of government and that for the progress of the country a great deal of strenuous labour is required among our people irrespective of the Government. It vividly perceives the dangers of anarchy and can conceive of many worse things than the present system. It will not give the slightest encouragement to movements of an anti-national nature simply because they serve to make trouble for Government. It does not consider popular applause as the only thing to live and strive for, but will be content to remain unpopular if it considers itself right. While wanting to preserve what is best in our civilisation it wishes to assimilate what is best in the Western civilisation. It knows that the task of raising India to its full height is difficult and not to be achieved by spells or charms. It is impossible for the Liberal Party with its ideals as I have tried to sketch them, to work in cordial cooperation with either of the other parties. It is best that they should have their own separate platforms, often advocating, I hope, the same measures in the interests of the country. If all the three parties agree on any point, their agreement will carry all the greater weight as each looks at the problem from different angles of vision, then they would if one or other have perforce to remain, always silent in order to create a semblance of unity.

### Liberals and the Reforms Act.

The goal of Liberals being complete responsible government on dominion lines, that party agreed to work the Government of India Act to the best of its ability though it fully realised from the start its limitations and inconveniences, its dangers and its deficiencies. It has always advocated a further advance in the direction of its goal. But it felt that the Act, defective and inadequate as it was, still was a move in the right direction and its opinion on it after an experience of four years is, therefore, worthy of every consideration. The Act was ushered in under very unfavourable auspices. The Punjab tragedy, the Treaty of Sevres, the financial stringency caused by the war, perhaps even a feeling on the part of some of our rulers that a policy of reconciling India was not so absolutely essential to the Empire at the close of a successful war as it was when military position was most critical, shortsightedness and want of far-seeing statesmanship in some of those who had to work it; all these made the position very difficult, if not impossible. The Legislative Councils were not properly representative of such electorates as there exist, for large numbers ostentatiously abstained from the elections from a fancied feeling of patriotism. Thus even though within the Councils themselves there was generally a spirit of reasonableness, still the members and Ministers had always a somewhat uneasy feeling. The financial stringency and the abnormal rise of prices which required a drastic policy of retrenchment coupled with a revision of the pay of all establishments made the position of Ministers who had to work the nation-building departments very unhappy. It is not for me to say anything about the work they did, I may refer to the addresses from this chair delivered at Poona and Nagpur in the last two years, but all I can say is that they tried to do their best. If the achievements were not greater, they deserve the sympathy rather than the blame of the country. In any case I make bold to say that any doubts that may have existed as to whether Indian Ministers can administer government in collaboration with elected Councils have been laid once for all and that it is therefore needless to continue this system in order to test this possibility.

### The Reforms Inquiry Committee.

The Reforms Inquiry Committee which was appointed by Government to consider the working of the Government of India Act and the defects and difficulties discovered in its working and to suggest such remedies as can be found by a change in the rules under the Act or by minor modifications of the Act itself without interfering with its scope and purpose has just reported and it is not for me to divulge its conclusions until the report is officially published. But to those who have closely followed the proceedings of the Committee and the evidence, especially of the ex-Ministers, given before it, it must be clear that the demand made by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru last year at Poona that the Government of India Act requires radical alteration and not merely minor amendments has received additional force. From the Indian point of view if this is made absolutely clear, it makes the way easy for further steps. The Act itself laid down the procedure. At the end of ten years after the passing of the Act a Royal Commission must be appointed. The Act, however, does not say that it shall not be appointed before. In fact the late Mr. Montagu gave a clear indication of his views on this point. The Liberal Federation last year demanded that this Commission should be appointed immediately without waiting till 1929. It can make the same demand this year with redoubled force in view of this Committee's deliberations.

### Demand for a Round Table Conference.

A motion for the appointment of a Royal Commission was made in the beginning of this year in the Legislative Assembly and it is just possible that if this proposal, already recognised in the Act, had received the unanimous support of all non-officials, the Labour Government might have yielded to this demand. But the majority of the Assembly thought it right to ask for a Round Table Conference in India to determine the kind of constitution wanted by Indians for India and to formulate their other demands. With due deference to the majority of the Assembly it may be permissible to hold the view that the amendment while more theatrical would have been less effective and slower in operation than a Royal Commission. If Government had conceded this demand for a Round Table Conference it was not at all unlikely that its convocation would have been preceded by a furious wrangling over its constitution and that, taught by the recent catching propaganda of non-co-operation, some sections of public opinion which considered themselves not sufficiently well represented in its personnel might have refused to work on it. We will know how personalities have a habit of assuming enormous proportions in India and some *soi-disant* leaders fancying themselves neglected might have agitated against it. But the greatest difficulty would have been the immediate raising the various communal claims and dissensions which may have wrecked the whole conference. Finally according to the Government of India Act a Royal Commission has in any case to be appointed before it is reconsidered and hence it would have had to come after the report of this Round Table Conference and the same difficulties might have had to be surmounted once more. If the original proposition had been carried it is possible that the Labour Government might have had the opportunity of influencing its personnel and we might have had some hope of soon getting some tangible advance from its recommendations. The high tone of the majority let slip a suitable opportunity of pressing our claims in a favourable atmosphere. If report is to be believed, a similar opportunity of a substantial political advance was lost three years ago by some of our extremist leaders pulling too hard on their side in the course of some informal negotiations, when Government was keen on a settlement. It is only on rare occasions that such opportunities offer and it requires a sagacious statesman to lead the country on such occasions. A Round Table Conference can only be claimed when the other side is *in extremis* and no Government worth the name will consent to yield to such a demand when trumpeted forth, as it has been, except on the occasion of a dire need, though for informal conversations and an agreed and peaceful settlement, many more opportunities will continually occur. But for creating and properly

using such opportunities we require methods and personalities different from those now popular with Swaraj Party.

### **Fundamentals of a new Government of India Act.**

The demand that a united India should make before a Royal Commission would be: (1) Complete provincial autonomy under Ministers responsible to the Legislative Councils with a Governor acting purely as a constitutional Governor in provincial matters. (2) Responsibility in the Government of India in all departments except Defence, Foreign and Political with a power of veto to the Viceroy. (3) As regards the department of Defence the Governor General would administer it, a certain fixed sum being earmarked for it in the constitution, but to any additional expenditure the Legislature must give its assent. (4) The Army should be gradually placed on an Indian footing according to a definite timetable, the progress of Indiaisation being continually accelerated so that at the end of a definite period, say 30 years, no new European officer may be required to be recruited for the Indian Army, and the strength of the British Army in India should be then determined by the Indian Legislature. (5) All the higher civil services should be put definitely on an Indian footing, no new European as such being recruited after five years, the pay and emoluments of the present officers being guaranteed in the Act or by Parliament if necessary, the Legislature having full power to lay down rules for the recruitment of the future officers, the actual recruitment being made by a Public Services Commission which should be made independent of all political influence. (6) Complete financial autonomy should be granted to India as to the Dominions. (7) Foreign relations of India should continue on an imperial basis, India being represented on any body that may be hereafter constituted from the Dominions. (8) Political relations with the Indian States should be in charge of the Viceroy unless they are ready to join the Federation of the other Indian Provinces. (9) The question of communal relations should be placed on an agreed basis, though any provisional arrangements made for the satisfaction of any special claims should lapse by definite steps within a fixed period after which all communities should be on an equal footing. (10) Full private religious liberty should be granted to all to be so exercised that it will not trench on the similar liberty of others.

Such would be our demands. A new Government of India should be of a comprehensive permanent nature, not requiring amendments from time to time in any essential particulars, and making in itself provision for automatic advance. I am not very particular about the actual periods in which these successive steps are to be taken but what I wish to say is that the present hand to mouth constitution should be given up and that India should be free to achieve her own progress unhampered by perpetual agitation for changes in its constitution which tends to cloud all other issues.

### **The Army.**

The question of the defence of India has got to be seriously considered from the Indian point of view and no scheme for political advance can be satisfactory which does not deal with this essential part of a national Government. For over a century Indians have been kept out of the higher ranks in the Army and the subject is, therefore, a sealed book to most educated Indians. The result has been that it has not received as much notice as it should. But a national Government cannot be conceived without a national army, a national navy and a national air force, to defend the liberty of the country. So far the Indian Army has been a part of the British Army and the higher technical services are manned entirely by the British. There are Indian soldiers only in the infantry and cavalry. The demand for opening commissioned ranks to Indians has been of long standing and a very small beginning has been recently made by selecting about a dozen Indian boys every year for Sandhurst and opening a preparatory school at Dehra Dun. Eight units of the Indian Army are to be eventually officered completely by Indian officers. But India cannot be in the least satisfied by this pretence of a concession. More strenuous methods must be used to get a proper number of Sandhurst

cadets from the educated classes and the cost of a training should be reduced so as to make it less prohibitive. Institutions similar to Sandhurst and Woolwich should be started in India. At present the selections for Sandhurst are made on various considerations very few of which are military. If necessary a Commission should be appointed to go into this whole question and suggest remedies and make proposals for effecting a rapid Indianisation of commissioned ranks of the army.

The question of Indianisation of the army has been mostly looked at from the point of view of cost. While this is a very important matter, I think Indianisation can be considered to rest on much higher grounds. It is possible that Indian officers might have to be paid nearly as much as British officers, that the starting of new military educational institutions in India will be very costly, or that perhaps in the beginning some increase in personnel may be required in order to compensate for some loss of individual efficiency. I am not going to enter into the comparative efficiencies of a British or Indian officer. I wish to take no risks, but I wish to see that the defence of the country is in our own hands, cost it what it may. I know of course that it takes 25 or 30 years to train a general in ordinary peace times and the process of creating an Indian national army is sure to be long even with most favourable atmosphere. Roughly I would suggest that 25 per cent of the new recruits for commissioned ranks for the first year should be Indians and this percentage should rise by three every year so that at the end of 25 years all new recruits shall be Indians. Simultaneously as said above enough training institutions should be started in India.

In addition however to the regular army, there should be a wide extension of the non-regular forces both to spread a knowledge of military matters and create a better sense of discipline among all classes and also to have a wide field for the recruitment of officers. The present territorial force should be improved in quality and increased in number. No essential distinctions of a racial character should be allowed in the composition of non-regular forces. I hope that the recent Committee on Auxiliary and Territorial Forces will produce a satisfactory solution of the various problems. I may be allowed in this place to record my sense of the loss of Dr. S. K. Mullick who has been a keen advocate of the military training of educated Indians and especially of the Bengalees. I shall refer in this connection to the proposal I have recently been advocating of making some modicum of military training compulsory for every university student who is medically fit. The Bombay University threw out my proposal by one vote but I am glad to see that the Allahabad University has accepted it and I trust that other universities in India will follow this wise lead. The grounds on which I advocate the proposal are both national and educational. It is not necessary to detain you long on this question as I observe that the Indian press has, with a few exceptions, generally supported it. I have great hopes that some of the practical objection brought forward by its opponents will be removed by the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee. I say again that all India will be fully prepared to bear any burden required for the creation of a national army and for any steps to that end.

What I have said above will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the question of the navy. On this point we are even more ignorant than on that of the army. We shall continue to depend of course to a great extent on the great British navy for the security of our coasts; for I am one of those who wish our country to remain a member of the British Empire. I only wish to do so on a footing of equality so that while we receive certain advantages we shall also contribute on an honourable basis to the common defence.

### Indianisation of Services.

The demand for the Indianisation of the services is perhaps the oldest demand made by the Indian National Congress and we believe the time has now come when full satisfaction should be immediately given to it. It may be observed that even with the complete cessation of all further normal and

regular recruitment in England there will continue to be an appreciable leaven of Europeans for the next 25 years and a considerable one for the next 15 years. If during this period these European superior officers cannot teach their Indian assistants their work, there must be something wrong with their mentality and one cannot help feeling that there must be some unwillingness to train the assistants in order to keep their own monopoly. It is not unfair in this connection to refer to the example of Japan who engaged some superior European experts for a few years and got their own young men properly trained so as to bear every kind of responsibility. Again when we talk of Indianisation we do not exclude the possibility of employing outside experts as and when wanted. But our point is that new European officers as such are not required to be regularly recruited for any of the ordinary services. The Indian Legislature must have the fullest power to settle the principles of recruitment of the officers and the terms of their employment. I insist however upon the actual recruitment being handed over to an independent Public Service Commission, for I can hardly conceive of any greater danger to responsible government in India than the possession and exercise by Indian ministers of large patronage and the inevitable introduction of the evils of the spoils system. This demands is not at all unreasonable and is in fact partially granted by the Lee Commission Report which recommends the Indianisation and provincialisation of the services working exclusively in the transferred departments of the provinces. We only want the process to be universal.

The Lee Commission Report has been accepted by the Home Government in all its essentials and the appointment of this Commission and the subsequent disposal of its report has caused legitimate heartburning and discontent among all classes of the people. Indians naturally object to the theory of the "steel frame" and it is this implication of the incapacity of Indians to man these services that is the cause of occasional criticism—sometimes even unfair criticism—of the services. The functions of the services have so far been both political as well as administrative. The new political developments that we claim and that are inevitable will take away from them their political functions of directing the policy of Government. If the services are confined to their purely administrative functions and play the role of the permanent services in England all this criticism will disappear and the relations of Indians with European officers will be quite harmonious. Indians recognise that Europeans in the service have set before them a high standard of efficiency, discipline and general honesty and we shall be glad to learn, and profit by, these qualities from them. I venture to say that when the services attain their natural position as the servants of an Indian Government Europeans will even be welcomed in many positions instead of being regarded as un-welcome outsiders thrust upon us. With regard to the pay and conditions of service themselves there would have been no difficulty. We do not wish to keep any class of our servants discontented; legitimate claims for the proper living wage of that particular class must be cheerfully met. We may even admit that in the case of a few officers the recent high increase in prices has made it impossible for them to keep up the standard of living to which they were accustomed and which they expected to maintain when they came to India. But India rightly wants to know that this reasonable consideration of the claims of existing individuals does not place upon her a burden that is irremovable and permanent like the Old Man of the Sea on the back of Sindbad the Sailor.

I should think that the only way of settling the question of the pay etc. of services on a permanent footing is to have these matters decided on the hypothesis that all servants are to be Indians, recruited in India and having the necessary qualifications. The service of Government ought to be honourable and comfortable but not too expensive for the taxpayer. It ought not to be too meagrely paid as this will diminish the efficiency and lead to the evils of corruption, etc., which were rampant in India of old and are even now not unknown in some countries. These basic conditions being determined once for all on *a priori* considerations, a European should be given such additional allowance, pension and passage concession as would



enable us to get the requisite kind of person. But the *number* of these should be strictly in our hands. We are prepared to give any guarantee required for the security of their pay and pension. In some cases, as in the professorial posts in the Educational Service, it may be found desirable to recruit men on short period contracts. But a general resort to the system in all cases will probably prove far too costly and will take away from India all the training and experience gained by the officers at our expense. Government would have found that if it had yielded to Indian wishes on the question of Indianisation and control, the Assembly would not have proved unreasonable in the matter of the treatment of the present members of the services and would have given them proper security of tenure and emoluments. But a question which should have been solved in a reasonable spirit gave rise to a first class conflict and has caused much bitterness of feeling in which practically all Indians are on one side and all Europeans on the other.

### Communal Differences.

Perhaps, the most important and difficult question in Indian politics is that of communal relations. All others may some time or other receive their solution but this will remain a standing problem unless every Indian makes a conscious effort to solve it. The atmosphere is so fissiparous that divisions occur even when union is intended. The religious spirit which is supposed to make for peace and contentment and to lead people to think of something higher than mere material and trivial concerns has itself in India led to the greatest disturbances. Religious and communal feuds meet us at every step. Hindus and Mahomedans, Christians and Sikhs, Parsis and Buddhists and Jews all think in their own separate circles. Among these larger groups there are also divisions innumerable. Among Hindus are Brahmins and non-Brahmins and depressed classes; among non-Brahmins in Bombay there are various castes comprised among them and so on. Everybody naturally thinks of his own small separate group, the smaller the better in his opinion, and the generality think of their country last of all. When in an impatient mood one wishes sometimes for a dreadful upheaval like the French or Russian revolution when the very name of religion will be forbidden and God abolished once for all. But I am afraid even this would not be effective for the abolishers of God will soon themselves turn into gods. The only way to get over these differences is the slow method of gradual education into a common national spirit. In the beginning even what we call education does not seem to produce much effect, for very often the leaders of bitter communal movements are well educated. But one must not yield to this mood of despair and do what one can to solve this problem.

### The Lucknow Pact.

Nine years ago the first organised attempt was made in this very city to arrive at a solution of the Hindu-Muslim question so far as politics was concerned. After a great deal of heated debate a solution was arrived at which goes by the name of Lucknow Pact. Each side considered that it had yielded a great deal, in fact more than it gained. The Montagu-Chelmsford report accepted this pact as a settled fact and the arrangements under the Government of India Act were in accordance with it. In six of the Indian provinces the Mahomedans got a substantially larger proportion of seats in the Councils than was justified by their numbers while in two provinces they got a smaller representation. In these latter provinces the Mahomedan population was in a majority and according to the pact they were reduced to an equality or a minority by a very small margin. These provinces have therefore raised the cry that they should give a majority to the Mahomedans. In the other provinces it is then contended that the Muslims should get only their share according to population. These contentions appear to me almost sickening, for it is a very small matter indeed who has a representative more or less. I should accept almost any solution provided it is permanent. I wish to arrive at a state of things when these distinctions will be forgotten, at least in the political and public field, and religion will remain only an individual's private concern.

### Solution by Proportional Representation.

The ideal solution would of course be one when there are no separate electorates and the best men get elected to the Councils. The fundamental principle of representation is that the elective bodies should form a mirror of the whole country so that the feeling of the people can be correctly gauged. After such a body has been secured the majority should rule but in such a way that all reasonable claims of minorities will be scrupulously regarded. The method of proportional representation would give Councils almost accurately representative of the whole population and if voters choose to vote according to their communal prejudices, they will secure representation by means of their own fellows. But the method will enable the large central mass of all communities which is not bitterly extremist to have its say. At present with separate electorates the tendency is for the extremist of each side to get elected while the moderate men have no chance. After getting so elected the members consider that their only duty is to their special electors and they therefore look to the narrow sectional interests rather than to the large national interest. This tendency is, perhaps naturally, more evident in the representatives of minorities and special electorates. I do hope therefore that our leaders will examine the merits of this system and not discard it as too technical or complicated. It has been tried in countries where similar religious and racial antagonisms were rampant and has given full satisfaction. Of course the system will not make allowance for so-called political importance or special claims. But I would appeal to all communities not to insist upon these anywhere as such claims are anti-national and hinder the national progress. They are characteristic of people who are always looking backward rather than forward. It is possible by a small modification to give even larger representation to the smaller communities by a reservation of seats; but the main thing is to have a wish to come to a settlement. That wish once postulated, the rest of the problem will appear quite easy of solution.

Of course we cannot go back upon the agreed solution of the Lucknow Pact without the consent of both the covenanting parties. But one thing we may always try, *i.e.*, not to allow this *virus* of communalism to spread any further. These separatist demands are getting more and more numerous. It is claimed that similar separate representation should be given in all local bodies. If the principle is thus followed to its logical conclusion then India will never become a nation; it will be a collection of many nations not separated into various provinces but everywhere mixed together though always remaining separate in their minutest parts.

### Common Electorates and Special Claims: How Reconciled.

The same remarks apply to other claims of a similar character. The non-Brahmins in Madras and the Deccan form the vast majority of the population and even a large majority of the electorate. If they wish therefore to be represented by their own men they can do so on the present common electorates. This has been actually seen in the last two elections. The reservation of seats has not generally been needed as they have secured far more seats than the minimum reserved to them. The only case for a separate and favourable consideration is that of the depressed classes which are so lowly and undeveloped that on any practicable franchise the number of voters from among them is bound to be very small and it would therefore be difficult for them to secure representation even in large constituencies. For them I would give some special seats to be voted for by those electors from these classes who are on the general register, though with a view to keeping their interests in common with other communities I would also allow them to vote in the general elections. This special concession I would give only for a definite period until they come up to the general level. The same principle may even be utilised in the case of Mahomedans or Sikhs if it is sought to give them representation in excess of their numerical strength. To give an illustration, suppose in a province there are 10 per cent. Mahomedans and 90 per cent. others and that in a Council of 150 it is desired to give them 30 seats and also 10 seats to the depressed classes. I should then elect 111

members by means of common electorates on a system of proportional representation; of these 11 would be expected to be Mahomedans if the Mohamedan voters so wish. Those of the electors on the general list who are Mahomedans will then be asked afterwards to elect 19 members from among themselves and those from the depressed classes 10 from among themselves. It may of course happen that in the common election more than 11 Mahomedans may be returned and perhaps some depressed class men also. But I would not object to this in the least. The main point is that at least some Mahomedan candidates will try to learn the needs of their Hindu brethren and the Hindus will have to look to the interests of the Mahomedans and the depressed classes. The knowledge of each other that will be obtained by this process will tend to foster a common national spirit which when fully developed will render these provisional arrangements quite unnecessary.

### Public Services : A Suggested Solution.

The principle of adequate representation of all classes of the people in the public services is accepted by everybody and Government also have made rules for this purpose. At present, however, the various communities look to favouritism in order to get appointments. I am entirely against patronage of this kind being enjoyed by any Government and I wish to see all recruitment to public services made, when possible, by open competition and at any rate by an independent body. In order to see, however, that the backward communities do not suffer on account of unrestricted competition I would reserve a certain minimum percentage to be competed for by the candidates from these communities *inter se*. This minimum I would gradually reduce as the communities rise to a position of equality with the advanced communities. For each class of appointment a suitable minimum qualification will of course be considered indispensable. To give a numerical illustration, suppose in a province it is necessary to protect the Mahomedans and non-Brahmins in the recruitment for a class of posts. Of every ten posts to be filled by an open competitive examination, four may be filled up according to the list in order of merit irrespective of the community or race; of those that are lower three Mahomedans will be taken in order and three non-Brahmins in the same way, provided that these have obtained a certain minimum percentage of marks which is considered as the indispensable qualification for that class of post. This special consideration will not be required for many years and the number of posts to be filled by absolute competition will be gradually increased and the others gradually diminished. The pace of this process will naturally be determined by seeing how many candidates from the specially favoured classes are able to hold their own and get selected in the unrestricted competition. On every occasion when new recruits are selected, the Public Services Commission or the other selection authority in special cases, should always publish a list of candidates together with reasons for any deviation from the principle of open or restricted competition, if required in any special case, so that the public may be satisfied about the fairness of the appointments. The main object is to hasten the day when special concessions will be done away with altogether and all people in the country are advanced to the same pitch.

### Special Educational Facilities.

In Councils to a certain extent and in public services the first object is to get the best men and the communal consideration is comparatively subordinate, though not negligible in the present state of our country. As one who wishes to bring all communities to a common level and thus do away with communal distinctions I am prepared to grant special educational facilities to the fullest extent to backward communities. Special encouragement should be given by means of scholarships or other special devices; admission to educational institutions in which demand is greater than the supply must be made easier for them by reserving a certain number of places for them if need be. The advanced communities should not grudge such concessions; they should understand that they are the price they have to pay for the sins of omission and commission of their forefathers under whom

these communities were allowed to remain backward and thus impede the path of national progress.

### **Cow Slaughter.**

These three points, *viz.*, representation in public bodies and public services and entrance into educational institutions, mainly concern the educated classes of the various communities and cause bad blood among them. A proper solution of them will solve more than half the communal problem. For the higher classes, if reasonably satisfied, will use their influence with their backward brethren and do away with the other points of friction which often arise and cause violent disturbances. The three points which lead to these outbreaks are cow-slaughter, processions and music, and conversion propaganda. On the questions of cow-slaughter and music I practically agree with the resolutions passed at the Unity Conference at Delhi. The Hindus should not object to the slaughter of cows if it is done in a manner not needlessly offending their susceptibilities *i.e.* not in public or in a place accessible to the public and not accompanied by a public procession of cows doomed to slaughter. To this the Mahomedans should have no objection. More the Hindus cannot demand, as cows are slaughtered every day for the use of all non-Hindu communities. Whether the Mahomedans will of their own free will go further and reduce or abolish cow-slaughter of their own motion must be left to themselves. They will only do so if the general relations between the communities become permanently friendly and evince a wish to oblige each other and not stand merely on legal rights.

### **Music and Processions.**

On the question of processions and music before mosques I think a definite permanent settlement can easily be reached as it is more a question of deliberately offending the other party rather than of religion. It is no prescription of Hindu religion that music must be played all through the processions, neither, I suppose, is it ordained by the Koran that a Mahomedan should object to it during prayers. Generally I would discourage religious processions through the streets of a town as they inevitably lead to trouble. In any case at stated hours of the day and for definite intervals loud music should be stopped within a hundred yards of a mosque when the faithful are having their prayers. These times and intervals should be once for all recorded and no new right of this nature should be allowed to be created. Within a hundred yards soft music only should be allowed. Whether the Hindus should go further to please the Mahomedans would again depend on their mutual friendliness and law cannot go any further. I would only say that in every place there should be a standing committee consisting of equal number of leading Hindus and Muslims presided over by an influential neutral resident of the place to decide these questions of a semi-religious kind. The members of these committees may be elected by the people themselves and the representatives of the place on the councils should be *ex-officio* members.

### **Conversions : A Suggested Law for the Registration of Conversions.**

As regards conversion propaganda I think that no community should object to any of its members changing his faith and joining any other religion. If there are religious injunctions to the contrary, they should go as have several other such injunctions as not consistent with the spirit of modern civilisation. But I should have some new legislation to see that this conversion is deliberate and not fraudulent or forced. I have always held that there should be a complete record of all happenings in the civil condition of every subject of the State which touch the State or become afterwards subjects of dispute. Births and deaths are at present registered more or less thoroughly ; I would add to it immediately the compulsory registration of marriages, adoptions and conversions, for all those affect the civil status of a person and are not merely in the nature of private contracts. I shall leave

marriage and adoption registration for the present; but I think that a law requiring the compulsory registration of every conversion from one major religion to another will bring the light of publicity to bear upon it and tend to reduce the danger attendant upon it. In that law the following conditions should be inserted:—(1) All conversions should be registered in a definite manner. (2) No conversion of a minor should be allowed unless both his parents, if living, or the father, if the only parent living, or the mother together with the legal guardian of the minor, consent to the conversion of the minor in writing. (3) If the minor is an orphan, no conversion should be allowed until he attains majority. (4) The registration should take place before a magistrate in presence of two respectable witnesses from each community and the magistrate should openly question him in their presence whether the conversion is voluntary and *bona fide* before registering it, no discussion of the matter by the witnesses being however allowed. (5) If any conversion is found to have taken place clandestinely without registration, it should be made a cognisable offence and punishable by a fine in ordinary cases and by imprisonment in case of forcible or fraudulent conversions, the persons who brought it about and the priests or other persons who officiated on the occasion being held responsible. (6) If either the husband or wife gets converted, the wife or the husband should have the option of getting the marriage cancelled, the wife getting back all the property she had before marriage and in the case of a Hindu wife she should get a suitable maintenance from her converted husband through the Government according to the position and status of the family in society. (7) No public procession or demonstration should be allowed in celebration of any conversion. I have given my ideas on this subject in some details as I feel that with rising communal patriotism the light of publicity and strict legal procedure will serve to reduce the dangers necessarily attendant upon such conversions. I heartily recommend the suggestions made above to our legislators so that a private bill may be drafted and submitted for consideration by the public and the legislature.

### **Anarchical Movement.**

The spread of anarchical movements in Bengal and the measures taken by Government for their suppression have evoked deep protests from all political classes. These protests are a symptom of the distrust in which the present Government is involved, for I believe that if there had been a general feeling of confidence in Government among the people there would have been a tendency to look at the matter from a dispassionate point of view. For this want of confidence Government policy has been mainly responsible though its evil effects are felt by Government and the people alike. I shall try to view the matter as a mere layman not conversant with legal technicalities and outline the attitude which in my opinion the Liberals as a body should adopt on this question.

### **Repudiation of Non-Violence.**

While some of the other parties in the country talk of non-violence and Mr. Gandhi at least is whole-heartedly devoted to it, I feel that the people as a whole have not thoroughly imbibed the idea that violent methods are absolutely futile for securing political advance and that any advance that may conceivably be obtained by these methods is not worth making as it will necessarily be attended by evils which will be far worse than mere political disabilities. The loss of a sense of civic discipline, the spread of a reign of disorder, the consequent moral and economic loss, the outburst of sectional fanaticism; these are the necessary accompaniments of such movements. In India especially these results will be particularly harmful as these disruptive forces are always latent in the Indian polity and have not been transformed into active forces tending to national solidarity. Hence we should not only do lip homage to law and order but should strive for it with all our might, as otherwise we shall ourselves be the greatest sufferers. Do we find this enthusiastic dislike of anarchical methods among some of our leaders? We have had an exhibition of a prominent leader extolling the perpetrator of a

crime and expressing his appreciation of his motives while formally disapproving of the crime itself. Uneducated people will not be able to separate the two with the analytical acumen of a leading barrister who is often apt to invent distinctions where there are none ; unbalanced young men who would be useful citizens of their country if their energies are properly directed are likely to think from the generally critical and hostile attitude assumed by that leader towards Government and Europeans that the appreciation is the real thing intended for him, while the disapproval is only the gloss to save appearances or a possible line of defence if faced with legal consequences. India is not fit at present for such metaphysical subtleties or hypercritical distinctions : Unless we are absolutely clear as to our attitude towards anarchical crimes or their perpetrators, our protests against the measures taken by Government will not have the least weight.

### **The Need for Special Measures.**

Though in the recent Bombay Conference resolution there has been some attempt to cast a doubt at the existence of the anarchical movement in Bengal, the plain and frank admission of Mr. C. R. Das that it exists should be sufficient for us especially as he agrees with Government on that point. Of course the remedies suggested by the two differ but that difference itself makes their concurrence all the more significant. The Government case is that the ordinary processes of law are no longer efficacious against such crimes, that some exceptional measures are required to cope with the evil and that, therefore, they have issued the present Ordinance. One may perhaps agree to a certain extent that terrorising of witnesses and occasionally even of judges and juries may have taken place, but one has also seen that in most of the cases which were actually brought before the courts conviction has been secured, though some cases, and these not always only of an anarchical character, have failed mainly through the inefficiency or incompetence of the Bengal police. But there is no doubt that the position at present is different than in normal times and probably some exceptional measures are required. The question then arises as to whether the usual procedure of legislation could not have been first resorted to and then only, if it failed to give the necessary powers, the special power of issuing the Ordinance should not have been utilised.

### **Legislature Not Consulted.**

The fact that the Legislature was meeting in Simla less than a month before the issue of the ordinance and that it was not consulted gave rise to a feeling among the people that this was an explicit attempt to set the constituted legislative machinery at naught and this feeling has thus some apparent justification. But His Excellency the Viceroy has recently told us that he was not satisfied about the need of these special measures and that he had not gone through all the papers till after the Assembly had dispersed. We shall accept this statement of His Excellency as the whole truth so far as he is personally concerned ; but it will require a pretty hard stretch of the imagination to believe that neither the Bengal Government nor the Home Department of the Government of India had practically made up their minds all within a month of the issue of the Ordinance and that they had not so manipulated the time as to force the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy. I cannot therefore acquit these two of all responsibility for the unpopularity of these measures even assuming that a real need for them existed. The Viceroy, seeing that his hands were being thus forced into using his exceptional powers rather than consulting his Legislature, might well have stood firm and called a meeting of the Legislature once more and placed all the facts before possibly a confidential and private joint meeting of the Assembly and the Council of State if the matter could not afford to wait for a month or two.

### **Informal Consultation Possible.**

Even supposing the calling of a special meeting of the Legislature impossible or impracticable, it should at least have been possible to call together a few of the respected leaders of the various parties and place all

the facts before them. This kind of informal consultation with opposition parties in grave national emergencies is not unknown in western countries. After all these Indian leaders have the good of India at heart and if shown sufficient proofs, even though unverified according to the strict rules of evidence openly in a court of law, which justified immediate action at the risk of a grave national peril, they would have probably agreed to the special measures or suggested some alternatives worthy of consideration. A plain unreserved private talk at the table would have got over many difficulties which assume large proportions when dealt with in all the ceremony of an open debate in the council. I have been told of a similar instance in which uncompromising opposition changed into silent support to the Press Bill proposed by Lord Sinha when he showed to a popular leader, not altogether a *bete noir* to the extremists, all the papers of the case containing extracts from newspapers which daily preached anarchical crimes and incitements to murder. Probably a similar support may have been obtained from some at least of our leaders, though I can well conceive that their opinion might not have been accepted by certain others who in their heart of hearts chuckle at such movements as calculated to cause trouble to Government. But their support would have been taken as justification of these measures by a large section of the people. Even assuming that the leaders thus privately consulted had refused to agree with the Government view, still Government as responsible in the last resort for order and good government could have taken the measures that it has actually done without any loss of time. They would, however, have shown their utmost readiness to conciliate popular feeling as far as it was at all possible for them to do. As it is the mischief of arbitrary action has been done and not all the speeches of Lord Lytton or Lord Reading will quite undo it. In short, it appears that some special action was probably justified, but that the manner in which the actual measures were taken was most unfortunate and has alienated the people more than it was necessary. The whole thing once more exemplifies the growing distrust between Government and the leaders of various parties in the country.

### The Bengal Ordinance.

As regards the actual measures themselves I am not qualified to give a definite opinion. Whether they go too far, assuming the need for such special action was proved and was urgent, it is not for a layman like myself to say. Several safeguards have been introduced, an appeal to the High Court being allowed after examination of the cases by three persons of whom two are to be of the position of district judges. Further, action is to be taken under these measures only in crimes of a certain character and committed not by isolated individuals, but by or at the instigation of a member of an anarchical society. These are certainly some valuable safeguards and cannot allow of organised and systematic oppression of any class, much less of a political party like the Swarajists as has been widely represented for interested reasons by that party. The Bengal Regulation of 1818 gives, however, too wide powers of indefinite detention without trial and in my opinion should not be used for this purpose. It appears to have been originally intended for use in times of war and especially to deal with foreigners or persons suspected of treasonable designs in the interests of a foreign power on such an occasion.

### Unpopularity of the Police.

Over and above the natural and intelligible dislike of the people to the grant of such extraordinary powers to the administration there is in this country the wide distrust, not always undeserved, of the police. It is felt that even if Lord Lytton or Lord Reading were honestly convinced of the need of such measures they will still have to be administered by the police and it is unfortunate that the police in this country have not yet come to be regarded as the friends of the people but rather as the agents of tyranny and oppression. The extraordinary powers, it is feared with some reason, will be utilised by the police as additional instruments. This distrust of the police is both the cause and effect of its inefficiency; and I hope that strict measures will be

taken to see that these special powers are not misused in any way. Further to allay discontent I hope that the fullest publicity will be given to such details as can be given out without any risk to innocent persons. As it is, since the arrest of these alleged anarchists two months ago, no information about their crimes or their trial has been at all published and this hush-hush policy is adding to the wide discontent caused by these measures.

### Need of Permanent Remedy.

In discussing these measures I have, while not condemning them root and branch, taken a severely critical attitude. But I wish that these measures should not remain in force a moment longer than necessary. It is the habit of the Government in this country to keep such powers when once obtained. But let me warn them that people expect that these powers will be dispensed with as soon as possible and that any necessary legislation is placed on the statute book with the consent of the elected representatives of the people. I realise that the *virus* of anarchism when once introduced into a country is very difficult to eradicate but its action will be considerably minimised by taking measures to conciliate the people and their leaders. No government, not even the government, of India can be carried on satisfactorily without the silent support of the masses; and while it takes these special measures which may or may not be justified, it is its bounden duty to see what further permanent measures should be taken to produce the requisite contentment of the people. Otherwise the anarchical crimes will not disappear but will grow into a menace much bigger than it is at present. One part of these permanent measures consists of a rapid political advance of which I have tried to speak before. It will be fatal for Government to delay taking effective action in this direction.

### Civil Disobedience.

The idea of civil disobedience as the highest form of patriotism that is being implanted among a large number of semi-educated people is perhaps the most mischievous feature of the present extremist propaganda. Under the names Satyagraha, non-cooperation or civil disobedience it is being sedulously advocated all over. The deleterious effects are already being seen. At Mulshi it has recently led to the shooting and sword-cutting of innocent labourers. It inevitably leads to outbursts of violence whether on one side or the other. It has done so at Nagpur, Tarakeshwar, Vaikom, Jaito and other places. It may perhaps provide occasionally a suitable handle against Government but the effect on the people is permanent. Respect for law and order disappears once for all and all the criminal elements in the population are led to think that they become patriotic by imitating the so-called patriots in their actions. It must be remembered that this want of respect for law and order on the part of the masses will continue even if all the ideals of the Mahatmas, Maulvis or Deshbandhus are fully achieved. They will find, when they are responsible for the government of the country, that these seeds that they have now sown to cause trouble to Government will grow into a pest which they will be unable to get rid of. I cannot think of a policy more short-sighted than this of preparing for infinite trouble for oneself in order to obtain a problematical momentary advantage. The extremist leaders may chuckle at a campaign for the refusal of taxes to the present Government but they must keep in mind that even a Swaraj government cannot be carried on permanently on forced loans, endowments of large temples or the proceeds of highway robberies, and that taxes will have to be levied and paid by the people under all Governments. But once the people are taught that refusal to pay taxes is the highest form of patriotism, the task of future Governments will become almost impossible.

### Hero-worship and Titles.

Another handicap of a similar nature that the extremists are preparing for the country in future is the habit of paying absurd homage to personalities. My idea of the India of the future is a democratic India in which all will be equal and have equal opportunities, when persons will be judged on



their merits and when their views will only be tested by their consonance with reason. But in extremist India at present we cannot do without a dictator. We are gravely told that unless we agree to some ridiculous proposal which all consider impossible we shall lose the benefit of the leadership of some particular person and that, therefore, that proposal must be accepted. If this is the one condition on which that leadership can be retained, a true democrat ought to consider that person unfit for leadership at all. We are accustomed in India to various Swarajes of an autocratic kind and we do not wish to have these experiments repeated on a larger scale. The Swaraj that I want will be one in which there will be no supreme and irremovable head, in which policy will be determined by frank interchange of opinion and not by a small coterie deliberating behind closed doors. While we have no words of ridicule or invective strong enough to hurl against the present system of irresponsible government, we are ourselves falling into the same habit, only to a far greater extent. Again, while we are pretending to treat with contempt the holders of titles, we are inventing new titles ourselves. The dropping of the appellation "Mahatma" when speaking of Mr. Gandhi leads almost to a riot at public meetings, though it is but fair to acknowledge that he himself has always protested against the word. I am, as a pure democrat, against all titles whether Governmental or popular, and the democratic Governments of the dominions have already protested against the grant of these titles to their subjects. This absurd veneration for titles has not disappeared among the non-cooperators with their boycott of titles though it has taken a different form. Occasionally also the ostentatious repudiation of titles is but an inverted form of the same kind of snobbery.

### **The Kenya Question.**

During the year the Kenya question remains practically where it was. True, the projected immigration legislation has been dropped but all our other wrongs remain as they are. It is needless once more to discuss this question in detail. Bishop Whitehead has summed up the situation in these words of warning to Englishmen in which all Indians will fully agree. "The one question that needs our serious and careful consideration is the principle for which Indians are contending, both in Kenya and South Africa. We must bear in mind that India today can no longer be treated as a conquered country and her people as a despised and inferior race; and that if India is to remain within the British Empire it must be upon terms consistent with dignity and self-respect. We must speedily make up our minds whether we wish to keep India within the Empire or not. If we do, we must firmly refuse to allow any legislation to be passed or settlements to be made in the colonies or protectorates under the direct control of the British Government, which discriminate against Indians and make them feel that they are treated as aliens or outcastes. And the whole force of public opinion in England must be directed strongly against the racial pride which so often wounds the sensitive feelings of the people of India."

### **Conflict of the White and Coloured Races.**

The question of the position of Indians in the colonies and protectorates is only one small part of the very vast problem of the conflict of the white and coloured races. The white races though numerically in the minority are well organised, powerful in all the weapons of up-to-date warfare, both military and industrial, and actually in possession of by far the largest portion of the earth's habitable surface. Their population is increasing by leaps and bounds, much faster than that of the coloured races. The world is not big enough for these increasing numbers and a conflict is sure to occur sooner or later. The world war owed its real origin to this need for finding suitable outlets for the surplus population of Central Europe. But the League of Nations which is mainly dominated by the white races will probably stop such world wars in the future between various sections of these races and their pressure against the coloured races will grow greater and greater. India which forms about a fourth part of the coloured races of the world should learn to organise itself in the same manner and make itself strong by removing the various evils in its body politic. Above all

she must cease to look backward, eternally bragging of its past. She is likely to meet with the strongest opposition from the white races. Above the narrow questions of current politics looms large this supreme question: Is India going to live as a nation for all time? If she is, she must set her house in order and prepare for all eventualities in the future.

### Social Reform.

With the wider opportunity for self-advancement now gradually opening out for her she must devote far larger attention to various social questions whose neglect has led to her present state. The abject misery of the depressed classes, the position of the women in India and their want of education, the abysmal ignorance of the vast masses, the growing evils which unrestricted capitalism is bringing in its train, the neglect of the vast natural resources of India; all these questions, some of them forming part of what is in narrow sense called social reform, must receive serious consideration at the hands of the leaders of the people. From this point of view social reform is not distinct from political reform; it is in fact the great whole of which the latter forms but a small part. The Liberal party should preserve this wide outlook and lead the country on these great questions. I sometimes feel that with advances in constitution, the path of the social reformer may be even more difficult than it now is, as the conservative and reactionary sections in our society will be more strongly entrenched in their positions. But this would be a suicidal policy and our leaders must take care to educate the people into progressive ideas. Unless our constitution is based thoroughly on a principle of equality and all the people fully imbued with a passionate love for it, perhaps the new situation will be worse than it ever was before.

### Indian States.

In the India of the future that we like to contemplate, the position of the Indian States will have to be determined. They form such a vital portion of India that the habit of quietly neglecting their existence while discussing political questions leads only to imperfect results. The States are connected with the British Government by definite treaties and it remains to be seen what their relations would and should be when Indian Government is made responsible to the people of British India. Connected as the States are with British India it is impossible that their subjects will not form aspirations incompatible with the present autocratic regime in the States; and it is impossible for us not to sympathise with these aspirations. The Government at present does not generally interfere with the internal administration of the States except in cases of gross oppression or incompetence. It offers advice through its officers and expects it to be followed in grave cases as ultimately it has the duty of helping in the preservation of law and order in case of a rebellion. The position will be greatly changed when India possesses a constitutional Government with a constitutional Viceroy. There may be commotion in the native States of a political nature for the purpose of obtaining greater rights there. If the rulers oppose such demands and at the same time ask for the help of the British Indian Government for the suppression of any disturbances, what is likely to happen? These are very difficult questions but a solution of them must be found. To me it appears that on the one hand the States should also move in the direction of a constitutional advance *pari passu* with British India and that on the other they will have to come into a federation of the various provinces of British India in some manner or other. Some knotty points about the transfer of territories between British India and native States may also arise and may give rise to grave misunderstandings. These will be of a most difficult nature if the States continue autocratic while British India gets a liberal constitution. An illustration of the heat that may be occasioned is shown by the trend of discussion raised by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's demand for the retrocession of Berar. While the claim advanced by him may be all right from the legal point of view and would be conceded if it were a mere question of private property, still a whole province and its population cannot be transferred from one jurisdiction

to another against the wishes of the people except as a result of war and even this has become more and more difficult in these days of self-determination and the League of Nations. His Exalted Highness appears to have appreciated this point of view by his attempt to conciliate the people of Berar by the offer of fully responsible government in that province. It is a separate matter that the people of Berar look at this gift horse in the mouth and ask for guarantees by deeds and not by words before they exchange the known evils of the present system by flying to others they can only faintly guess. But my main object in referring to this question of native States was to show that it cannot be merely neglected as it has been so long done because it is difficult, but that it requires very serious consideration in all its aspects.

### Conclusion.

I have detained you at very considerable length as I thought that on this occasion the Liberal point of view so far as I am privileged to interpret it may be fully stated for the consideration of our country. Our actual numbers may be small but we feel that the large nonvocal section of the people is largely of our view. If it has not yet shown itself sufficiently ready to translate its general concurrence with us into a vote on our side at the polls, it is because the people have been really misled into believing that patriotism consists in mere hatred of the foreigner, abuse of opponents and the enunciation of high-sounding but impracticable and often dangerous doctrines. You can fool some people for sometime but you cannot fool all people all the time. As it is, one can see signs of growing impatience with the futile methods of other political parties. The people are beginning to see that they lead nowhere so far as benefits are concerned. They have only led to greater bitterness of the communal spirit, to riots leading to immense loss of life and property as at Kohat and to the growth of anarchical movements in Bengal. The long suffering man in the street or in the fields will not always listen to the perpetual cry "Coddin's the friend and not Short". I am, therefore, full of hope for the Liberal Party. I believe that a day will come sooner or later, sooner rather than later, when people will once again turn to trusted and tried leaders and away from those whom they have so long been following, trying to keep pace with their repeated programmes, counter-programmes and revised programmes. To hasten the advent of that day a good deal of more organised work must be done by all Liberals. They should be encouraged by the fact that similar periods of depression have been the experience of parties in other countries who have come up with a redoubled vigour when all appeared to have been lost. They should remember that they are bearing the torch formerly carried by Dadabhai and Ranade, Mehta and Gokhale. They should have unflinching faith in their ideals and unbending courage to proclaim them everywhere. The day is now the day of the people and not of the quiet philosopher in his study. The heart of the people is sound; will you go and make to it the proper appeal? If you do you will surely not be disappointed.

(Loud and prolonged cheers and continued cries of Vande Mataram.)

### Messages of Sympathy.

After the Presidential address was over, Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Secretary of the Reception Committee, announced the receipt of numerous letters of sympathy and telegrams from distinguished gentlemen from all parts of India wishing the Federation a successful session and expressing their inability to attend. The following are the messages :—

### Subjects Committee.

The President said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The public session of the meeting of the Federation itself will close today and will meet again at 12 noon tomorrow. As regards the meeting of the Subjects Committee I think it will be more convenient if all the delegates only come together and form the subjects

Committee so that the various points could be discussed in the committee by all. Visitors, of course, will not remain for the meeting of the Subjects Committee which will meet at this very hall at quarter to five, giving an interval of three-quarters of an hour.

The sittings then adjourned till the following day.

### Second day's Proceedings.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Saturday, the 27th December, at 12 noon, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye presiding. There were a number of new delegates.

The President was as usual conducted to his seat on the *dais* in procession accompanied by Mr. A. P. Sen, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and other prominent Liberal leaders.

The proceedings commenced with the Vande Mataram song sung by ladies.

Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Secretary of the Reception Committee, announced more messages of sympathy with the objects of the Federation and wishing the Federation every success.

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## RESOLUTIONS.

### I.—The Late Mr. Montagu.

#### SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

The first resolution on the agenda related to the death of Mr. Montagu. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in moving it said :—

‘Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my melancholy duty to move the first resolution, which runs as follows :

‘The seventh annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the premature demise of the rt. hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, a most devoted friend of India, who gave the major part of his brilliant public life to the unselfish service of this country and laid the foundations of responsible government by introducing the constitutional reforms which will ever be associated with his honoured name. The death of Mr. Montagu is an irreparable loss to India, and her people will always cherish his memory in grateful esteem.

‘The Federation deeply sympathizes with the hon. Lady Venetia Stanley Montagu in the cruel loss she has suffered in the death of her illustrious husband.’

Proceeding Sir Tej Bahadur said :—It was only last year, just two days before my departure from England, that I had the honour of having a long interview with Mr. Montagu. Little did I realise that within less than 12 months I would be asked to move a resolution of this character. Ladies and gentlemen, I had the privilege of having known Mr. Montagu for 12 years, and during the last six years I had more opportunities than perhaps many of you have had of coming directly into touch with him and of having been behind the scenes and seen how his mind worked on Indian problems. Lastly, it was my privilege to have served under him as my chief. The more I saw of him, the more I met him, the more I read of him, the more I was convinced that during the last 50 or 60 years England had not produced an Englishman whose heart was more full of love for this country and who was actuated with nobler sentiments than Mr. Montagu towards our aspirations. When in 1918 he was in India and working on the report which has now come to be associated with the names of Lord Chelmsford and himself,

I frequently saw him and, whether in regard to details or even on questions of principle I agreed with him or not, the conviction was indelibly produced in my mind that his heart was sound and that he approached Indian questions from the Indian point of view. He fully realised our difficulties, and he had full faith in our capacity.

### The Big Scheme.

He recognised that the big scheme which he was adumbrating at that time might lead, probably would lead, to difficulties in actual working and yet not for a moment did he falter or waver in his resolution. His task was by no means of ordinary difficulty. He had to contend against prejudices—prejudices of many and varied character, prejudices entertained by the services, prejudices entertained by his own countrymen and prejudices entertained by my countrymen. He had to fight against contending forces of different character and yet he had the true vision of a statesman, and, I might say, the enthusiasm and zeal of a missionary. I very well remember one morning at Delhi when I met him when his scheme was nearly ready and when he just told me a few features of it and then said: 'Your countrymen and countrywomen can tear it into pieces, but I only hope they will have the political sense and wisdom to give it a trial. I am not going to give you a perfect thing. I leave it to you to evolve a perfect thing for yourselves'. Those words still ring in my ears. Last year, shortly after I reached London, he called me and for nearly three hours he discussed with me the situation in India. It was a revelation to me how closely, how intimately he knew the bearings of our politics—not only did he know the bearings of our politics but he knew so many of our politicians. And although he expressed great disappointment with the manner in which the scheme of which he was naturally fond—with the fondness of a parent—had been treated by my countrymen and, to be frank, by his countrymen, he said: 'I still have faith and I still believe that when the time comes for you to take the next big step you will feel that the step which I took in 1919 was not a wrong step'. I have just said that he felt disappointed. He did not conceal his disappointment to me. He was disappointed in the first place with us all, for he felt that notwithstanding the imperfections of the scheme we had not realised its potentialities and we had not availed ourselves of the opportunities which he had laid before us. He also felt disappointed with those with whom he was associated in the cabinet. He made no secret of it. As one who was privileged to see the working of the Reforms from behind the scenes in the Government, I can assure you that during the few months that Mr. Montagu was in office after I joined the Government of India I realized from day to day that if there was one feeling uppermost in his mind it was that the scheme of which he was part author should be given a fair trial so that on its foundations we may build the permanent super-structure which we are anxious to build for the future of this country. I confess that the whole situation seemed to me to change within the few days of his departure from the India office. I make no reflection upon any one, but I may simply state a fact which I noticed and which was impressed on my mind and I venture to think that if the fates had willed it otherwise, if he had been spared to us, if he had continued in office for another 12 months, the situation might have been very different in the country from what it has been during the last two years. Gentlemen, he himself was conscious of the imperfections of his scheme and I do not mind telling you that I myself have been a critic of that scheme. But whatever criticisms you may level against that scheme, you cannot possibly deny Mr. Montagu the glory that is his, namely, that it was he that had the courage and the imagination to put on paper a concrete scheme and to give effect to it by his personal influence and magnetism and power. (Hear, hear.) More than the scheme, more than the contents of the Government of India Act which was his gift to us, is the spirit which actuated him and the spirit which animated these Reforms. It has been very often said that we are an impatient people. Well, gentlemen, whatever else may be said against us, let not our patience be questioned by any one. It has been said that we are ungrateful. I again repeat that whatever other

charges may be brought against us, let no Englishman bring that charge of ungratefulness or ingratitude against us, for during the last 40 or 50 years whenever Englishmen and Englishwomen have identified themselves with our aspirations, have encouraged us in our ambitions, have worked hand in hand with us, there has been a genuine and warm response to them in our hearts. We have listened to them, we have followed their advice and we have been guided by them. Let no one forget the honoured names of Allan Octavian Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn and, last but not the least, the name of Edwin Samuel Montagu.

### Lived for India and died for India.

Gentlemen, it is not really the matter which is of so much consequence but it is the spirit which inspires that matter which is really of vital importance, and that spirit was brought to bear upon his task by Mr. Montagu. I wish I could say to you all what Mr. Montagu told me about the disappointment he felt when he left office. I am afraid the time has not yet come for that. But of one thing I really feel persuaded: he not only during the last few years of his life lived for India but he actually died for India, for when he left India office, under circumstances all to his credit but under circumstances which were not to the credit of those who treated him in the manner in which he was treated, he came back into private life a heart-broken man—heart-broken he was, but his determination did not suffer in the slightest degree. When last year, on the eve of the general election, I saw him at the request of a very distinguished leader of the Liberal party and asked him and begged of him to stand for election he said to me almost with tears in his eyes: 'No, I shall not stand. I must bide my time. I went out on an Indian issue and I can come back to Parliament only on an Indian issue. The time for that has not yet come. When I know that the time has come for me to stand on an Indian issue, I shall not require your request, I shall not require your begging'. At the same time he said to me that if he could not come out to India in December or January, as he thought, he would certainly pay a visit this year and he would make a tour in the country, see things with his own eyes, meet people, come to his own conclusions and then raise the Indian issue in his own way. I have not the faintest doubt in my mind that if Providence had spared him he would have done all that. But our hopes have been dashed to the ground. Still let us not forget the great services which that noble Englishman rendered to the cause of this country. We may build an edifice on the foundation laid by him, but whatever be the character of that edifice, let us not forget the great service which that man rendered to this country. The least that we can do on this occasion is that we should convey our respectful and our genuine sorrow, sympathies and condolences to his wife, to whom he was so much devoted and who was so much of help and succour to him in his days of trial in the India Office.

Ladies and gentlemen, with these words I commend this resolution to your acceptance, and I trust that when the time comes for you to indicate your acceptance of it you will pass that resolution in respectful silence.

MR. D. C. GHOSE.

Mr. D. C. Ghose, (Calcutta), in seconding the resolution, said:—

Mr. President, Fellow-Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very hard indeed to follow so able, so eloquent and so distinguished a speaker as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. However, I must try. Sir, let me begin by congratulating the Subjects Committee upon its decision to place the consideration of this resolution at the very forefront of our work to-day. It shows that at any rate the Liberals are not wanting in appreciation of the great and incomparable services which Mr. Montagu rendered to this country. Sir, when I think of the immensity of the task to which Mr. Montagu had set his hands, the devotion, nay, I should say, the passion with which he had striven to accomplish it, the enormous sacrifice he had to make in the discharge of what he considered to be his sacred and bounden duty, and at the same time notice

the absence of anything like widespread appreciation of his work in this country, I feel truly and honestly a sense of despair for the future of our beloved land. How can a people prosper, I say to myself, who are so devoid of that sovereign quality, *viz.*, gratitude? Sir, here was a man, not an ordinary man, a man no less than the Secretary of State for India, holding in the palm of his hand the fate of more than 300 million human beings, such a man because he had dared to make India his passion, because he had the temerity to try to serve this country in the spirit of a devotee, he met with—what?—with the fate of being absolutely hounded out of office and politics and afterwards dying with the feeling of being completely crushed. And, sir, yet in the presence of this spectacle we as a people remain more or less unmoved. Is any comment necessary? Sir, I only hope that God in his infinite mercy would be good enough to forgive us. Sir, a distinguished philosopher has said that the life that is most perfect is the one which is dedicated with all its power and with all its might to one single great object. Judged by this test, I may say it is a test laid down by no less a man than Lord Colvin, can there be any doubt that Mr. Montagu will always rank as one of the greatest men of this world? His greatness lay, I venture to think, in the burning passion with which he strove to accomplish what he considered to be his sacred duty for India. It is very easy for us or for others to criticize what he has done, to find fault with his work and generally to minimise his achievements. But I feel sure that this spirit of mind, that this sort of carping criticism will disappear when we are really faced, as we must be gradually, with the almost insuperable difficulties in the way of our achieving the next advance in our political progress. Then, and then only will dawn upon us a proper realization of the immense difficulties which Mr. Montagu had to overcome, the tenacity with which he had to pursue his object, the patience which he had to command, the adroitness with which he had to pilot his business, the diplomacy which he had to exercise, the courage which he had to display and, above all, the faith in him which he had to preserve in laying the foundation for the building of a grand edifice, Government of the people, by the people, for the people in this country. Sir, in the dispensation of divine providence no great work remains under a shadow or under an eclipse for ever. I feel sure that when the dust and din of the present time disappears as days pass on and years roll by, the figure of Mr. Montagu will brighten on the historic canvass as other figures begin to fade, and he will stand out for all time as one of the greatest benefactors of India. I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

#### PANDIT BRAJ NARAIN CHAKBAST.

Pandit Braj Narain Chakbast in supporting the proposition in an Urdu speech said it was needless to repeat the services rendered by Mr. Montagu to India. In his opinion there had not been another Englishman during the last 50 years with whom the love of India was so great a passion as with Mr. Montagu. He was in perfect agreement with what Sir Tej Bahadur had said, that Mr. Montagu had sacrificed even his life for this country. The introduction of the Reforms had, in speaker's opinion, opened a new door of progress in the political history of India. Mr. Montagu's work was to lay the foundation and it was their work to build an edifice over that foundation. He regretted that Mr. Montagu should have been taken away from them at this juncture, when so many political parties with conflicting views had sprung up and when, therefore, his guidance was all the more necessary.

The resolution was then put to the vote and passed unanimously, the whole audience standing in solemn silence.

#### II.—Indian Patriots who have Passed Away.

The next resolution which related to the Indian patriots who have passed away during the year was then put from the chair and carried in silence. The resolution ran as follows :—

The National Liberal Federation of India deeply regrets the deaths of Dr. S. Subramania Iyer, Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, Sir Ashutosh Chaudhry, Sir Anutosh Mukerji, Mrs. Ramabhai Ranade, Bi Amman, Dr. S. K. Mullick and Mr. H. K. Patwardhan, in whom India has lost devoted children who in their respective ways rendered eminent public services, and offers its condolences to the bereaved families.

### III.—The Reforms Enquiry Committee.

#### PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow), in moving the resolution on the Reforms Enquiry Committee said:—

Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

The National Liberal Federation regrets that the scope of the Reforms Enquiry Committee was too restricted for their deliberations to prove of substantial utility. But it urges the publication without delay of the reports of the Committee and of the evidence, oral and written, received by them together with the dispatches of local Governments, including minutes of Members of Executive Councils and Ministers which may have accompanied those dispatches.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are all aware that for some time past there has been a cry all over the country for a substantial advance in the constitutional reforms which were granted to us in the year 1919. All the parties in this country, whichever political opinion they may belong to, have declared that the step which was taken by the great constitutional Reforms, that were granted in the year 1919, has been found to be defective in many respects. Although it was a great step, yet many of us felt and even now feel, that it was not an adequate step, that the reforms were in many respects insufficient and not enough to meet our national ambitions and aspirations. The Reforms which were granted to us by the introduction of the system of diarchy in the Provincial Governments were given a trial for three years and it was found that there were certain inherent defects in that scheme which showed to us that an immediate change in the constitution was desirable. This thing was realised by the Liberal Party in this country soon after the Reforms were introduced here. I may in this connection remind the gentlemen present here that it was at the Liberal Federation which met at Allahabad that a resolution asking the Government to take another step in advance was passed. That resolution has been echoed year after year in the meetings of the Liberal Federation that were held in various cities in various parts of the country. Although a great number of our people were busy in their political activities in various directions, yet it was agreed to by the Liberal Party that although the instalment of the Reforms which have been granted to was a great step, yet it was not an adequate step. It was for this reason that a resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly in the beginning of this year asking that a step in advance ought to be taken. It was in that connection that Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member of the Government of India, announced in the course of the debate in the Legislative Assembly that a Reforms Enquiry Committee would be constituted with the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government at Home. It was pointed out then and there that what the people of India wanted was not merely a committee to enquire into the Reforms, but that they wanted a Royal Commission to come out to this country to make an exhaustive enquiry and also to recommend that the constitution which has been granted to us in the year 1919 had been worked, had been given a trial and had been found defective. Sir Malcolm Hailey then pointed out in the month of February last from his place in the Legislative Assembly that this was a step which could not be taken all at once, that the Government would first of all institute a departmental enquiry, would thereafter associate certain non-official members in that enquiry and lastly what steps the Government would take was to be left undecided. The Reforms Enquiry Committee was not wanted by any one in this country, to whichever



political party he may belong. However, the committee was appointed and the terms of reference to that committee were published by the Government of India. I will just read out the terms which will at once show you that the scope of enquiry of that committee was a limited one. I am not aware of the nature of the report that has been submitted to the Government of India. That must be known to our President who occupies the chair in this house and to my friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. To us the matter is one of secret yet. The terms of reference of that committee were as follows :—

*Clause 1* :—To enquire into the defects arising from, or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the rules thereunder in regard to the Central Government and the Governments of Governors' provinces.

*Clause 2* :—To investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act.

Mark the following words which showed the points of difference and proved to be the bone of contention :—

(a) by action taken under the Act or rules thereunder or by such amendments of the Act as appear necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections.

Gentlemen, to me and to every layman it appeared.—I do not here refer to any member of the Government of India because they took altogether a different opinion—from cl. 2 of the terms of reference that the remedy which was to be suggested for such difficulties or defects were only to be those which might be consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act. It was therefore clear that the scope of the enquiry to be made by that committee was a limited one. Many of us appeared as witnesses before the committee and gave our evidence. The Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Shafi who was then occupying the distinguished position of Law Member in the Government of India.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—He is still the Law Member.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra :—My friend here reminds me that Sir Muhammad Shafi is still the Law Member. I thought that he had retired. Somebody here also tells me that he will be there for five days more. Sir Muhammad Shafi was a member of that committee. In cross-examining certain witnesses—I was one of them—he asked: “Are not the terms of cl. (1) quite wide?” We admitted that they were, provided the members of the committee chose to interpret them in a wider sense. Then he asked: “If the enquiry was to be directed in pointing out the defects which were inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the Rules thereunder, not only so far as they related to the Central Government, but also so far as the Provincial Governments were concerned is there anything more than you may require or desire?” We accepted that interpretation; but the difficulty arose when we came to cl. (2). He said that if the defects which were inherent in the Government of India Act both with regard to the Central Government and the Provincial Governments could be enquired into, the people of India should not ask for anything more. We at once pointed out to him that in cl. (2) it was provided that the remedies which the committee would suggest should be those which would be consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act. That was the difficulty in the way of the Enquiry Committee. At least that is what the public thought. The Hon'ble the Law Member said there was nothing in the way of the members of that committee to recommend such remedies as would go to the very root of things. I hope that Sir Muhammad Shafi's anticipations would be realised. But I have got my own doubts on the point and I think nothing is going to come out of the Reforms Enquiry Committee. It may be that they may have recommended a transfer here and there or in some small matter like the publication of Law reports connected with the profession to which I belong, (Laughter). That is all. Because they consider that we are only fit for publishing these things, and nothing else. Or a little difficulty may have been removed here and there. From the way in which they conducted their enquiry and from the

questions they put to witnesses—I am not attributing any motive to them—it is clear to me that to expect anything of a radical nature from them is an absolute impossibility. (Hear, hear.) However, we have yet to wait and see how far these anticipations of ours are going to be realised. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will invite your attention to a few sections in the Act. You will pardon me for doing so. I am after all a lawyer and I cannot give up my habit of quoting sections from Acts. (Laughter). I will show that unless the Government of India Act is changed radically it is impossible that the Reforms for which we are aspiring might be conceded to us within the Government of India Act itself. There are two reforms in which all parties are agreed. The first is that in the Provincial Government every subject should be transferred *i. e.*, we ought to be given provincial autonomy. The second reform is that an element of responsibility should be introduced in the Central Government, *i. e.*, the Government of India. I think there is no divergence of opinion on this point, although my friends the Swarajists ask for more. They ask for more and I only desire for more (Laughter ; that is the only difference. In the Government of India Act the first section that I wish to refer to is Section 19 (a) : relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State. We all desire that if we are going to have provincial autonomy, all the subjects should be transferred to popular control and there should no more be this distinction between transferred and reserved subjects. If provincial autonomy is to be conceded to us then it is clear that there should be a relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State. That control instead of remaining in the hands of the Secretary State will have to be transferred to the hands of the Legislature. Section 19 (a) says that the Secretary of State in Council may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, by rule, regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in Council by this Act or otherwise, in such manner as it may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purpose of the Government of India Act of 1919. So we pointed out to the Committee that they could only relax the control to the extent that it was necessary to give effect to the purpose of the Government of India Act. What was the purpose? The purpose is to maintain the principle of diarchy in the provincial governments and to have no principle of responsibility at all in the Central Government. If therefore the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State is to be in a greater degree and if that control is to be vested hereafter in the legislatures, then it could only go to a limited extent but not to that extent to which we desire. Unless those words were removed and unless the Government of India Act is modified, our purpose cannot be achieved. No amount of rules, no amount of regulations, can possibly achieve that object unless a radical alteration is effected in the Government of India Act.

Then, again, I come to section 20 which relates to the application of the revenues of India. It says that the revenues of India shall be received for and in the name of His Majesty and shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purpose of the Government of India Act. It is therefore clear there that there is a particular method in which the revenues of India are to be applied. My point is that if the revenues of this country are to be applied it can only be under any of the rules framed under the Government of India Act for the purposes which are laid down in that Act. In that case you could see the limited scope in which our revenues could be applied.

I pass on from section 20 to section 33. That is a section which deals with the general powers and duties of the Governor-General in Council. There also it is said that subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, the superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council who is required to pay due obedience to all matters and to such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State for India. It is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that if there is to be any responsibility introduced in the Central Government, if there is to be any change in the administration of the civil departments, apart from the military department,

we cannot attain our object unless the words which I have pointed out above are deleted from section 33. Now this cannot be done without an amendment of the Government of India Act; this cannot be obtained merely by framing certain rules and regulations in order to carry out the object of the Government of India Act.

I now come to section 52, cl. (3)—the relations between the ministers and the governors. This has been the bone of contention here in the provincial Government. In this section it is provided that in relation to transferred subjects the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his ministers unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinions. In that case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. In some of the provinces we are told the Governors have treated the Ministers only as mere advisers and nothing more than that, although in other provinces the position has been somewhat different. It is clear that the real control even with regard to transferred subjects has always been in the hands of the governors of Provinces. It is therefore clear that if we want provincial autonomy, the administration of all the subjects in the province should be in the hands of ministers, of course subject to veto, in certain circumstances by the Governor. That position can only be attained by substantially modifying this clause. As long as this clause remains in the statute it is clear full provincial autonomy cannot be achieved merely by making rules and regulations.

The next section which I wish to point out is section 64 cl. (1) which deals with the powers of the Indian Legislature. In this section it is stated that subject to the provisions of this Act the Indian Legislature shall consist of two chambers, *viz.*, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. It is clear that if we are to obtain any responsibility in the Central Government that responsibility can only be given by entrusting the legislature with more powers. After this if you refer to the supplementary provisions as to the position of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State you will find a similar provision there. Lastly certain provisions are laid down in Section 67 (b) of this very Act which refer to the steps that are to be taken if the Legislature fails to pass a certain legislation. With regard to that also there are certain restrictions; but I will not take you into details. Under this section the Governor-General in Council has got the power to pass those legislative measures. We all know that during the last two years the power of certification has been exercised by the Governor-General, not in accordance with the opinion that was held by the Indian public. There have been certain measures which have been unanimously declared to be unacceptable to the Indian public and yet the power of certification has been exercised by the Viceroy. I should like to know how a change can be effected unless the Act is modified. Mere rules and regulations will not achieve the object we have in view. I may also point out here that this was the opinion expressed by Sir Malcolm Hailey when this question was discussed in the Legislative Assembly, as I pointed out in the beginning of my speech. I will only read to you what he said when he informed the Legislative Assembly that a Reforms Enquiry Committee would be appointed. He said that if it was found that no advance was possible without amending the constitution then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue on which the Government was in no way committed. Therefore you will see that the scope of the enquiry is limited. If they find that without altering the constitution no advance can possibly be made they say that that would be a question on which the Government of India cannot express an opinion. I therefore hope that this resolution which tells the Government of India clearly that the terms of the Reforms Enquiry Committee are limited, will be acceptable to you all.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is another request which we make in this resolution and that is this. I will just invite your attention to the Royal Commission on Public Services, to the Royal Commission on Decentralization and many other commissions which were appointed before. The procedure followed by those commissions was this: They toured round the country, examined witnesses, and recorded evidence. Then they published the entire evidence and also the conclusions that they arrived at. If there

was any member who dissented from the views of the majority of the members composing that commission, his minute of dissent was also published. Now that procedure also has been departed from. Why has that procedure not been followed with regard to the Lee Commission report? Mysterious are the ways of our Government. It is very difficult to realise what the Government is capable of doing. We have only seen the report of the Lee Commission published. The evidence which was recorded by the members of that Commission has not yet seen the light of day—neither documentary nor oral—and we do not know what was the material upon which that report was based. When a complaint was made in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India said. “You don’t require these reports. What for do you require them? We have not based our conclusions on these reports.” I should like to know which Judge, either in these provinces or anywhere in this country occupying a seat on the bench can retain his seat if he were to say: ‘I have not written my judgment on the evidence on record.’ I suppose in that case the Government will turn round and say: “You are incompetent to hold a seat on the bench and out you go.” Here is a Government which is capable of doing anything because we can exercise no control over it. This is exactly the thing which we want to prevent. We want to say to the Government: “If you are going to publish the reports, both the majority and minority reports,—because we know there have been two reports—then the evidence which has been recorded should also be published. Because, which will be the court of appeal in this case? Not the Government of India surely. The Indian public will be the judge in this matter and it will judge how far the two reports are really based upon facts and circumstances which have been found out. In order to know the nature of the material upon which the reports are based in this resolution we ask on behalf of the Federation that the evidence, oral and documentary, should be published. We also ask that the minutes which have been received from Ministers and Executive Council Members, if any, should also be published. What we ask is only just. I hope there will be no difficulty in your accepting this resolution which appears to be of a non-contentious character. With these words I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

My work is not yet finished, because I have to translate the speech briefly to the Kisan delegates over there.

(Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra then translated the speech in brief in rural dialect for the benefit of the Kisan delegates.)

### Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay), in seconding the resolution, made the following speech :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the very elaborate and bi-lingual speech from the learned mover of this resolution I find that my task has been considerably lightened. The resolution consists of two parts. In the first part we record our regret that the terms of reference of the Reforms Enquiry Committee were too narrow and restricted. In the second part we have to appeal to the Government of India—rather demand, for the word “appeal” is not quite appropriate—demand that the report of the committee should be published with all its component parts. I think this resolution is so simple and so obvious that I do not think it necessary for me to elaborate on the point. We must, however, place on record the important fact that ever since this committee was appointed, all political parties, all associations and all witnesses who appeared before them have begun their evidence by protesting against the narrow terms of reference of this committee. Secondly, as the Federation is meeting here at the end of the year we have to place on record the important fact that although most of the witnesses that appeared before the committee were from the Liberal party, they did so in spite of the narrow terms of reference. You will find that when these terms were foreshadowed by Sir Malcolm Hailey from his place in the Imperial Assembly, both the parties, rather all the parties in the Assembly, repudiated those terms and the narrow scope of the committee

which he proposed. It was on that account that the Independents and the Swarajists in the Assembly rejected it as being too narrow. I do not know how the members of the committee felt when they had to write the report. But I can very well imagine how severely they must have felt handicapped by these terms of reference. Some of us who had to draft our memoranda to be submitted to this committee declined to do so because of these narrow terms of reference. Even those bodies which sent up their memoranda could only do so by simply ignoring the terms of reference. Thanks, however, to the president of the committee that in actual practice, so far as the recording of evidence went, this narrow scope did not come in the way and my own experience is that the evidence recorded was satisfactory in so far as the witnesses were allowed even to go into the major defects of the constitution. However, when it came to writing the report, —as our learned president has chosen not to divulge the secrets, we do not know what the report is—I do not know in what terms the members of the committee have expressed themselves. But we know this much from the special correspondents of English papers like the *Times of India* and the *Englishman* that there have been two reports. We also know that one report at any rate has, in spite of the terms of reference, gone beyond the narrow scope of enquiry. Our president was good enough to say yesterday that although he was not willing to divulge the secrets of the report, I think there is some indication, reading between the lines, from which I can imagine that the report must have been something like this. To those who have closely followed the proceedings of the committee, especially the evidence of the ex-Ministers this must be very clear.

Whatever the tone of the report may be, I think very soon it will be a matter of controversy whether the next advance based upon this report should be based upon the rules or upon a radical alteration in the Act itself. Our second demand is that in order that public opinion on that point may properly express itself both in the press and on the platform, this report should be published without delay with all its component parts, because it has been our experience that sometimes the Government do not publish the reports submitted to them; sometimes they only publish the reports and not the evidence; sometimes they publish only a part of the evidence and withhold the remaining part on the ground that the evidence was taken *in camera*. It is for this reason that we want all the despatches submitted by the local Governments must be placed before the public and that public opinion must be invited on these points. I may add that the Legislative Assembly should be called upon to express its opinion before the Government of India are prepared to submit any despatch or take any action thereon.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the only purpose of this resolution and I have no doubt you will pass it with acclamation.

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

#### IV.—Self-Government for India.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) moved the following resolution:—

Mr. President, Fellow-Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been called upon to place before you reads as follows:—

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India reaffirms its conviction of the paramount necessity of the early introduction of full responsible government in British India, alike in the provinces and in the Central Government, only the Foreign, Political and Military departments being retained for a time under the control of the British Parliament, and of the full recognition of India as a Dominion in all matters of Imperial concern and inter-Imperial relations.

(b) The Liberal Federation holds it to be essential

(i) that the control of the Secretary of State for India over the administration and revenues of British India should be curtailed

by statute, so that his position may approximate as nearly as may be to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions ;

- (ii) the Council of India should be abolished ;
  - (iii) the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal civil administration ;
  - (iv) the Foreign, Political and Military departments should be under the control of Parliament, a certain amount of money for expenditure on them being fixed by statute, any further demand being subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and the position be reviewed after a definite period ;
  - (v) the provincial Governments should be responsible to their respective legislatures, except in the administration of agency or central subjects ;
  - (vi) all civil services at present recruited on an all-India basis should in future be recruited in India and their control should be transferred from the Secretary of State to authorities in India, subject to such conditions as may be laid down by statute ;
  - (vii) the franchise should be widened and adequate representation should be accorded to the depressed classes and the urban labouring population, and
  - (viii) women should be given the right of vote as well as candidature on the same terms as men.
- (c) The Federation authorizes its Council to prepare a scheme of reform on the aforesaid lines and on the lines of other resolutions of the Federation relating to this subject and to confer with regard thereto with other political organizations in the country whose object is the attainment of self-government for India.

As you see the resolution is so comprehensive in its scope that it will not be possible for me to do more than deal with it in more or less general terms in the space of time which can appropriately be taken up by any one speaker in an assembly like this. I do not propose to follow the resolution clause by clause in minute details. But I would rather like to utilize the time at my disposal in taking a general view of the subject and attempting to establish our case for an early revision of the present Government of India Act in such manner and to such extent as to meet what in our judgment are the national requirements of today.

#### CASE FOR EARLY ACTION.

The first point which we shall have to answer to the satisfaction of our critics is that the present Reforms were only introduced a little less than four years ago, that it was provided by the authors of the Reforms and by Parliament in the Act that a revision of the constitution was only to take place at the end of ten years from the passing of the Act and that, therefore, the advocates of the introduction of further reforms before the expiry of that period have to show that there is necessity and justification for the acceleration of pace in the manner desired. In other words, we shall have to show that the Government of India Act of 1919 has not worked satisfactorily enough during the last four years for it to be continued in operation for another five years and that the interests of good government and of the people imperatively require that there should not be that waiting for five years more but that action should be taken immediately. Voluminous evidence was tendered before the Reforms Inquiry Committee in Simla and Delhi to which references have been made by my friend Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, who himself was one of the witnesses before the Committee. It was easy for us to see that the Committee were not altogether of one mind, that the European and official members in their examination of witnesses were endeavouring by means of the questions that they put, to establish that dyarchy, which they themselves had disapproved and condemned at the time of its introduction, had contrary to their expecta-

tions, worked well enough, and that it had worked well enough to be continued for another five years at least and those who were now condemning it had not succeeded in proving their case.

#### VERDICT OF EX-MINISTERS.

Among the witnesses who appeared before the Committee special importance was attached, necessarily and naturally, to those who had themselves been inside one Government or another and who therefore were in a position to speak with first-hand knowledge of how the system had worked. No one would have failed to notice that with the exception of one ex-Minister from Bengal—not Sir Provash Mitter (laughter)—and another ex-Minister who did not submit himself to oral examination or was not examined but whose written statement found its way into the papers, with the exception of Messrs. Fazlul-Huq and Ghaznavi there was not a single ex-Minister anywhere in the country either in the comparatively advanced presidencies or in the relatively backward provinces, who was able to say honestly and conscientiously that the system had worked well enough for it to be continued to the advantage of anybody whatsoever. Their evidence was reinforced by the testimony of a former member of the Executive Council of Bombay. You have seen that the statement of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's was controverted ostensibly on behalf of the Government of Bombay and also by the late Governor Sir George Lloyd and you would have further seen that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had published his rejoinder to those statements. Incidentally it may be mentioned that for the latest statement published on behalf of that Government Sir Maurice Hayward, the Home Member, has taken the exclusive responsibility upon his own shoulders and has made it clear that the present Indian members of the Government of Bombay, one of whom is an ex-Minister, were not parties to his repudiation of Sir Chimanlal's criticism. The Government of the Punjab put forward their Finance Member and vice-president of the Executive Council, Sir John Maynard, to go before the Committee in order to controvert the statements of Lala Harkishen Lal. To the extent that the written and the oral evidence of Sir John Maynard was published in the newspapers it is easy to say without injustice to him that he was a man who had gone to curse but remained to bless, for the substance, the tendency and the effect of his evidence was to confirm in almost every material particular the criticism uttered by Lala Harkishen Lal. Nonofficial members of Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly and representatives to political bodies also went before the Committee and their outside view of the working of the Government seemed to be more or less similar, more or less akin to the inside view of the ex-Ministers and ex-Indian members of Executive Councils. No doubt, there was another class of witnesses, not very largely represented, it is true, but still serviceable enough to have been utilized by those who are steadfastly opposed to any early revision of the Government of India Act, who either on communal grounds or for other reasons went there to express themselves satisfied with the system as it was, but it was also got out of them that if only the particular interests for which they stood were satisfied to the extent which in their judgment required satisfaction, they too would be willing advocates of further changes. (Hear, hear.)

#### SYSTEM UNWORKABLE.

I need not say that I am able to speak with just a little personal knowledge of how the system worked in one of the provinces of the country. Along with the rest of you in this Liberal Federation I was among those who felt that, unsatisfactory as Mr. Montagu's Act was in several respects, it still marked a substantial improvement over the conditions that had until then existed, that it deserved and required to be worked without prejudice and with the best possible will in the world and with all the ability and energy of which we were capable, not only to do all the present good we could to the people of our country under this system but also to establish our fitness for those larger powers and rights which we demand. My deliberate conclusion is that while we thought at the time of the introduction of the Act that the present system was a vast improvement over the system which it superseded, with all one's sad experiences and disappointments it still

deserves to be worked with a view to make it a success until we are able to replace it by a better system, and it is not good service to the country in order to get a better system to make the system thereby unworkable and increase the strength of the opponents of reform, of those who are for a continuation of the monopoly of power and privilege in the hands of European officials by enabling them to scrap the beneficial provisions of the Act and fall back upon safeguards and reservations and of emergency powers so that the bureaucracy might in name as well as in fact continue to be all-powerful in the country. While I have absolutely no regret for the attitude I took in the beginning and for the part took in the working of the system in these provinces, I still affirm with the energy of conviction derived from intimate knowledge, that it is not in the interests of the people, it is not in the interests of good government and efficient administration and on a far-sighted view, it is in the interests of England and the Empire that a system which has been proved to be so utterly unsatisfactory as the present one should be allowed to continue for one day longer than absolutely necessary, (Hear, hear.) It is a system intended for a transitional period, a system which on the admission of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford was full of anomalies and imperfections and which in the best of circumstances can only be successfully worked if reasonable men worked it in a reasonable spirit. It was put to me in the Reforms Inquiry Committee that these stipulations could truthfully be made of any system in the world, that even the most perfect of the written constitutions might break down if unreasonable men wanted to work it in an unreasonable spirit and therefore it was not a sufficient justification for any one to ask to scrap a scheme in only five years merely because some difficulties had been experienced and some defects detected here and there. But there is this difference. I think it is the A. B. C. of political wisdom that when you sit down to frame a constitution you take the best care to devise it in such manner that it will be able to stand a large amount of strain, that only in very exceptional and remote contingencies, only if you think of extreme possibilities and not of probabilities, the system may break down and may require radical alteration. For example, the British constitution underwent several visible and many more unseen transformations in actual working under the stress of the war. Even the Principal Secretaries of State were not included in the Cabinet. It does not follow therefrom that the normal British constitution is so unsatisfactory that permanent changes should be introduced in it because in the emergency of a world war certain changes were required in order to enable the Government to conduct the war with efficiency. Here, however every alternate day you find some defects, some difficulties, which put an excess of strain upon the ability as well as the temper of those who work the system, and if it does not actually break down it is only because those who are actually engaged in it put up with it by making surrenders and sacrifices against their own better judgment.

### Loyalty Of European Officers.

I ventured to say before the Reforms Inquiry Committee that under the present system you could have smooth and efficient working, efficient in a strictly limited sense if you have weak and acquiescing Ministers associated with strong Governors or strong and determined Ministers associated with Governors endowed with benevolence and statesmanship or with no opinion and judgment of their own. Situated as we are, a constitutionally-minded and benevolent Governor who believes in constitutional government and in the principle of liberty, associated with Indian members of Government all of whom could be described as being able, informed, determined and unselfish, is so remote a contingency that it must be left out of the reckoning as being a thing of the world of ideals. In actual practice, we find that the system goes on without any complaint against the Act which brought it into being and the rules which are the daily life-blood of the system, for as long as I.C.S. secretaries and heads of departments belonging to that service or other Imperial services can have their own way. The moment you get untactical and unwise Ministers who would insist upon being in reality what the law expects



them to be, the moment you get such Ministers, men who would insist upon having their own way and would have even the impertinence of claiming to overrule these experts, then, at once, in the form of memoranda before the Lee Commission, partly published and largely unpublished, supplemented by oral evidence in the course of which these European subordinates—perfect disciplinarians they—show no excess of courtesy to their chiefs and in the columns of the gramophone press, you are told of Ministers who are amateurs, Ministers who are autocrats, Ministers who insist upon having their own way and cannot get on unless they are allowed to have their own way. It is assumed by those in whom power is centred that on every occasion on which there may be a disagreement between a European permanent official and an Indian political Minister, the former is bound to be in the right and the latter in the wrong. It has been most recently stated by no less an authority than his Excellency the Viceroy the Government of India, all the Governments in India, every Government in India, and everyone of the European officers who served these Governments, have worked the Reforms in a spirit of perfect loyalty and perfect co-operation with the Indian politicians. The i's are dotted and the t's are crossed at meetings of the European Associations and in the columns of the Anglo-Indian press and this statement is supplemented by the further statement that on the part of educated Indians the spirit of co-operation has been wanting. I deny with a full sense of the responsibility I incur thereby, I deny with all the emphasis I command, I deny categorically both the parts of the statement. I have a high, lively and in some cases a grateful sense of the spirit of cordial cooperation and unquestioning loyalty with which able European officers have worked with Indian Ministers and Indian members of Executive Councils. But I affirm, I do so with no pleasure, I only affirm it in defence of Indian Ministers and members of Executive Councils, and I affirm it as a fact and truth that ever since the day Mr. Montagu had to leave the India Office on the 10th of March, 1922, there has been a change so radical as to amount almost to a revolution in the spirit and temper of the European services and European officers towards Indian Ministers and other members of Government. I affirm that many of their acts and omissions and methods have distinctly shown a lamentable lack of a spirit of co-operation with Indian politicians in the working of the Act and if the condition of further advance is to be the proof of the existence of this spirit of co-operation on the part of those who have to work the system, I say that there can be no one-sided co-operation, and so long as the permanent services are wanting in that spirit, so long as they feel that in spite the Reforms the old order must continue and that every time a Minister overrules them they must see that their original orders are restored and the Minister is put in the wrong, so long as this spirit continues to be manifested and betrayed by the officers individually and the services generally, for so long do I maintain with perfect justice that the boot is on the other leg, that it is they who have shown the want of a spirit of cooperation and a sense of responsibility, and not we. And if those who have large powers in their hands have not been able to make the modicum of sacrifice which is required in the present transitional system when only fractional powers have been delegated to India Ministers, it is easy to understand why there is this combination among them against, this determined opposition on their part to, our reasonable claim based upon experience for a reasonable advance over the present constitution.

### Government of Provinces.

This resolution says that the Federation is absolutely convinced of the paramount necessity of such a revision of the constitution as to make provincial Governments completely responsible to their legislatures, with the only exception of agency or central subjects for the administration of which the Government of India should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly. Dyarchy has defects in it inherent and incurable. But it has not been worked in such a manner as to minimize these inherent defects and make it workable for a period of ten years. Throughout the country there is intense dissatisfaction with the spirit that informs local Governments even under the reformed system. Throughout the country Ministers are powerless

so to influence the course of administration on the reserved side of the Government as to make the man in the street feel that at last there is a change of spirit in the administration, that at last the British Government is being conducted in the spirit of a national government. The most important of the reserved subjects are law and justice, police and jails. During the last four years, years full of political agitation and even turmoil, what have been the departments of Government in provinces against which public criticism has been most directed? Has that criticism been directed more against the administration of the department of Education or Medical or Local Self-Government or public Health or against the departments of Police, Law and Justice, Jails, Forests and the like? I see before me my friend Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh, whose adhesion to our ranks we cordially welcome, who has been in our Legislative Council for the last four years as a most active member. I am glad he is to be one of the speakers on this resolution and he can tell you from the point of view of a non-official elected member of the Legislative Council to what extent he and his fellow non-official members have been able to derive satisfaction from the attitude of the Governor in Council. Whenever they had criticisms to utter, whenever they had suggestions to make with regard to reserved departments, he will be able to tell you whether the majority of the nonofficial members representing the electorate were more dissatisfied with the attitude of the Minister or of the other and more privileged half of the Government.

#### Objections Answered.

That most active of ex-satraps, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, has written in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review* that Indian members of Government have only shown alertness in the exercise of nepotism and jobbery, in finding places for their relations and friends. I challenge Sir Michael O'Dwyer to produce in support of this statement evidence that would justify the hanging of a cat or a dog.

#### Interests of the Masses.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has further stated that the interests of the masses have been sacrificed to those of a few of the educated classes. May I know whether the British Government have been coming forward with numerous and important proposals for the elevation of the intellectual, moral, economic and social condition of the masses of population, have been proposing to allot adequate and generous funds for expenditure upon such subjects and have met with systematic and effective opposition from elected Indian members of the legislatures, or whether it is a fact that the latter in the old unreformed Councils and still more in the new enlarged and reformed Councils have been giving no rest and no peace to Government because the Government do not respond to their appeals to give more to the masses, because Government do not provide adequate funds for the development of beneficial services and because Government continue to regard what they call security services as their own children and deride, as Sir Ludovic Porter once did in our Legislative Council, education and other subjects as nation-building departments in the popular jargon.

#### Law and Order.

Then again, it is said that law and order will never be safe so long as the British do not keep the power in their own hands. Why will they not be safe? It is pointed out that unofficial majorities in Legislative Councils adopt a very critical attitude towards Government measures in that sphere. Of course they do. They would not be worth their salt if they did not adopt an attitude of wholesome criticism when high-handed executive acts were perpetrated, if they did not act as vigilant guardians of the proper exercise of executive powers if they did not see that there is no abuse of power, if they did not stand up for the victims of executive high-handedness. This is not the same thing as to be hostile to the maintenance of law and order. Read the proceedings of our Legislative Councils ever since they were established, examine critically the proceedings of the last four years when there have been elected majorities. Can they point out to even two or three occasions when

in any Legislative Council a fairly satisfactory case made by the executive for the measures adopted by them has not met with a suitable response from the majority of non-official members? On the other hand, the majority of nonofficial members have in certain quarters been subjected, unfairly in my opinion, to criticism that they have listened to Government's voice too meekly and, that they have acquiesced in Government measures without protesting sufficiently against them. So far as ordinary crime is concerned no complaint has been made at any time. When we are told that we are hostile to law and order our critics do not mean more than this, that in case of political offences we are rather critical of the measures that the Government introduce, adopt and carry out. Even there, if an impartial man unconnected with us and with the I. C. S. alike were to examine the nature of the Government measures and of the proceedings of Legislative Councils in relation thereto, it is my confident belief that his verdict will be not that the latter have been unreasonably and excessively critical, but that they have been moderate and reasonable, that they have allowed the executive Government ample freedom of action. Why, sir, if a district magistrate so far forgets himself as to get together a band of innocent and respectable citizens of the place and subjects them to insult and enrolls them as special constables for no known reason, and if this action is called in question, at once the *Pioneer* must come forward with a long sermon on the impropriety of these criticisms and on the necessity of what that district magistrate has done. Suppose a member of the House of Commons were treated by any petty executive officer anywhere in England as the hon. member for the district of Muzaffarnagar, whom I see before me here, was treated some time ago by the district magistrate of Muzaffarnagar, I should like to know whether even a Tory paper in England, whether the *Morning Post* itself would have supported the action of that executive officer. And yet in our Legislative Council even the discussion of the question was not permitted. In the name of law and order so many wise things have been done undoubtedly; but so many unwise things have also been done. Such an effect has been produced upon the popular mind by a succession of wrongs perpetrated by irresponsible officers feeling secure in the confidence that the theory of prestige will impel the Government to shield them against popular criticism, that if we are critical we only show that we are sensible and if we decline to take their word at its face value and demand the production of reasons and proofs, again we only show good sense. What would have happened if in England a citizen of the position and the character of Babu Bhagavan Das had been prosecuted under a section of the Criminal Procedure Code intended for those who were about to break the peace and if the prosecution had been initiated and conducted in such a manner as to have led the Government of the province to order his immediate release, within one month of the prosecution although he had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and if in reply to a volley of questions in the Legislative Council the member in charge had to shelter him under the plea that as the man had been released therefore the questions need not be answered? The only answers which he could have given could not bear publication. If in such circumstances the Legislative Council and public men generally adopt a critical attitude towards the administration of law and order I say for the third time that the legislatures and the public men are merely sensible and they are nothing else and nothing worse.

### Efficiency.

It has been alleged that by the introduction of the Indian element efficiency has suffered. Of course, with such incapable men as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as members of Government efficiency must have suffered and with the indefinite continuance in irresponsible power of such heaven-born geniuses as the average I.C.S. officers whose work has produced such beneficent results as to have led to the non-cooperation movement and the universal distrust of the British Government in this country, efficiency will prosper. I do not at all deny that a high standard of administrative efficiency has been attained by the present system of Government. It will be equally untruthful and

ungrateful for one to seek to deny it. But I do deny that the standard that has been attained is so impossibly high that once Indian agency replaces the present European agency, efficiency will disappear and there will be administrative chaos. I have seen something of this even in the narrow sense in which the word 'efficiency' used by the opponents of Indian reform—mere secretariat efficiency, efficiency disclosed merely by the capacity to write clear notes in files and dispose of urgent cases—at times after the lapse of just a few months. (Laughter.) Even if you give to the term efficiency this very narrow interpretation, even then I deny that there will be such a deterioration of the standard of administrative efficiency as to result in loss to the people. Actually, what is efficiency? In what sense alone is efficiency of value? I can understand and I do appreciate efficiency which is reflected in the growing prosperity, happiness and contentment of the people. (Hear, hear.) But if for all your vaunted efficiency year succeeds year only to find the people more aloof and more estranged from you, only to find the people more discontented against you, only to find the people more clamant for the transference of power from your hands into the hands of their own representatives, only to find that economic conditions are not improving, if the only result of your high standard of efficiency has been the growth of discontent, if the only result has been the growth of unhappiness, if the only result has been the growth of estrangement, I am prepared to part with that very valuable boon of efficiency without a tear. (Hear, hear.)

### The Central Government.

There is no body of respectable opinion in the country, barring always the two immediate ex-Ministers of the presidency of Bengal, which is now prepared to stand up and say that complete provincial autonomy is either undesirable or unpractical. It is desirable, it is practical, it is essential, and if the British Government is to continue to have even a fractional hold, not over the persons but over the affections of the people, then that British Government will be wise in its day and will not postpone unnecessarily such a revision of the Government of India Act as to make provincial Governments completely responsible to provincial legislatures. (Cheers.) What about the central Government? I must speak of it only in general terms as I have never seen that Government from inside, and as I have never seen it from outside even, from the outer corridor of its legislature. All I know of that Government is what a journalist and public man who is fairly interested in the progress of events is able to tell. Actually, Mr. President, as ill-luck would have it, when I was at Simla in the month of August to appear as a witness, before you and your colleagues of the Reforms Inquiry Committee, hearing that you were seated in the Legislative Assembly building, I appealed to some of the *chuprasis* to show me the Assembly rooms. I thought I could at least have the satisfaction of getting an outside view of it. He took me to the place, but every door, every window was locked and barred. The only knowledge that I possess of the working of the Government of India and the central Legislature is the knowledge of a moderately well-informed outsider. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford were courteous enough to devote to what is known to fame as the Congress-League Scheme a whole chapter in their Report on constitutional reforms. Their main criticism against the scheme which the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League produced eight years ago was that it provided for a legislature with an elected majority functioning with an irremovable executive. They pointed out the unfortunate consequence to which such a constitution was bound to lead, and they uttered a warning against any such experimentation in this country. In their chapter on the Minto-Morley Reforms they pronounced a more or less similar condemnation of the system. Curiously enough, when it came to their turn to pass from the narrative and critical part of the report to the constructive part they put forward proposals not only not better in a single respect but full of the same defects but in an aggravated form so far as the central Government and Legislature are concerned. And it is for this reason we have been witnessing in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly followed by the overriding

proceedings of the Governor-General or the Governor-General in Council as the case may be, those very deadlocks that very impossible situation, which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford were so anxious to avoid at all costs. If all the subjects in charge of the provincial Governments are to be transferred to the control of the legislature you cannot have a smooth and efficient system of government unless the entire internal civil administration of the country so far as it continues to be in the hands of the central Government is also administered by an executive responsible to the Legislature attached to that central Government. Not only for this sound constitutional reason but also as a vital necessity in the interests of the people, it is incumbent upon us to press his Majesty's Government and Parliament that the constitution of the central Government should be so transformed as to make it responsible in reality to the Legislative Assembly.—(Hear, hear.)

### Parliament and India.

At the present moment, every time the Governor-General overrides the pronounced will of the majority of the Legislative Assembly he seeks shelter behind the formula that he is responsible to Parliament through the Secretary of State for India and for the adequate discharge of that responsibility it has become necessary for him to go against the wishes of the Legislative Assembly. But is this responsibility to Parliament through the Secretary of State for India a real responsibility? There is a classic discourse upon this subject of responsibility of the Government of India. It is by the late W. C. Bonnerjee and the title of the discourse was 'Is the Government of India responsible to anybody, and if so to whom?' Mr. Bonnerjee, a most eminent politician and a still more eminent lawyer as he was, after making a most dispassionate examination of the entire subject both as a lawyer and as a politician reached the conclusion that the Government of India was responsible to nobody at all. What is this responsibility to Parliament through the Secretary of State? Parliament is perfectly ignorant of India and, what is worse, it is very happy in its ignorance. (Laughter.) It does not want its ignorance to be disturbed. (Renewed laughter.) Its indifference only surpasses its ignorance. Once upon a time a so-called Liberal Secretary of State, Sir Henry Fowler, said that every one of the 670 members of the House of Commons was a member for India. That was only for the purpose of adorning a peroration. The House of Commons in reality has been acting ever since it was seized of responsibility for Indian affairs not as a body consisting of members for India but exactly as Mr. George Yule described it to the Allahabad Congress of 1888. The 600 odd members of the House of Commons, Mr. Yule said, having been entrusted by Providence with the responsibility for the governance of India thrust back upon Providence itself that responsibility to be looked after as best it could. (Laughter.)

### The Secretary of State.

Then there is the Secretary of State. We had Secretaries of State like Lord George Hamilton and Lord Peel, we had Secretaries of State who are vigilant whenever British interests are really or supposed to be concerned. We have Secretaries of State like the present one, for instance, who, while saying in one breath were yet new to office and that they would make no pronouncement whatever committing them to any policy until they have had time to acquaint themselves with the subject, yet most conscientiously get up the next morning to sign the acceptance of the recommendations of the Lee Commission in disregard of the opinion of the entire country. My own experience has been that whenever British or Imperial interests are concerned the Secretary of State is a real court of appeal over the executive Government of India. But when petitions go to him from the aggrieved people of India, then he trots forth the theory of the man on the spot, the necessity of trusting to this new divinity, the impossibility of governing India from Whitehall, the precise constitutional position of the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India, and a number of other aphorisms with which students of Indian politics are sickeningly familiar. The Secretary of State is only the head of the official hierarchy

and not an impartial appellate tribunal so far as we are concerned, and in the language of my late friend and chief Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, an appeal by the people of India from Simla to Whitehall is more often than not an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip drunk. (Laughter.)

### Reservation.

We have stated in the resolution that the military, foreign, and political department should continue to be retained under the control of the Secretary of State. So far as the political department goes the rulers of Indian States are concerned and we are bound to take up that position in relation to them at the present moment. So far as army affairs go the policy of the British in India has been such that we are to-day utterly unprepared to assume responsibility for the military defence of the country and therefore, not cheerfully but as a matter of painful necessity, we have to make this reservation for the time and for some time to come.

### The India Council.

If you follow me so far, it must follow necessarily that the position of the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India will have to approximate to the position of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the dominions, and that his control shall be only in so far as these three reserved subjects go. And then as now and much more than now, that unless, that costly, that reactionary, that obscurantist and that mischievous anachronism called the India Council must disappear (Hear, hear.) My feeling towards the India Council is the same as that of Mr. Eardley Norton when he said: 'Let it be decapitated and its head buried in a continent different to that in which lies interred its trunk, lest the two unite and the baleful monster be resuscitated.'

### Cooperation with other Parties.

In the last part of the resolution you authorize the Council of the Liberal Federation to prepare a scheme on the lines of the several clauses of this resolution and of other resolutions dealing with the same subject to be passed by you in this session, or which have been passed by you in the earlier sessions. In doing so the Liberal Federation is but following the example set by the Indian National Congress in the year 1915. There, under the presidentship of Lord Sinha—you will be pleased to know that Lord Sinha is in much better health (hear hear)—we passed a resolution corresponding to this. The Bombay Congress then authorized the All-India Congress Committee to prepare a detailed scheme and to confer with other organizations in order to secure for that scheme the maximum of assent. You are aware that last month what was called the all-parties conference was held at Bombay and that that conference which created and diffused an atmosphere of good-will between political parties hitherto warring against one another, has set up a committee which is charged primarily with the duty of producing a scheme of self-government. The duty with which we charge our Council is the same. In the course of the year my friend, our late president Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and myself as general secretary received a communication from the general secretary of the All-India Muslim League inviting the Liberal Federation to confer with the committee of the League in the preparation of such a scheme. In other words, the two parties which make up the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have also been moving in the direction of cooperation. Our own attitude towards other parties is the attitude, in Mr. Tilak's famous phrase, of responsive cooperation. A national convention was also established with the same purpose and motives. If all of us cooperate and succeed in producing such a practical scheme, then we may be sure that not even the obstinacy informed by self-interest of the British Government will be proof against these combined assaults made by all of us in the interests of the country. (Hear, hear.)

I am extremely sorry Mr. President, that I have almost scandalously exceeded the time permitted to me. (Cries of no, no' and 'go on') I apologize.

I move this resolution and I trust you will not only accept it to-day, but you will see to it that your executive will perform the duty cast upon them and before we meet again in Calcutta in December next, we shall be able to report appreciable progress in the direction of self-government for India. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

### Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.

Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale (Satara) in seconding the resolution said:—

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—The last part of the resolution is really the most important and the mover of this resolution has very properly, I should say, dealt with this matter at considerable length and I don't think that he needed any apology either from the president or from others. You will see the resolution consists of three parts. Really speaking, the third part ought to come first,—that this Federation is to authorize its executive council to frame a scheme and that scheme may turn out to be another Congress-League scheme. And I am sure if it is so, then the authorities in England will have to pay attention to it and yet in another form at least to undertake a revision of the Government of India Act on lines which will be laid down by this Federation in conjunction with the other political organizations in the country. It is for this reason that this resolution is very important as I have said, and remembering that we have arrived at a very critical time in the political history of our country: at this juncture when Swaraj or Self-Government, as the heading of this resolution shows, is on the lips of everybody, we have to frame a constitution, we have to suggest a scheme, which will certainly be the fruition of the evolution which has been going on for the last 50 years or more of which the present Government of India Act of 1919 was the result and the present advance is but the legitimate sequence of that Government of India Act. It is talked about, you may be aware, that we must have a constitution which would be in consonance with the genius of the people. It is very difficult to see what is meant by such an expression as that. We are all proud of our ancient civilization. We grant that there were seeds of local self-government such as the village Panchayats and the village communities, but so far as provincial government was concerned, I must say that responsible government which is an institution of the West was not in existence in this country. It is this responsible government, government responsible to the people, to the electorate and to the representatives of the electorate, which is a western ideal and we have seen that unless and until we had obtained a form of government similar to that which obtains in the self-governing dominions, there will be no other form of government which will really satisfy the great masses of the people of this country. It is from this point of view that the form of government which will have to be devised will be in some way or another full responsible self-government. And that is exactly the first part of the resolution. The second part lays down that the executive committee of this Federation is to be authorized to frame a scheme on the lines indicated above and the lines indicated above are given in the first two parts of this resolution. The first part, as I have said, lays down that the introduction of full responsible self-government in British India is the only way and it is a paramount necessity which has to be met with. In the case of the central Government, an exception has to be made, for the foreign, political and military departments as the mover told you, not on account of any fault of ours, but because of the situation in the country. The Political Department deals with native states and has necessarily to be left for the present without being made responsible to the people. With regard to the military administration you have seen that although from time to time we have been trained in the art of civil administration—we can produce Ministers and Executive Councillors and Governors to carry on the civil government of the country, no such training has been given to us, I mean no opportunity for such training has been given to us in the military administration of the country and it is for this reason in order to enable us to have some training in that part of the administration that the department has for the present to be left in the hands of the British Government. Therefore with these two exceptions, complete provincial responsible government and

also responsible government in the central government so far as all other departments are concerned, must be given by any constitution that will be framed.

Then we run to the second part of this resolution which consists of eight sub-headings. They are merely descriptive, that is to say, in order to secure full responsible provincial government and in order to secure also partial responsible central government, so many things are necessary to obtain. That is all that this third part of the resolution says. You will have observed that so long as responsibility of the provincial or central Government was not to the people, there was over the head of the Indian administration the Secretary of State with the India Council. But if responsible Government is to be given, then the Government in the provinces will be responsible to the people, and therefore it will follow as a matter of course that the responsibility to the Secretary of State or the Council of India will have to disappear. Therefore the second and the third portions, namely control of the Secretary of State and the control of the Council of India, that has all to disappear. Then the third thing is merely a repetition of this. The next thing is that the departments, foreign and political, and military will have to be under the control of Parliament, because if these departments are to be reserved there must be some control over the head of the Government of India and if they are not made responsible to the people, there must be the responsibility and control of the Home Government, that is, the Government in England. Now it is a very delicate question and perhaps, there would be some criticism of our excluding these departments. But as I have told you some time must elapse before we can take them over; we cannot afford to be impatient, we cannot ignore things as they are. We must take things as they are. Unless and until our military training is sufficient to enable us to undertake these branches of the administration, we have to wait as we have waited. In the life-time of a nation some 10 or 20 years is nothing. Nowadays we are carried away by sentiment. One has to consider twice before making any such assertion. It is for this reason that the control of Parliament is left so far as these departments are concerned. The power of the purse is limited, it is fixed by the statute. If anything more has to be spent that will have to be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly. Even with regard to this department there will be control of the Legislative Assembly to a certain extent if the Government find it necessary to have funds more than what has been fixed by the statute. Therefore, that safeguard has been introduced in that clause. There are only one or two matters with regard to the services. At present recruitment to the all-India service is taking place in England. Now this is a state of things which has been the subject of frequent discussion and the evidence tendered before the Lee Commission will furnish ample material to you to convince you that unless and until immediate action is taken to stop this recruitment, there will be no end of expenditure on this foreign agency, and it is needless for me to detail at this late hour on the evils of employing foreign agency to carry on civil administration in this country. Hence it is necessary that these all-India services should be abolished and provincial services should be substituted in their places both on economic grounds and on various other grounds. With regard to franchise women have been given franchise as voters. But so far as the present Act is concerned, there is no corresponding franchise for them to be elected as members in England. We claim that a similar provision should be made in the Government of India Act to enable women to stand as candidates, if in the opinion of the Legislative Assembly they think that the women of this country are fit to exercise such rights. If anybody is responsible for the illiterate condition of the masses, it is, really speaking, the British Government. If they had made education compulsory long ago as the late Mr. Gokhale advocated in 1910, perhaps by this time a considerable advance would have been made in this direction. But how strongly the Government of Bombay opposed even the Primary Education Bill when our President was in charge as Minister of Education we in our Council know. Government were not willing, or very ready either, to undertake this compulsory education business. They wanted to put it off as far as possible. This question has been dealt with by our local Government



and other Councils will, I am sure, follow. And then there will be no difficulty in getting people to understand their duties as well as rights as electors. In order to educate the masses in this political education, we may have to train them. If we introduce compulsory education at the same time, the day will not be far off when they will be able to take an intelligent part in electing candidates. These are the details which point out the direction in which an amendment is necessary in the Government of India Act. These are the lines on which you are to authorise your executive committee to draft a scheme and I have no doubt that you will unanimously pass this resolution.

### Qazi Kabir Uddin.

Qazi Kabiruddin in supporting the resolution, said :—

Mr. President and brother-delegates, you have heard the most exhaustive speech on the resolution which Mr. Chintamani moved. I must say it was the most powerful indictment of the administration couched in the most moderate language that one could hear on a public platform. It is one of those speeches that gives you a correct and most deep insight into the working of the present administration. As an ex-Minister, as one who was in intimate contact with the executive and with the administrative side of the work he told you how our Indian claims are treated by the executive, and, gentlemen, he related to you such experiences as no doubt will interest everyone of you, and will give you an insight into how the administration of the country is carried on. It appears to me that it would not be desirable on my part to take up your time unnecessarily at this late stage, because everything that could be said has been said. I can only give you one instance with regard to the uncontrolled way in which the administration is conducted, and I hope our President will excuse me if I refer to that incident because he happened to be a Minister of the Bombay Presidency about that time, and that incident, gentlemen, is with regard to what is called the Bombay Reclamation Scheme. You may have heard Bombay being surrounded by sea, but you would never have heard that the Government proposed that crores and crores of rupees should be sunk into the sea for the purpose of expansion and in face of the fact that the country has no money to spare for primary education and in face of the fact that the country had no money to spare for medical, sanitary and other purposes which are badly required throughout the presidency, and particularly throughout the various districts and what is more, this particular department which had to spend crores and crores of money was not given in charge of a Minister, so that it may be within the effective criticism and purview of the Legislative Council, but it was placed in charge of an Executive Councillor so that criticism could not be levelled and nothing could be asked for from that gentleman. Whenever a question was put no adequate information could be had. I merely relate this incident as a piece of information that this is the way how the administration of the country is carried on.

Now with regard to the demands that are embodied in this resolution—these are the minimum demands and they are not new. The country is hankering after each one of these particular claims that we have put down in this resolution. The only thing that interests me more in this, gentlemen, is the eighth item, namely, that women should be given a vote and should be given the right of candidature and we as the Liberal Federation are more interested in women being enfranchised and I tell you why. We form the conservative party of this country and women really are the backbone of the conservative party. If they are enfranchised I have no doubt they will be estranged from the methods of the non-cooperation movement which the Indian National Congress has started and all of them will be on our side. And our party badly requires their membership. One thing more. You must always remember that even if some ladies happen to go on the side of the Indian National Congress people, you will at once find that they will exercise that control and moderation which we absolutely require and expect from the people of the National Congress.

With these few words I support this resolution and I commend it to your acceptance.

**Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh.**

Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh (Hardoi U. P.) in further supporting the resolution in a Hindi speech, said :—It was with the utmost difficulty that they could get something from the Government as embodied in the Government of India Act. He likened the case of the British Government to a miser who is induced to give away something only when he is seriously ill and is tortured mentally with the thought of the misery. Similarly the British Government gave the little concessions embodied in the Government of India Act when it found itself in great distress on account of the great war and needed help from Indians. The speaker drew attention to the proceedings of the legislative bodies to show that Indians were quite competent to assume the responsibility of running the administration. The case of Indians, who are asked first to learn before they would be given more, resembled that of a man asked to swim but thrown into the river with hands and feet tied. He regretted they were asked to learn but were not given a fair chance to do so. But he was sure that if they set their heart on a thing their goal was bound to be reached. The speaker further said that the fact that Indians could work and work with efficiency needed no proof.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

**V.—Provincial Contributions**

SIR P. C. MITTER.

Sir P. C. Mitter (Calcutta) moved :—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, The resolution that I wish to place before you runs as follows :—

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassment of provincial governments, which has severely handicapped the Ministers and Legislatures in developing the beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the Reforms in provinces, and calls upon the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions and reconsider the division of the sources of revenue between the central and provincial governments so as to leave everyone of the latter adequate resources for the efficient performance of their duties and for development, the central Government balancing their own budget by strict enforcement of economy, generally in all departments and specially in the Army department.

Gentlemen, this resolution if given effect to will help the rising nationalism of India, make the people educationally fitter to discharge their responsibilities and also enable them to live a fuller life. I will explain presently how it would be possible to do that if this resolution be accepted by the powers that be. Gentlemen, this resolution shortly is this, that the provincial Governments on whom are saddled definite responsibilities, responsibilities affecting the day to day life of the people, should be placed in possession of full funds, so that they may discharge their responsibilities more effectively to the people under their charge. And how are they to do it? Not by extra taxation, but by retrenching the expenses in the Government of India. That brings me to the Central Government balancing their own budget by strict enforcement of economy generally in all departments and specially in the Army department. About the army some of you are aware of this. In the year 1913-14, the last of the pre-war years the total army expenditure of India was 29 crores and 25 lakhs. In the year 1922-23 this expenditure had mounted up to 67 crores and odd. I put it to our rulers who are so fond of parading their sense of responsibility, who are so fond of talking in season and out of season about their solicitude for the masses of India, masses who they say will not be safe in the hands of the responsible leaders of the people,—I put it to those rulers of ours was not India well defended, was not India properly defended, was not

India safe for the purpose of defence when the military expenditure was 29 crores and odd in the year 1913-14 and when our leaders, men like the late Mr. Gokhale, had raised their voice in no uncertain terms about the expenditure which was in those days much less than 29 crores? When India was properly defended with 29 crores is it not in all conscience extravagant, extravagant beyond all measure to spend 67 crores? It is true that the retrenchment committee has advised the Government of India to reduce its expenditure by about 7 crores. Three crores and a half would be automatically decreased in expenditure because it was specially increased during the war. Barring this sum of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores a little about 5 crores was their real advice for decrease but the Government of India and the military authorities in their wisdom have not accepted even that small measure of retrenchment.

But look at the other side of the picture. Look at my province. There 71 per cent. of male Bengalis die before they are 30, 85 per cent. of male Bengalis die before they are 40; and 93 per cent. of male Bengalis die before they are 50. And, gentlemen, you will understand how many more suffer in living death. And from that province the Government of India towards their central revenues take as much as about 25 crores. Do they discharge their responsibilities to the poor masses of the people, masses for whom they pretend so much solicitude? There can be only one answer from any right-thinking man. I am ready to put our case about the discharge of the responsibility of our rulers to the masses of India to any impartial tribunal consisting even of Europeans, Frenchmen, Italians or Germans. I am sure no honest man can say that the bureaucratic Government of India have done what anyone who feels for the masses would wish them to do. Therefore, if this resolution be accepted by the rulers, what is its effect? The effect will be that the sturdy patriotism of India will proceed in a definite channel, the effect of that will be that men of all classes, men of all political views, Swarajists or Liberals, no changers and loyalists, Mahomedans and Hindus—every patriotic Indian will have an opportunity to do some definite good work for his country, and from that point of view, I put it to you, the importance of this resolution from the point of view of guiding our nationalism on proper lines and right lines. Gentlemen, if there is any problem to-day more important than any other problem, that problem is the problem of a real union between all classes and all communities in India. But in order to arrive at that union, it is necessary to appreciate and understand where real unity lies and I think real unity lies in uniting all parties for the common service of our common Motherland. (Hear, hear.) But how can we do any effective work without money? Therefore, from the point of view of nationalism it is of the utmost importance to give effect to this resolution. Gentlemen, this resolution further suggests that the division of revenues between the central and provincial governments should be readjusted. It is necessary to explain in a few words the position on that point. Before the 3rd January, 1921, the date of the promulgation of the Reforms there was only one purse. Every rupee of the revenues raised in India was technically vested in the Secretary of State for India and every rupee of the expenditure could be incurred with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India. There were no doubt technical rules where the Secretary of State had delegated his powers in matters of expenditure. But so far as the constitution went it was the Secretary of State in whom every rupee vested and the Secretary of State was responsible for every rupee of expenditure. On the 3rd January, 1921 nine provincial purses were created with definite responsibilities to discharge, and definite duties to perform and another purse, the central purse of the Government of India was also there. And what was the result? On the 2nd January, 1921, up to that date the Secretary of State had in each of these provincial governments sanctioned a certain expenditure. One would expect uncommon honesty, one would expect in common fairness that what that authority, the Secretary of State had sanctioned on the 2nd January, 1921, he would give enough funds to carry out those responsibilities. No, there was not that fairness—I am sorry I am using a strong expression—but I will use it with full responsibility and with all the emphasis that I can command that there was not that fairness. Each one of these nine provinces was left with resources far less than the

sanctioned scale of expenditure given by that authority, the Secretary of State. In my province, for example, we started with a deficit of nearly two crores of rupees. If you turn to Madras, you will perhaps find the same thing. We are not concerned with the amounts, but the fact remains that each province had not enough to discharge its responsibilities. Well, the Secretary of State and his advisers were so irresponsible. But were the representatives of the people irresponsible? I say—No. I will give an illustration from my province because I know that better than others. But from the reading of the situation in other provinces, I can say the same procedure was followed in most of the provinces. In order to carry on our ordinary expenditure without being able to improve anything for which the nation has been crying for 30 or 40 or 50 years, we had to retrench our expenditure to the extent of 1 crore and 75 lakhs. Out of that, 1 crore and 50 lakhs was from the reserved departments and I here acknowledge publicly the help which we the Ministers got from Sir John Kerr and Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor. Out of 90 lakhs which we required we got 83½ lakhs from the reserved departments. With that retrenchment we could make both ends meet. We then went as beggars and mendicants to the Government of India and the Government of India were pleased to remit our contribution of 60 lakhs for three years. Then we had to tax the province to the extent of 1 crore and 40 lakhs. The net result was that we succeeded in increasing the resources of the Government of Bengal by retrenchment, by taxation, and by the temporary remission of the contribution by over Rs. 2½ crores. Could we touch one single pice of this? No, the whole of this went to meet the huge deficit on the sanctioned scale of expenditure of the Secretary of State. Turn to the other provinces, turn to Madras, you will find that the position is the same. So far as the representatives of the people are concerned they brought pressure on the Finance department and that pressure caused retrenchment. So far as the representatives of the people are concerned these infant provincial parliaments had the courage to impose taxation to carry on even ordinary administration. You know how unpopular taxation is even in the mother of parliaments, the parliament of England. They ought to give credit to the members of these infant Legislatures that they did not shrink from the responsibility of imposing taxation—

But, gentlemen, there was the Secretary of State, there was the Governor General, there was the Finance Member with a huge Finance department. Did they lift their one little finger to make the Reforms a success—about the success of which they now pretend so much? Did they curtail the military expenditure which they could and should have curtailed. The sterling loan of India is about £250 millions. It may be said, why should India get any income-tax on that? It is a loan raised in England, payable in England—what has India got to do with it? My answer is this—in the case of an English loan, be the bondholder, an Italian, or German, or Frenchman before the Treasury in England issues script for any interest from the Treasury, the income-tax is deducted. In the name of fairness, why should income-tax not come to us? Again take the great iniquity of the expenditure on the recruitment of British soldiers. From the day the British soldier is recruited to the day that he comes out to India and during the period of his service every rupee is debitable to the revenues of India. When he goes back a trained soldier it is the money of India that he is taking. Is it not fair, is it not just, is it not proper that there should be a readjustment on this question. Gentlemen, England has promised to us Self-Government as a part of the British Empire - I will have to call it as part of the future British Commonwealth. We Liberals at any rate stand by that goal. But we are asked to cooperate and we call upon them to cooperate. I suppose cooperation means some definite action on both sides. Does cooperation mean saddling on an unwilling India extra expenditure for the European services and not paying to India that legitimate portion of the army expenditure from which England and the Empire benefit. As regards income-tax on the sterling loan of £250 millions we do not get a single rupee of it, but the British Treasury does, although it is the Indian Treasury that is responsible for the repayment of the loan. Does not cooperation mean that England should do this financial

justice to India, gentlemen? It is needless to deal at greater length on this subject. (Applause.)

### Mr. R. R. Jayavant.

Mr. R. R. Jayavant (Nagpur), in seconding the resolution, said :—

The resolution which has been placed so eloquently before you has been rightly described as a very important one and it need not be emphasized that it is only this body of Liberals who have kept on paying any attention to such important measures. It deals with the financial position of provincial Governments. If you except only the two other elements which should have contributed to the success of the Reforms, namely, the proper discharge of the functions by the Governor in every province and the cooperation by the Services, then the next matter in importance is the matter of finance. We Liberals before the Reform Act came into being and even after that have always laid very great emphasis on the question of finance. We were afraid that the rock of finance would be too big and it was possible that the Reform scheme might be wrecked on that rock. The difficulties were really great and we had seen them from the very first and this resolution records the fact that the Liberals have always looked with very grave concern on the financial position. This concern was enhanced by experience. We found that a severe famine synchronised with the introduction of the Reforms at least in one of the provinces and that the financial stringency was great in all provinces in India. If you look at the budgets that have been presented in the various provincial Councils; you will find that the singular keynote of every Government was that there was a deficit and that there was no money available whatever for the nation-building departments. That is the characteristic of all those budgets. Every Minister in every province felt that it was impossible for him to do anything in the nature of an advance in the subjects that had been entrusted to his care. It was more so in the Central Provinces from which I come. I had occasion to deal with the last four budgets and I had also some hand in shaping the budget that is now going to come up before the next Council. I am sure that the financial stringency of the Provinces was so great that neither our Councillors nor the Ministers were able to do anything in the nature of an advance in the transferred departments. There were policies which could be put into effect but there was no money for it. The result was that resolution after resolution was passed in the Council for promoting this scheme and that, for the expansion of education, for the foundation of a university of the most modern type, for the development of agriculture and for industrial purposes. In several respects even the Ministers actually framed schemes. The Minister of Industries framed a very good scheme for the expansion of industries and the development of industries that were there, but unfortunately there was no money and the schemes remained on paper. So it was with education. There was a resolution passed as regards the expansion of primary education and making it compulsory in the course of a few years. In accordance with that resolution the Government appointed a committee and framed a scheme which is there but it could not be given effect to because there was no money. Therefore it is that the Liberals, not only members of the Council but members of the National Liberal Federation view with great concern the financial embarrassments of provincial Governments which have severely handicapped Ministers and the Legislatures in developing the beneficial services. It records most emphatically the grave concern with which this National Liberal Federation have always looked at the financial question from this point of view. But further you will see that there is the second clause of this resolution which calls attention to the gravity of the situation created by what is known as the Meston award. Sir P. C. Mitter has already explained to you how the Meston award has affected the various provinces. Prominent Liberals laid great emphasis before the Meston committee on the necessity of making provision for the supply of adequate resources to the provincial Governments in order that the nation-building departments should be developed. After all what is Swaraj? May be an end in itself. But after all Swaraj or the Reforms are wanted

in order that we may have a better education and a stronger nationality. We cannot have either in any sense of the term unless there is money to be spent for the nation-building departments and the Meston award was really very unfair to the provinces. I come from a province which has not much serious cause to complain against the Meston award, but I complain here as a member of the National Liberal Federation inasmuch as it has affected so many other provinces—Bengal, Madras and Bombay all of which complain about it. (A voice—The United Provinces also) and the Central Provinces though they are not very seriously affected, still have reasonable grounds of complaint about it. A careful reading of the Meston award would show that the committee did not find themselves in a very comfortable position. Their recommendations were arbitrary, not based on economic principles and they had to be carried out for a certain number of years. The committee themselves recognised that their recommendations could not be carried into effect for all time, or even for any particular length of time and they therefore desired that those recommendations should be very soon revised. So the second part of the resolution requests the Government to revise quickly the present financial arrangements and to abolish the present system. The third part of the resolution with which I will shortly deal is this—why is it that we are asking for this? It is not for the purpose of giving to one province an extra amount of money at the expense of another. It is for this very reason that we want that all the provinces together should have adequate resources for the nation-building departments. It is only with that one object that we have brought this resolution before the Government for a proper consideration. The fourth part of the resolution points out several sources where retrenchment will come into aid and will give relief to the financial situation. The previous speaker has already placed before you the way in which the Government of India has dealt with the recommendations of the Incheape Committee. Last year I had occasion to speak about the same thing before this assembly. I then showed how in reference to the military policy and in reference to the civil administration—so far as the civil administration was concerned—the recommendations were practically given effect to, but so far as the military expenditure was concerned, they were practically given the go-bye, if not to the whole extent, at least to a very large extent. We therefore request the Government to abolish the present system and to revise the Meston award and we point to a source from which Government can derive its income and relieve the provinces. For these reasons I have no doubt you will all carry this resolution and accept it.

## VI.—Meeting Place of Next Session.

SIR P. C. MITTER.

Sir P. C. Mitter (Calcutta) invited the next session of the Federation to Calcutta. In doing so, he said:—

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have deemed it my duty to speak for the second time to-day. But this time I am entrusted with a pleasant duty. I hope it will not prove to be a duty too onerous for me to discharge. But, nonetheless it is a very pleasant duty. The resolution runs thus:—

The Federation resolves that its eighth annual session be held at Calcutta in Christmas week of 1925.

It is my great privilege to invite the Federation next year to hold its sittings in Calcutta, I am sure, gentlemen, the Liberal Federation has come to stay and the days of doubts are over. There are other political parties, great in enthusiasm, great in patriotism and great in courage. They follow their own methods. We do not like to quarrel with them. They follow the method which they think to be the best. By actual experience they have found that mere idealism, however necessary, mere patriotism, however desirable, does not bring one to the promised goal. They found that, after all, politics is a science affecting human affairs. They found that this mundane world was constantly dragging them down with the result that we have today a distinctly better atmosphere in which

there is every chance for concerted action, an atmosphere in which there is less of party acrimony and more of mutual understanding and, I may add, a deeper understanding between the different wings of the national army. I hope next year in Calcutta not only the Liberals will assemble in larger numbers but those who have kept themselves aloof from all political parties will come out in greater numbers. My strongest criticism is against those gentlemen who have so far kept themselves aloof from any party. I have nothing to say against the Swarajists or no-changers. They have been trying to do their duty according to the light they have in them. I have no criticism against you because you are trying to do your duty according to the light that is in you. It may be that we at any rate may think that ours is the right beacon-light. We at any rate think that theirs is a light which leads them on to dangerous shoals. But that is a different story. Perhaps they also will return the compliment to us in the same terms. I have nothing to say against them. But it is those who absolutely failed to do their duty to their motherland, those who have either no convictions or having their own convictions, never try to do what they as honest sons of the motherland should have done—it is they whom I criticise in the strongest possible language. I hope and trust that these gentlemen who are thinking that they are in a comfortable position, in the best position, will realise the error of their ways and repent in time. Perhaps, sir, I am making observations in reference to things which may not be strictly pertinent to the question before us. I will close my speech here with the remark that I want you all to come to Calcutta next Christmas. I am sure you will excuse me if our hospitality and arrangements are not equal to yours. But let me assure you, if assurance is needed, that we shall not be lacking in a warm heart. (Hear, hear.)

#### Babu Jitendra Nath Basu.

Babu Jitendra Nath Basu (Calcutta) in seconding the resolution said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution that has been moved by Sir P. C. Mitter. The political atmosphere in Bengal at the present moment cannot be said to be quiet. The Government has promulgated Ordinance No. 1 of 1924 which we shall discuss later on and there have been arrests and detentions under that Ordinance and under Regulation III of 1880. On the other hand it cannot be denied that there has been a recrudescence of revolutionary activity. Bengalis are by temperament imaginative and emotional. It has been the practice of some political parties during recent years to appeal more to the young men of Bengal than to any other class. The result has been that amongst young men there has been a section which has been more impatient than others and it is regrettable that in some instances that impatience has gone to the extent of revolutionary conspiracies. This Federation stands out for sanity in the political life of this country. As a Bengali I welcome a session of this Federation in Calcutta as I want this Federation to give a lead to those misguided young men and others who applaud them. As Sir P. C. Mitter has said we may not be as lavish in our hospitality as you have been here and in other places. But I can assure you, in the same way as Sir P. C. Mitter has done, that we shall not be wanting in the warmth of our welcome to you. I will request all of you here to come to Calcutta next December and to bring with you other representatives of the intellectual classes as well as the masses. We want as many of you from other provinces to come as you can possibly come over. With this welcome I repeat again the invitation that Sir P. C. Mitter has conveyed to you.

The proposal was unanimously accepted.

The President :—The session will now adjourn till 12 o'clock tomorrow. The subjects committee meeting will be held in this very hall at 5-15 p.m. this evening.

### THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Federation resumed its sitting on Sunday, the 28th December at 12 noon with Dr. R. P. Paranjpye in the chair. The proceedings commenced with national songs by ladies.

The number of delegates and visitors was as large as on the previous day. Among the distinguished visitors were seen the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, President of the British Indian Association, Lucknow, and Lieut. Raja Bahadur Hukum Tej Pratap Singh of Pratapner (Etawah district, U. P.)

Pandit Krisna Prasad Kaul, Secretary of the Reception Committee, at the outset said:—With your permission, sir, I will read only one message out of the many that I received to-day. The message is from the Hon'ble the Nawab of Chhatari, Minister of Industries, U. P. The message reads as follows:—

“I regret that on account of some unavoidable circumstances I shall not be able to profit by the discussions at the Federation's meetings. Needless to say that notwithstanding the fact that I do not belong to the Liberal Party my sympathies have always been and are with those patriots who are serving the cause of the country and working for its advancement by constitutional means. In the end I wish the Federation all success in the discharge of the onerous responsibilities which Providence has placed upon their shoulders.” (Hear, hear and applause.)

Letters in similar terms were also received from Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh and others.

### VII.—Lee Commission.

MR. N. M. JOSHI.

Mr. N. M. Joshi in moving the resolution on the Lee Commission said:—

Mr. President and Fellow Liberals,—The resolution which I have been called upon to move reads thus:—

- (a) The Liberal Federation records its protest against the acceptance by His Majesty's Government, in utter disregard of Indian opinion, of the Lee Commission's recommendations in behalf of increased emoluments to the British Services in India which, in the Federation's opinion, are excessive, and beyond the capacity of the Indian tax-payer as well as compromising to the self-respect of India.
- (b) In the opinion of the Federation the continuance of recruitment in England under the Secretary of State's control is incompatible with steady progress to the goal of responsible government, which is the policy authoritatively laid down by the Sovereign and Parliament and in future all recruitment should be made only in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, the attitude of the British Government and to some extent, of the Government of India towards the question of the recruitment of superior services recently has been one of utter disregard of public opinion in India as represented even by the legislatures set up by the Government of India Act. The services in India before the announcement of the introduction of responsible government, were based on the supposition that they were here to represent the British people in the government of this country. They were not our real servants although they were called servants. Very few of them, or at least some of them were not even civil, as the *Leader* once put it. They were the real rulers, the masters of India. They formed the ruling class, the governing class in this country. Before the announcement of responsible government in India it was possible for us to imagine that this should be the basis on which the superior services of this country should have been organized and



established. But the position has changed altogether after that announcement. If responsible government in India is to be a reality, the superior services must be manned by Indians. Although we may conceive of a condition of responsible government where the superior services were not recruited from the sons of the soil, still it must be admitted that there can not be real responsible government in any country where the superior services are manned by outsiders. It must be therefore recognized by the British Government as well as the Government of India that the position of the Civil Services and the Superior Services must undergo a great change and they can no longer remain a ruling class here. They must be prepared to accept the position of real servants. It is with this view that soon after the introduction of the Reforms when the new legislatures came into existence, the Indians made a demand that the Civil Services, the Superior Services, should be more rapidly Indianized than they used to be Indianized before. But as soon as the Civil Services whose vested interests were going to be affected by this demand of the Indian politicians and the Indian legislatures, saw that the Indians were asking for more rapid Indianization of the Services they began to put forward their own demands for further emoluments and for guarantees for their position in India. There is no doubt that the cost of living had increased in all countries after the war, but there is no class of people in any part of the world who had not made any sacrifices on account of increased cost of living. Therefore, it was somewhat of a surprise to the people of India that the most highly paid Services in this country should ask for further emoluments. People in this country and the legislatures, I feel quite confident, would have still been quite willing and prepared to consider the reasonable demands of the Superior Services, although they were already very highly paid. But they went further still and asked for a guarantee of their position in this country. By this demand they made it quite clear to the people of this country that they had no confidence in them. They were willing to remain here not as servants, but as their masters and if they were to remain here, they were not going to be responsible to the people of this country, but they wanted their salaries and their positions to be guaranteed by the British Government. Naturally, the people of this country as well as the Indian legislatures stoutly opposed this proposal. They could not tolerate the position that these people who came here as their servants should have no confidence in them. And when the British Government, some say against the wishes of the Government of India, appointed the Lee Commission, there was an opposition from the people of this country and from the Indian legislatures to this proposal, but in spite of the opposition of the Indian people the British Government appointed the Lee Commission. Naturally people in this country had not much enthusiasm and did not show much interest in the work of this Commission. But the Commission came here and has made a report recommending that the emoluments to be paid to the Superior Services in India should be considerably increased. No doubt, they have also made certain proposals for increasing the Indian element in the Services. But, on the whole, the report has been condemned by public opinion of all shades in India. There is no party in this country at present which does not ask for the complete stoppage of European recruitment for the Superior Services. Naturally the Assembly, when they considered this report of the Lee Commission, threw out the report and expressed the opinion that if the Superior Services had any grievances as regards their salaries, it is only the Assembly and the provincial legislatures that were the proper parties to consider those demands. Recently the British Government, after this expression of opinion by the Indian legislature has issued a communique stating that they approved of the proposals of the Lee Commission. The British Government were in a hurry to accept the proposals as regards the increase of emoluments with a few minor exceptions. But as regards the other proposals of the Lee Commission although they did not meet with the approval of Indians and Indians were not fully satisfied with them still the British Government stated that they generally approved of these proposals, though they have not yet expressed their final opinion on that. Under these circumstances this conference has no option

but to enter its emphatic protest against the whole attitude of the British Government towards this question. The proposals of the Lee Commission, as I have stated, do not satisfy us Indians. They could not satisfy us. Our present demand is that, if responsible government in this country is to become real, further recruitment of the superior services must be made only in India. Unfortunately, although the British statesmen accept the announcement of responsible government and state in season and out of season that they propose to stand by it, still there are large sections of English public opinion and English statesmen who insist on what they call the retaining of the steel-frame. And their argument and the main argument used by them is that in India there are various sections, various religions and on account of that, the Indian people require at least a good substantial leaven of outside impartial officers. Now this argument Indians cannot accept even for a moment. No doubt we have in India people of various races, various religions and even the Hindus are divided into various castes. But the question is that the officers who are appointed to superior posts are not expected to represent the interests of the communities or of the races, or of the religions to which they belong. They are expected to give impartial and fair justice and fair treatment to all sections of the people. And as regards this point although we may concede that the British officers may be in a better position to do justice and to be impartial to Indians of various sections and communities, still it is open for us to ask them whether British officers will be impartial when questions involving a conflict between British and Indian interests are concerned. There are hardly any Indians who will say that the British officers as a whole do justice when questions involving a conflict of the interests of Indians and Europeans arise. As long as there are European interests in this country, the same objection can be taken to European officers as they take to Indian officers. Moreover, from our point of view the question is this. If the British officers try their best to remove the distinctions between the different races or people—people of different religions, and people of different castes, it is possible for us to consent to their staying here for sometime. But the experience is that, although the British Government has been existing here for nearly a century and in some places, for more than a century, the differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the different castes have not yet disappeared and they have not yet been wiped out. On the other hand the British officers have not only done nothing to remove these distinctions between the people of different religions but there are cases where the officers of the superior services have actually encouraged these differences. And as long as there is no hope of the British officers trying or making an effort to remove these differences, we cannot accept the position that the British officers must remain here on account of differences in this country. If we accept that position, the British officers will have to stay here permanently. We now recognise that if the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and between the different castes among the Hindus are to be removed and if all these people are to be made homogenous and if their interests are to be harmonised, then the intervention of the British officers must be removed, the Hindus and Muhammadans must be allowed to face each other freely. We know this fact. The argument that there are different races in India cannot be accepted by us at all.

The second argument used by these people who insist upon at least partial European recruitment of the British element in the services is that they must be here for the promotion of the interests of the masses. Whenever proposals were made for the education of the masses, it was not the people of India but these services who opposed the introduction of universal and compulsory education in India. What have the services done for the economic development of this country and of the masses, what have they done for the social amelioration and for the moral amelioration of the masses in this country? If we ask for a law regulating and prohibiting the sale and production of liquor in this country, it is these superior services who oppose these proposals. They cannot, therefore, plead that they are going to be here for promoting the interests of the masses in this country. They also sometimes bring forward the argument that they must be here

lustre on the office occupied by him that his services were so handsomely acknowledged by such a high authority as His Excellency the Viceroy. I think that this very ground which is put forward is a sad confession on the part of the powers-that-be. They claim to be the trustees of our country. Is it not a sad confession for them to say that after such long association of the British with this country they have not been able to train Indians sufficiently to be able to man the services in their own country? In any case, I submit that this fetish of efficiency is being carried much too far. We had some trenchant remarks on this subject from Mr. Chintamani yesterday and I would not repeat them here. But I would like to remind you of the remarks made by our learned President in his presidential address where he pointed out that even if recruitment were to be confined to this country from tomorrow it would be several years before the services were completely Indianized. He pointed out that for the next fifteen years or so there would be a dominating element of Europeans and for another ten or fifteen years there would be a considerable leaven of the British element. Now I submit that if the Government think that after their association with this country for so many years they have not put our countrymen even on such a footing as to be able to furnish proper material for being trained to the duties of these appointments even during the next twenty or twenty-five years, I submit that that itself is a grave charge which they have to answer. For all these reasons I think that our claim for the complete Indianization of the services is a perfectly just and reasonable claim.

Then as regards the Lee Commission which was appointed against the protests of this country, you will be aware that the report of that Commission was the subject of a long debate in the Legislative Assembly. But almost the first act of the new Conservative Government has been to accept the recommendations made in that report almost completely. By one stroke of the pen the revenues of the country have been charged with an extra burden of over one crore of rupees per year. So far as these demands of the European members are concerned Indians have never refused to entertain any demand which may be proved to be reasonable. The demand in this particular case is based mainly upon the ground that there has been such a rise in prices in this country that it is not possible for them to maintain themselves on that standard of life to which they have been accustomed. I believe that the rise in prices which has taken place in England and other countries has been in no way less than the rise of prices in this country. But have the scales of salaries and emoluments been increased in those countries in the same way as it is sought to increase them here? I believe not. Then again, I can understand their recommending these increases in the case of the present members of the services who with some show of justification for saying that they have a sort of vested right in the matter. But it is difficult for me to understand their recommending these increases even in the case of the future entrants into the services. So far as the future entrants are concerned I submit that when they enter into the services, they will be doing so with their eyes open to the prices obtaining in this country, to the circumstances that exist in this country. If they think that the terms which this country is able to offer them do not suit them, then I submit they could very well please themselves by staying at Home or seeking employment elsewhere. (Hear, hear.)

Again, while the Commission have been so generous in making these concessions in favour of the European members of the services, their recommendations, so far as the Indianization of the services is concerned, have been most halting. It might have been possible to reconcile ourselves to the increases in the emoluments if they had been coupled at the same time with a proper reduction in the European element in the country so that the increase in the expenditure consequent upon the increase in emoluments might have been balanced on the other side by savings made by increasing the Indian element. Unfortunately, so far as that part of their recommendations is concerned as I have said, they are very halting. They have confined those recommendations to the services in the transferred departments. One may be

excused for suspecting that even so far as those recommendations are concerned they are not wholly with a view to benefit our country but rather perhaps to meet the most unreasonable prejudice of the European section who object to serving under Indian Ministers.

With these few words I would commend this resolution to your acceptance.

### Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru.

Pandit Prakash Narain Sapru in supporting the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The mover and seconder of the resolution have dealt with the subject so exhaustively that it is not necessary for me to make any lengthy speech in commending this resolution to your acceptance. The subject-matter of this resolution is one of the most important that this Conference has had to consider. It is quite as important as the question of constitutional advance or of the military policy of the Government which will come up before you for consideration very shortly. The Lee Commission was an unwanted Commission. It was not wanted by anybody. I doubt if even the Government of India wanted it. The personnel of the Commission was very unsatisfactory and the apprehensions that we entertained with regard to the character of this Commission have been justified by the character of the report which they have submitted. Now, the procedure that this Commission adopted was very unsatisfactory. Evidence was taken, at any rate most of the evidence was taken *in camera* and only summaries of that evidence were supplied to the members of the Assembly who were asked to vote the financial proposals of the Lee Commission. The attitude of the Assembly which we commend in this resolution was not unreasonable. The Assembly was prepared to consider the financial proposals on their merits. It was prepared to appoint a committee of the legislature to consider those recommendations provided certain conditions were fulfilled. Those conditions were that the control of the services should be transferred to the Government and the legislature in India and that further recruitment in England should be stopped. Sir, the most vital question that confronted the Commission was one of control. On that question, sir, the recommendation of the Lee Commission was unacceptable to Indian opinion. They recommend that, so far at any rate as the reserved services are concerned, the control over them should continue to vest in the Secretary of State for India. They proceed upon the assumption that the present constitution is going to last for some time to come, at any rate for the next fifteen years for which they make provision for the European element. To the extent that they proceed on this assumption, they necessarily prejudice further constitutional advance. Complete provincial autonomy you cannot have, more responsibility in the Central Government you cannot have with a service appointed and controlled by an outside agency. For the harmonious working of the administrative machine and for the smooth working of the machine it is necessary that the services should be controlled by the Government and the legislature in India. This consideration was absolutely ignored by the Commission and to the extent that the Commission ignored this consideration, the Commission's recommendations cannot be acceptable to Indian public opinion.

There are certain other proposals of a reactionary character which the Commission has made. For example, in future, the allowances to be paid to the services are to be placed in the non-votable list. Even today we have a certain number of non-votable items. The list of this non-votable item is going to be increased in the future. It may have been possible for us to reconcile to these financial proposals if the recommendations of the Commission with regard to Indianization had been of a more satisfactory character. But recruitment for the security services and for certain other services—the Irrigation branch of the Public Works Department is going to be a security service of the future—(laughter)—recruitment for these services is going to continue. The position that we take up is this. If you go on recruiting, then in reality you are mortgaging the future. For

the next 15 or 20 or 25 years at any rate you will have a strong British element in the services, assuming that the British element is necessary. Of course, it is said that if the services are Indianized, the character, the moral character, the British character of the services will suffer. We know that England is a great manufacturing country. They manufacture there a great many things. But we do not know that one of the things that they manufacture there is character. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Seriously speaking, gentlemen, the assumption no longer holds good today; this bogey of efficiency and superior character is one which we as self-respecting Indians must emphatically repudiate. (Hear, hear.) I maintain that the Indian who has received western education, the Indian who has received modern education, is quite capable of maintaining the efficiency of the administration. If by efficiency you mean the capacity to deal impartially and fairly with the people over whom you are placed, then I say that the Indian who has received western education is quite capable of administering the country efficiently. Another consideration that I would point out is that the educated Indian, when all is said and done, is after all more in touch with the feelings and sentiments of his countrymen than temporary sojourners who come from a distant country, and who have no permanent interest or stake in the fortunes of this country. The administrative experience which they acquire during the course of their stay in this country is lost to us when they leave the country. But when they do come out in the public from their obscurity they come only to oppose further constitutional advance in this country. (Hear, hear.)

There is also an economic aspect of the matter which we must not ignore. We are a poor country, and much as we would like to pay our European services handsomely, we feel that we are unable to pay them as much as they would like. I think it will be recognized that the best Englishman is not under existing conditions anxious to come out to India. Are we going to fill our services with second and third class Oxford and Cambridge men? Or, do we want the first class products of our own Indian Universities who are just as good or at least as good if not better as the second and third class men from Oxford and Cambridge, to enter the services in our own country? We have also to consider the question from another point of view. Have we enough careers for our young men in this country? I submit that we have not. It is not illegitimate, it is not unreasonable, for an Indian to aspire to take part in the administration of his own country. With these words I commend this resolution for the acceptance of this Conference.

The resolution was put to the conference and carried unanimously.

### VIII.—Military Policy and Expenditure.

PRINCIPAL K. R. KANITKAR.

Principal K. R. Kanitkar (Poona), in moving the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I wish to place before you runs as follows :—

This Federation expresses its grave dissatisfaction with the manner in which the military training and equipment of Indians has been and is being neglected by the Government, and while it takes note of the grant of the King's Commission to a few Indians in recent years, the establishment of a preparatory school called "Military College" at Dehra Dun and the scheme for the Indianization of 8 units, it is strongly of the opinion that these steps are wholly inadequate and it accordingly makes the following recommendations and urges the Government to give effect to them :—

- (1) That a scheme for the education and training of officers be prepared so as to bring about the Indianization of the army within a reasonable distance of time—the scheme of the Indianization of 8 units bearing in the opinion of the Federation no relation to the growth and development of the Constitution.

- (2) That Indians be admitted to all branches of the Army, including Artillery and Air Force, and that they should be admitted into these sections of the Army not merely in subordinate positions, but as officers.
- (3) That proper and well-equipped colleges should be established, and a definite programme for military education should be prepared.
- (4) That all distinctions based upon race between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces should be abolished, and that these forces should be properly organized.
- (5) That Officers Training Corps should be established in all universities in British India and that compulsory military training should be made the rule in the case of all University students who are physically fit.
- (6) That Selection Boards for selecting young men for all classes of people should be established, and that Indians should be adequately represented on such Boards.
- (7) That the question of the financial liability of India to the British Exchequer for British troops should be referred for examination to a Commission on which Indians should be adequately represented.
- (8) That the strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to the needs of India for her internal security and safety against foreign aggression, and should not be based upon considerations of the needs of the other parts of the Empire.
- (9) That military expenditure be reduced to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Incheape Committee, that the possibilities of a further reduction be examined and that the scheme for the Indianization of the Army should be adequately financed.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—This resolution is an important one and appertains to military policy and expenditure. It can be divided into four different parts. In the first part the Federation recognizes what the Government have done in connection with this question, and two, three and four—these parts relate to our recommendations. In the first part the Federation expresses its great dissatisfaction with the manner in which the military training and equipment of Indians has been and is being neglected by the Government and with the establishment of a preparatory school and the scheme for Indianization. In the first part it also wants to point out that it has recognised the several steps taken by Government along the line of Indianization. It recognizes that King's Commissions have been granted to a few youths. It recognizes further that the Government have established the so-called military college at Dehra Dun. I call it so-called, because I am told that this is nothing but a public school, or a school on the lines of a public school in England. As a matter of fact it has little to do with matters military, it is a civil college. If my information be correct, military college is a misnomer. Leaving that point aside let us give credit to Government and say that the so-called military college has been established at Dehra Dun and a further scheme for the Indianization of eight units has been launched. Whether this has been done satisfactorily or not is not the question before us. We mention merely that these steps have been taken by Government in order to Indianise the army, and further the Federation is altogether strongly of opinion that these steps are wholly inadequate. These are inadequate in more than one sense. These steps do not keep pace with the advance which has been allowed along political lines, though this advance is very unsatisfactory. So you will see that in the first part the Federation wants to recognize the fact that certain steps have been taken. Then we go on to the other part. You will please allow me to classify the recommendations that have been given there. The recommendations can be grouped in three different parts. The

first part of the recommendations says that all arms should be thrown open to Indians without any distinction and these recommendations are 2, 6, and 4. It will simplify matters if we add to 2 the recommendations contained in 6 and 4. The next part that provides for the training of young men consists of 1, 5, and 3. In the third part of recommendations provision has been made for the necessary expenditure. If therefore you allow me to refer to the first part, number 2 reads thus : That Indians be admitted to all branches of the Army, including Artillery and Air Force, and that they should be admitted into these sections of the Army not merely in subordinate positions, but as officers. And if you will allow me to draw your attention to number 6, it reads : That Selection Boards for selecting young men for all classes of people should be established, and that Indians should be adequately represented on such boards. Number 4 reads :—That all distinctions based upon race between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces should be abolished, and that those forces should be properly organised. If you will allow me to speak a word or two about each of them it will be found that a scheme provides for the education and training of officers, and that Indians should be admitted to all branches. The Federation urges the necessity of every young Indian who aspires to follow a military career having all these arms thrown open before him. There should be no distinction so far as the different branches of the Army are concerned. It should not be said henceforth that one branch of the army may be open to Indians, that artillery produces such a noise that Indians are unfit for hearing that noise, nor should it be urged that Air Force is too much for them—that artillery, infantry and such other arms are moving in different directions from air force which requires three directions. That is no argument therefore and it should never be urged that air force is rather hazardous and is too much for young men. If they are allowed young men will be willing to undergo any kind of training, Indians should only be admitted into all branches of the army including artillery and air force, and they should be admitted into these sections of the army not merely in subordinate positions, but as officers. Not only these arms should be thrown open to them, but the possibility of rising to the highest ranks should also be thrown open to them. Number 6 urges that when all these arms are thrown open boards should be formed for selecting people who are likely to take full advantage of these. Here selection boards are necessary because the Federation wants to see that all the different communities and different sections of Indians are properly represented in the army. There should not be any ground for complaint that a particular community is poorly represented, and another is well represented. It is for that purpose that the Federation wants to see that all the Indians have their due share in the defence of the country. In number 4 it is urged that all distinctions based upon race between the auxiliary and territorial forces should be abolished. Well, this recommendation is in regard to what is called the second line of defence. The first two appertain to what is known as the first line of defence. The first line of defence requires to be supported by the second line of defence. As things stand at present there is a distinction between the two members of the second line I mean the auxiliary and the territorial forces. The auxiliary force is open to a few races but the territorial force is open to all Indians. It is urged therefore that the auxiliary force should be thrown open to all Indians, just as it is open to all Europeans and Eurasians. Therefore 2, 6, and 4 together indicate that the Federation wants to have all the arms thrown open to Indians without distinction of caste or creed, and that they should be treated on terms of equality with Europeans and Eurasians.

If you allow me to proceed further I should like to draw your attention to numbers 1, 5, and 3. Number 1 says that a scheme for the education and training of officers be prepared so as to bring about the Indianization of the army within a reasonable distance of time—the scheme of the Indianization of the eight units bears in the opinion of the Federation no relation to the growth and development of the Constitution. Here it is urged that if real advance in the army is to be accomplished it is absolutely necessary that it should be officered by Indians. It is sometimes urged that Indians are all

right so long as they are mere sepoys, but as soon as they try to rise to higher posts, they are no good. To that the Federation retorts by saying that consideration should be not before us but the should prepare these young men for being officers and for holding responsible posts. Nobody would misunderstand about the aspirations or the capacity of Indians. It has been fully demonstrated in the last war that they are equal to any citizens in any other part of the world, and therefore it is urged that a scheme for the education and training of officers should be prepared immediately, and the present provision for the Indianization of eight units does not keep pace with the growth and development of the Constitution. But it is not to be supposed that the growth and development of the Constitution is satisfactory and that Indianization is satisfactory. Therefore it is necessary to urge on the attention of the Government that the present stop taken in Indianizing eight units is most unsatisfactory. Number 5 says that Officers' Training Corps should be established in all universities in British India and that compulsory military should be made the rule in the case of all university students who are physically fit. That is a very important point. Officers when they have to lead men require a wider knowledge of things round about them. They must be educated; young men and such young men are available in our universities. Therefore it is urged that Officers' Training Corps should be established in the universities, and further it is provided that compulsory military training should be made the rule in all the universities in the case of students who are physically fit. You may perhaps like me to say a few words on this point. All of you perhaps know that a few universities have expressed their desire to get their young men trained. We know that the University of Madras and the University of Allahabad have passed resolutions in that connection, urging on the attention of Government the necessity of training all young men of the university. In my university—the Bombay university—the question was moved by our president, but unfortunately it was lost by one vote. Arguments were urged that this kind of compulsory military training is out of vogue and that this conscription of intellectuals is abominable. of course, very high-sounding words were used and the effect was that the Senate of the University of Bombay was equally divided. But I may urge on behalf of young men with whom I have had the privilege of coming into contact to say that these young men are very enthusiastic. They feel that they are not allowed to rise to the height of manhood by being prevented from getting the training which they wish for so very ardently. Not only that but those who know young men know it perfectly well—I don't mean to say that parents do not know their young men—that they are very desirous of not only defending their country, but to say to foreigners that here we Indians are prepared to take any risk in the cause of our Motherland. When such is the case before us, with what face can the universities deny them the privilege of serving their country? There are universities like that of Bombay and others which do not pay sufficient attention to the psychology of young men or of the rising generation. Let them bear in mind that unless they pay more attention—perhaps and I wish that it should not happen—this, I mean, the training and opening these arms to our university students is perhaps a remedy against anarchical movements. If all the enthusiasm and all the energy of many of these so-called misguided youths had found its way into the army they instead of being the enemies of the country would have been the best benefactors of the country. Therefore it is urged that compulsory military training should be made the rule in the case of all university students who are physically fit. I hope that the Lucknow University will not take long in passing this resolution and bringing pressure on the Government of their province and the Government of India afterwards. Provision is made for those who are suffering, who may not be asked to go through that hard training. When I was coming to the platform I was asked as to what I would do with regard to the lady students. In every university the number of lady students is increasing. Shall we submit them to this military training? If I am allowed to say so I should do so if they so desire. (Hear, hear.) But at the same time I am led to believe that that time has not yet arrived to make it compulsory



on them to pass through military training. It is a matter for satisfaction that instead of coming into line with young men, they are desirous to be trained as girl guides. I find in different parts of the country not only boy scouts, but also girl guides following in the way of boy scouts. I am told that even in this city there are many young girls who are desirous of undergoing that training. Perhaps we can wait a little before we can make it compulsory on ladies to undergo such training. I wish that the time would soon come when they can undergo this military training, though in a slightly different form. Number 3 runs thus: That proper and well-equipped colleges should be established, and a definite programme for military education should be prepared. When all these young men are desirous of receiving education, provision has got to be made for it by instituting different colleges for their training. The so-called military college at Dehra Dun is no military college, I am told. But still if my information is correct, we do not want such pseudo-colleges at all, or colleges which are a misnomer. If you allow me to proceed I should like to draw your attention to the last three recommendations and they appertain to the financial side. Number 7 says: That the question of the financial liability of India to the British Exchequer for British troops should be referred for examination to a Commission on which Indians should be adequately represented. At present British troops when they are being trained in England require certain money being spent over them in England. It is open for us to find out whether the amount spent on them is adequate or not. And therefore it is suggested that this question should be referred to a Commission on which Indians are adequately represented. Number, 9 says: That Military Expenditure be reduced to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, that the possibilities of a further reduction be examined and that the scheme for the Indianization of the army should be adequately financed. It is common knowledge that sometime ago the committee called the Inchcape Committee was asked to examine military expenditure. Military expenditure stands at 67 or 68 crores and the recommendation of the Committee was that as soon as it was possible, it should be reduced to 50 crores. But even now this step has not been taken. A little reduction has been made. But this reduction should be immediately made and the possibility of a further reduction should be examined. It is therefore indicated that the Federation is not satisfied with the reduction already made, but it further wishes that the question should be examined by a Committee, if necessary. But there is a proviso that all this idea of economy, or anxiety for economy should not come in the way of the recommendations that precede, and therefore it is said that the scheme for Indianization should be adequately financed. It is indicated here that if all the economies are practised, people will be ready to furnish all the money for training Indians of different ranks of different arms. Number 8 says: That the strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to the needs of India for her internal security and safety against foreign aggression, and should not be based upon considerations of the needs of the other parts of the Empire. It is a well-known fact that the strength of the army, or of the determination of the strength of the army is dominated by the fact that India forms part of a vast Empire. India would willingly be quite ready to bear the burden of defending the Empire, whenever it is necessary. This has been indicated and proved in the last war. But it is no good reason to throw on India expenditure which is not legitimate as indicated in that part. You will see that all these considerations are absolutely necessary and it is urged that the Government of India should follow the recommendations and that unless the Government of India does so the Federation will not feel satisfied. Gentlemen, I leave this proposition in your hands, and I hope that it will be accepted with acclamation. (Cheers.)

#### Major D. R. Ranjit Singh.

Major D. R. Ranjitsingh (Allahabad) in seconding the resolution said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution that I have the honour to second has been placed before you and my pre-

decessor has already explained the various sections of this resolution in very good and lucid language. I therefore propose only to place a few general observations on this subject which I consider is really the main-spring of home rule or self-government not only for this country, but for any country in the world. The question of military policy, in my humble opinion also, Sir, is the true key to give us an idea as to how far the Government is prepared to take us into confidence and to grant us self-government. The question before us has engaged our attention, I believe, ever since we started our agitation in the first Congress, and I would ask the house to pause and consider what progress have we been able to make. The other day Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in a series of articles wrote elaborately on the question and placed the whole history of the present situation before us. It is only since the last few years that they have allowed,—so to say, given a sort of eye-wash to this vast country—a few students to be taken in the so-called military school, as the mover has rightly called it, in Dehra Dun. The eight units that have been proposed to be Indianized will take an almost indefinitely long time, not less than 20 to 25 years, to come into existence. Now we have proved our ability and our fitness almost in every other branch. We have had one of us governing a province. We have had our Indian brethren sitting on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, sitting on more important bodies such as the League of Nations and so forth. Is it not something very serious for us that during the last 150 years there has hardly been one Indian who has been thought fit enough to command a single regiment? I have also had personal experience of serving in a regiment myself as a medical officer, when I offered my services honorarily during the last Great War. I do not want to mention names, but I wish to say that at that time I was a party to a private talk with an Indian officer. It was just then when this movement was given effect to that an European officer asked this Indian officer whether he thought Indians were fit enough to hold the command of a regiment. As it was a private affair the Indian officer told him: 'Sir, I would like to be straightforward,' and he said he had been about 20 years in the army, and he thought he was fit enough to command his regiment and do any work that might be expected of another. It is really an irony of fate that when our young men and our universities in the whole country have been crying hoarse over the question of being allowed to serve their country, and of being allowed to be trained in the defence of their own country, I fail to understand why and what there should be between them and the powers-that-be to let them go ahead in the line for which they are so keen. The mover has already placed before you the question of the second line of defence and the first line of defence. Now I admit that the question is not such as can be judged in a very ordinary way, and without giving to it a great deal of serious thought and attention. I am not one of those who believe that we can Indianize the army within the twinkling of an eye. I know that even to become a field officer it takes at least about 15 to 20 years. Therefore it is not that I am speaking only for the sake of agitation, but I do want this house to think that admitting that it takes about 20 years to reach to the rank of a commander, well, if the speed with which those things have been given to us is not accelerated and if we are not given the representation that the country needs it really means shelving the question almost indefinitely. A country where we have thousands of foreign forces to defend us, and where we have been demanding this right—which, I say, is the birthright of every nation—will certainly not rest contented if the Government does not listen to these demands. I have also been connected with the advisory committee of the United Provinces Territorial Force by virtue of my being a nominated president. And in that committee we have had a long questionnaire sent to us from the committee in Delhi where we have sent our recommendations and I do hope that at least this great difference that is being observed in the Auxiliary force and in the Indian Territorial force for which they come out with numerous pretences saying that it would not be possible to work with Indians and Europeans joining the same force, would be done away with, and I do hope that this big committee will pave its way to satisfy the

demands of those Indians who are fit in every other way, but are not given the same status as the members of the Auxiliary Force are. As the president and some friends have requested that I should express these ideas in the vernacular for the benefit of our Kisan delegates I will try and do so now. (Cheers.)

### The Depressed Classes.

PROF. C. H. BHANNU.

Prof. C. H. Bhannu (Berar) in moving the resolution on the elevation of the Depressed Classes, said:—

Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which I have been called upon to move runs as follows:—

The Federation expresses its deep sympathy with the Depressed Classes, abhors the ungodly and unholy sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable, and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo the grievous wrong done to them and take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, educationally and economically.

Gentlemen, you must have seen from the copy of the printed agenda that is placed into your hands that it was Mr. G. K. Devadhar who was to speak on this important resolution. When I entered this hall I expected, as you must have also expected, that we would have a delicious feast full of delicacies, spicy, pungent and savoury drinks. But fates have ordained it otherwise. However, I do not regret for this particular change and that for the very simple reason that the question has been agitating our minds for nearly sixty or seventy years and therefore no elaborate argument is necessary to prove the validity of this particular proposition. What nation is there, what race of cultivated men is there who would like to see a blot of this particular type on their culture, on their educational and political activities? We find amongst us six crores of men—six hundred million human beings, or if you take it otherwise, nearly the whole of the Bombay Presidency—without any education whatever, wallowing in ignorance and abject poverty and struggling very hard to maintain their body and soul together. Time was when our own Hindu culture allowed all the so-called lower classes to raise themselves even to very high eminence. Take the instance of Valmiki. By means of his sheer intelligence and work he was able to raise himself to the position of very high eminence and he became a prophet or *vishi*. Look at Vyas, the same might be said of him. What does Sri Krishna say in the *Bhagavat Gita*? He says that educated men, men of light and leading, men of culture, do not make any difference between the high-born and the low-born. Running down along the stream of time, you find Buddha trying his level best to ameliorate the condition of the poor. Coming down to the thirteenth century you will find throughout the Indian continent a protestant movement headed by several sages, poets, prophets and saints. Here in this very province there was born and brought up Tulsi Das who tried his best to raise the condition of the poor. I know Maharashtra well and therefore if you run along with me to Maharashtra you will find from the 12th or 13th century down to the 17th a galaxy of saints and poets trying to preach one particular doctrine. I will give a quotation from Tukaram, one of the greatest poets in Maharashtra. He says God makes no distinction whatsoever between the high-born and the low-born but simply looks to the character, work, sacrifice and service to humanity of men. It is for this reason that we find in Maharashtra that the distance between the so-called low classes, the untouchables and the so-called upper classes is far less than what obtains in Bengal or what obtains in Madras. I do not know anything of U. P. Why is this? It is simply because our saints, our philosophers and poets had tried their best to wipe out this particular blot. When the English

rule began in this country we find the educated people were agitating their minds to solve this particular problem and to better the lot of the depressed classes. The Congress and the Liberal Federation have taken up this question. At the very outset of my speech I said that this resolution did not require any elaborate argument from me. By that I meant to convey that instead of moving this resolution, seconding and supporting it and telling people that we passed a particular resolution, let us try to work earnestly and solve this particular problem. You may have read the story of Ned, a slave boy in America. He was ambitious enough to better his own condition. Therefore he went one day to a liberal-minded man and asked him to teach the three R's. That man said that he would be willing to do so, but on one condition. The condition was that this particular slave boy should teach another slave boy the very lesson that he learnt at the feet of this liberal-minded gentleman. This process went on steadily during the last thirty or forty years with the result that today you have in the midst of the slave population of America a large class of people who not only know the three R's but are well educated in the universities. They have also bettered their position socially and economically, and, to a certain extent, politically also. What I mean is that the first thing that every one who calls himself a Liberal has to do is to take up at least one depressed class boy and teach him—not only to read and write but also habits of cleanliness and thrift, to teach him to change gradually his habits of life and manners and customs. If we do that on the condition that was laid on Ned, the slave boy of America, I think very soon this question will be solved, and these people would come forward and would be looked upon as equals by the higher classes. In this connection I have come to know from a certain gentleman of Malabar how these untouchables are treated there, partly for one reason and partly for another. His reason is that they do not take care of themselves. If they go to the schools that have been opened by the Government, and if they take advantage of the facilities that are placed at their disposal, it will be very easy for them to mend their position and raise themselves. Partly the fault lies on us also, on the social and religious conditions. Some people say: "These men ought to be kept at a distance. Even their shadow should not be allowed to come near us." We are to blame for this condition. This is more or less a social problem. It is more or less to be discussed on the platform of the social conference. At the same time, it has some political importance. How can we go before the Government and before the nation and say: "All the 21 or 22 crores of people in this country are of one mind," when there are more than six crores amongst us who are simply thinking of improving the interests of their own community at the sacrifice of general improvement? What chances are there for us if we appeal for the redress of our political grievances when these people are not raised? Therefore it is our bounden duty to request specially these depressed classes, which do not take kindly to education, to go to schools, to see that they go to schools, and to see that they take advantage of the facilities that are placed at their disposal. When these men become wealthy and masters of thousands and lakhs this problem of untouchability will wipe itself out. Therefore, the first thing that I would suggest is that we should go to these people and educate them in the first instance, not only in the simple three R's, but also give them lessons of cleanliness and high morals. When this done I think this question will be solved. With these few words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to you and I hope after it has been seconded and supported you will pass it with one mind.

#### THAKUR HANUMAN SINGH.

Thakur Hanuman Singh, M. L. C., (Lucknow), seconded the resolution in a Hindi speech. In the course of his speech he said that Hindu society had been handling this problem from time immemorial, but it was a matter of regret that the desired success could not be achieved. He referred to the observation of Mahatma Gandhi to the effect that it was in retribution for such treatment of Indians that they were being so unjustly treated in South Africa. He recalled with sorrow the statement of General Smuts that if the

distinction of 'high' and 'low' was made by Indians amongst themselves then there was no ground for Indians objecting to such a distinction being observed in South Africa. The speaker was strongly of opinion that Indians could not be considered fit for Swaraj until the so-called depressed classes were treated with equality by all other classes of Indians. He further recalled with surprise the fact that such classes of Indians were regarded as untouchables so long as they stuck to their religion and the same individuals were treated with great respect when they became Christians or Mahomedans and happened to hold some high offices. The speaker also drew the attention of the audience to the objection raised lately in the U. P. Legislative Council on the Government's putting a member of the Salvation Army in charge of Bhandus intended to be sent to the Andamans. He asserted that it was a matter of extreme regret that no Hindu or Mahomedan was forthcoming to accompany the Bhandus to save them from the possibility of their going out of their own religious fold. Much harm had been done to India, he said, by such treatment of Indians by Indians, and if still nothing was done to bring the depressed classes on an equal footing with all, still greater harm would follow.

MR. G. K. GADGIL.

Mr. G. K. Gadgil (Poona), in supporting the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Fellow-Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The proposition has been placed before you by an able Sanskrit scholar, Professor Bhannu. It has been seconded by Thakur Hanuman Singh in a lucid and moving speech. It has become an all-important question with us now. The whole nation has been set at thinking about it since it has been made a political question, apart from its being a question for the social conference. Since Mahatma Gandhi has made it popular every one is thinking what to do with our suppressed or depressed classes. The question has two aspects. The first is the social aspect and the second is the political aspect which you cannot afford to neglect when you are thinking of self-government. On the social side of it, I have just been told by Pandit Jagat Narain that the question is not so acute nor so serious in these provinces as it is either in the Madras Presidency or in the Maharashtra. In these provinces I hear there is no objection to a man belonging to the depressed classes coming near your house or compound or even walking into it. Only you will not allow him to enter your place of worship or to go inside the *ch'wka* or inside the kitchen. About the conditions that prevail in Maharashtra I am very familiar as I have been intimately connected with the movement for the last twenty years. I am connected with the associations for the depressed classes and their meetings and their work, and therefore I may tell you that this question has assumed a two-fold aspect there—a question that by now has suppressed their condition has affected their very mentality and also the relations as between the higher classes and the depressed classes. What happens if a man of the depressed classes comes into the street wishing to have a talk with you? They have become so degraded that before they enter your compound they will shout out to find whether you are willing to allow him to enter your compound or not. If you will ask him to enter your house or come into the verandah he will say : "I shall not come and pollute your house." This is the mental degradation to which the higher castes have pressed down these communities. They are not allowed to use the Dharmshalas, ghats and other public places, a right which every one can claim and legitimately claim as long as he is paying taxes to the Government. They are not allowed to use the water-pipes and water-taps laid by the municipal department which are used by the three higher castes particularly. So far as the Kurmis Mahrattas are concerned their children are not allowed to sit and receive education in the schools that are conducted by local boards and municipalities. If they go there, the children of the higher classes will leave the institution. In spite of the doctrine of inside conscience and other high-sounding epithets with which the non-cooperation movement has been invested by its great apostle, Gujarat itself is not willing to admit the children of the depressed classes into national schools. Mahatma Gandhi has

bitterly complained against it. There is no getting over the fact that these things have happened. In a municipality in the Nasik district all the Brahmin councillors resigned because two men belonging to the depressed classes were elected - one was nominated and the other was elected. This social degradation has permeated the whole strata of the three or four upper classes and the depressed classes. Now the most extraordinary thing is that among the depressed classes themselves the Chamars, the Bhangis and others will not touch each other. Each one of them considers himself to be polluted by a man from the other caste. Efforts are being made by Government as well as by social reformers to raise them. My friend Dr. Paranjpye, as Minister of Education in Bombay, started a hostel for them. What was the phenomenal experience? The very first day the people of the depressed classes and the children of the depressed classes rose in revolt, saying that they would not eat food cooked by Chamars. They had to arrange for Brahmins or other higher class cooks to cook the food for them. This is what happened in Bombay very recently among themselves, because there is this gradation of society. So the work before us is of a two fold character, *viz.*, to ask the depressed classes to give up the idea of untouchability as between the untouchables and to ask the higher classes to bring the depressed classes nearer them and to remove their untouchability. There is not much untouchability in the United Provinces and in some other provinces. But the worst evil is to be found in Madras and in the Maharashtra. This is a task which it is the duty of the upper classes and higher classes to undertake. I do not very much sympathize with the wording at the commencement of the resolution, *viz.*, the Federation expresses its deep sympathy. We have been expressing sympathy all along. I would rather prefer the words at the end of the resolution, *viz.*, "to take all possible steps." What are we going to do as practical men? Are we going to start schools for them? Are we going to make their condition better in schools. Are we going to allow them to have water from public places? These are efforts, these are courses which I say you have in fact been urging upon the higher classes all this time.

Then there is the other question, *viz.*, the political aspect of it. Politically also this is a drawback and the only parallel that suggests itself is the opposition of the Orangemen and the Ulstermen to the liberation of Catholic Ireland. Any attempt that was made to unite Ireland politically and make it a free nation the British Government has hampered at every step. This will be a political question which we will have to solve when the question of Swaraj comes for determination. What is going to be the condition of the depressed classes when you are to be given the freedom of men? That question you will have to solve along with other communities. Since the days after the union any attempt that was made to unite Ireland politically and make it a free nation was hampered at every step. So this question of the depressed classes will also be a political question which we will have to solve when the question of Swaraj comes up for our determination. What is going to be the condition of the depressed classes when you are going to be given the freedom of men? That question you will have to solve along with the other communities. But the question of untouchability within the Hindu community will prove to be a serious question if you will remember that about eight lakhs of the untouchables or Audi Dravidas in the Madras Presidency declared that they would die to the last man fighting if they were refused the elementary rights of citizenship. When such is the position it is now your duty to make amends for it with all the earnestness of which you are capable. This question cuts you in two ways. The question has another serious aspect even more important than the question of Swaraj. Why should Englishmen tell you that there are socially depressed classes among you when they are treating us as politically depressed classes? Why should Englishmen not say: "There are people so dirty among you that you yourselves do not admit them into society. Then why should we allow you to build bungalows near us in the Kenya Highlands and in other places?" The answer to this will be only one and that is: "We do not recognize these differences among ourselves. We are doing our best to wipe out the blot. We are determined to take our proper place among the nations of the world."

With these words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

*The President*:—I have great pleasure to ask the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh to speak on this resolution. He is not yet quite one of us as a delegate. I suppose you will all allow him to speak on this resolution.

#### HON. RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH.

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh (Rai Bareilly, U. P.), on being requested to speak on this resolution, delivered a speech in Hindustani. In the course of his speech he said that he would strive to raise the depressed classes, but not because it was necessary to do so for the achievement of self-government. Swaraj, he said, was their birth-right and they would continue to demand it in spite of drawbacks in the country. He would insist on uplifting these classes simply on account of the consideration that all men born in the same country and on the same land should be treated with equality irrespective of any distinction whatsoever. It was, he said, their religious duty to treat them in that way and it was gross injustice to regard their own brethren as untouchables. Referring to some observations in the Lee Commission's report to the effect that Englishmen should be attended to by English medical officers and not by Indians, the speaker asserted that that was the result of our own doing, namely, their ill-treatment of their own brethren. Raja Sir Rampal Singh also did not take seriously the danger of their conversion to other religions and he would not be moved at the condition of the depressed classes for fear of that. He would only insist on raising them because his conviction was that it was inhuman to treat their brethren in the way in which they were being treated. He therefore strongly supported the resolution.

#### DR. P. D. KAKKAR.

Dr. P. D. Kakkar (Lucknow) also supported the resolution in an Urdu speech. He said that so long as they could not raise the depressed classes they could not get Swaraj. He then expressed his views in a poem specially composed for the occasion which was much appreciated by the audience.

The resolution was then put to the conference and carried.

#### X.—Economic Development and Swadeshi.

##### MR. C. S. DEOLE.

Mr. C. S. Deole (Bombay), in moving the resolution, said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution which has been entrusted to me reads thus :

- (a) The Federation desires to impress equally upon the people and the Government the urgent necessity of measures of economic amelioration, including the improvement of agriculture, the development of cooperation, the organization of capital and the encouragement of manufacturing and cottage industries.
- (b) The Federation is in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement and urges both the people and the Government to give preference to the products of Indian industry even at a sacrifice.

Sir, to me it appears that this resolution is more important than all its predecessors, and that is for two reasons. You have been all along dealing with political resolutions. Even the last proposition which was a social one was given a political aspect. This resolution has for its object the economic development of the country. The country is suffering from political domination as well as economic domination. This resolution has for its object the removal of the economic domination of the foreign people. It was said by the late Mr. Ranade that economic domination is more dangerous than political domination, because it is more insidious and is not felt. Besides, the political structure can be erected only on an economic basis. If there is no economic basis no political structure can be erected. I will tell you later on,

as I proceed, that without an economic basis you cannot progress. Then if I am to compare this resolution with the Congress resolutions, I wish to say that this resolution corresponds to the Charkha resolution of the Congress. What does Mahatma Gandhi say, and why does he want the Charkha? He says that it will give an economic lever to the poor people in their interval of no work. I won't say unemployment. But there are large intervals in the case of the poor people in India. Only these poor people have no work whatsoever, and they are not earning anything. Mahatma Gandhi's idea is that the Charkha will supply them with the means of earning something during these periods of no work. Our Charkha is this economic development. How are we going to bring it about? It is said that this resolution impresses upon the Government as well as upon the people the urgent necessity of measures of economic amelioration. What is meant by economic amelioration? I shall briefly state what economic amelioration means. Economic amelioration means only taking steps to secure every measure for satisfying the primary wants of the people. What are the urgent primary wants? You want enough food, enough clothing and enough shelter—in other words, you require enough supply of food, clothing and housing accommodation. If these three primary wants of the people are satisfied they would feel happy. This resolution has for its objective the supply of these three things. For that the statistical data are not available. We have been very poor in this country so far as these data are concerned. Lately there has been a crop of these data. We don't know what our national wealth is. We have got certain figures, and we know what the income per head of the population is. But there has been a great divergence on this point. The figure that was calculated by Dadabhoi Naoroji was put down at Rs. 18 per head of the population as the annual average income per annum. At the time of Lord Curzon some investigations were made, and only the result was made known. But the researches, the evidence, and the material were not made available. Then about the year 1900 the figure was put down at Rs. 27. During this year particularly in 1924 you know there has been the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee sitting and trying to collect evidence. They are also collecting material and our president is a member of that committee. They have very recently issued a questionnaire. Now if you go through that questionnaire you would find that there are various estimates given for the consideration of the people. Mr. Findlay Shirras has put down the figure of average national income per head at Rs. 146. He has taken the figure at once from Rs. 27 to Rs. 146. You have to find out whether it is correct. There are other estimates which put down the figure at Rs. 44 and Rs. 46. Anyway it is not our purpose to go into the details and find it out. Our purpose will be served if we bear in mind that the figures so far as these important considerations are concerned are not available, and we shall have to work in that direction before we are able to find out the economic condition of the people. Well then, what is proposed in this resolution for the betterment of the economic condition of the people? The improvement of agriculture, the development of co-operation and the organization of capital and the encouragement of manufacturing and cottage industries. The first two remedies go together. The improvement of agriculture is essential because that is the largest industry of the country. Nearly 70 per cent. of the population is engaged in that industry. How are you going to improve it? What is the necessity and what the condition in these provinces of the agriculturist is I don't know. But of the ryotwari systems in the presidencies where it prevails, I can say something. Their condition is very deplorable. Here the agriculturists have no occupancy rights, and how that affects their condition is to be imagined. But whatever measures you may propose you find one difficulty in their way. If their lot is to be improved they want money. If agriculture is to be improved they want money. Then it is proposed that cooperation will help them. You know cooperation was introduced into this country in the year 1904. It has been in existence in this country for over 20 years. Has it been able to achieve the object for which it was introduced in this country, namely, to help the agriculturists? So far as Bombay is concerned I can tell you



that it has not materially helped the agriculturists. What they want is money always. The improvement of agriculture means better farming and better marketing. For better farming manure is required and a better type of implements. For that they require money. To a certain extent this is supplied by cooperation. The cooperative societies are able to supply small sums for the improvement of agriculture. But they want large sums because permanent improvements cannot be brought about without large sums. I know of a case where the landlord has introduced certain improvements in his lands and has improved and bettered his condition to such an extent that where he was getting Rs. 300 as income, he is now getting Rs. 3,000. He has improved his income 10 times. Then he wanted to introduce improvements in other lands. The improvements that he made were confined to 21 acres, but he had more lands. He went to the co-operative societies and wanted about Rs. 50,000 by two instalments of Rs. 25,000 each. The co-operative societies would not lend him Rs. 50,000. He went to the Director of Agriculture, but he could not find money. That man is even now helpless. He is not able to introduce any improvements in lands which still remain uncultivated. What is the remedy? That is about forming land banks which will be able to give large sums spread over a number of years, the repayment of which will be made by small instalments. Unless such banks are established in this country, by Government, of course,—no one person or group of persons will be able to establish such a bank,—unless land banks are established for the improvement of agriculture, the desired improvement will not come about.

Then there is the cooperative movement. So far as cooperation is concerned, I will say more impression is required in the case of the people than in the case of the Government. Government have been doing whatever is necessary in the cause of co-operation. But our people have not been paying adequate attention to that movement. If co-operation is developed properly in this country, it will be a source of economic amelioration, and at the same time valuable education in citizenship. So we must pay as much attention to the development of co-operation as possible. Then comes the question of the organization of capital. That is a very big problem, the organization of capital. How is the capital to come? In two ways, by mobilizing indigenous capital from indigenous sources, and allowing foreign capital to come. With regard to foreign capital you know there is a committee sitting to consider the question of foreign capital, and you must have read the questionnaire that has been published very recently in the papers. So far as the mobilization of indigenous capital is concerned, Government must come to help us, not that there is no capital in the country. You know that there are 25 crores lying in the Savings Bank. They are available for the Government, but they are not available for the people for the development of industries and agriculture. Sometimes it is more than Rs. 25 crores. Why are these sums not available to people, because people have no confidence? So if Government guarantees interest on sums lent out to these concerns, then truly will money be forthcoming. The agriculturist whom I instanced applied to the Bombay Government for guaranteed interest only. Government would not come forward. If Government had come forward in his case, he would surely have got Rs. 1 lakh easily. So in the case of indigenous capital if that capital is to be mobilized and made available for the purpose of industries and agriculture, then Government must help in such a way as to create confidence in the people, so that they may invest their money in these concerns. So far as foreign capital is concerned that is a very big problem. The questionnaire is divided into two or three important parts. They say, what are the forms of capital which are unobjectionable to you? What are the forms of foreign capital which should come into this country which are objectionable, but for which you would propose your own safeguards and your objections? But I can tell you that foreign capital will be acceptable to us in every case, provided the management of that capital is not in foreign hands. If we bear in mind this one thing, I think we shall be able to answer all questions with regard to the bringing in of foreign capital. If foreign capital is allowed to come, you may give a little more rate of interest, but the management of the capital must be in the

hands of the Indian people. If that one condition is satisfied, all the advantages that will accrue from indigenous capital will also accrue from foreign capital.

Then comes the question of the encouragement of manufacturing and cottage industries. Now the principle of encouraging industries is accepted by Government and by our Indian legislatures. In order to develop industries protection is required. The principle of protection is accepted by the Indian Legislatures and by the Government of India. Therefore encouragement of Indian industries is in a way accepted in principle, but whether that encouragement will be available to the people at every time is a question. There are various smaller industries which are not being developed for want of encouragement. Of course, that will not be the concern of the Indian Legislatures. That will come under the jurisdiction of the Directors of Industries in various provinces. It is their business to find out the various smaller cottage industries that are languishing.

Then we go to the second part of the resolution. The Federation is in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement and urges both the people and the Government to give preference to the products of Indian industries even at a sacrifice. Well, in the first part of the resolution we have asked for the encouragement of our industries. Following that encouragement we ask for encouragement from a different source altogether. Here you appeal to patriotic feelings, that if real economic encouragement in the form of help is not forthcoming, then it appeals to you that you should on patriotic grounds make a sacrifice, encourage your own industries and buy things which are made in this country by paying a higher price. It amounts to saying that even though things which are made in India are dearer than things made in foreign countries, you should go in for those things. That is what is said in this resolution. These patriotic motives have been used in several countries and they will be used, but I want to warn you against one thing. These patriotic motives do not help anyone for a long time. I will tell you an instance. When non-cooperation was at its height, then Bombay merchants in the Girgaon area which corresponds to your Ganeshkand in Lucknow, made a rule in their association that no foreign cloth would be sold in any of their shops. That was observed for one year. At the end of that year the association again met and considered their decision again. What did they decide? They said, We won't say that foreign cloth may be sold, but we shall simply remove the condition that foreign cloth should not be sold in any of these shops. On the very first day the resolution was cancelled, thousands of foreign made *dhotis* were sold in the Girgaon area. What does it teach? It teaches that if you depend upon patriotic motives for a long time, they won't be of help to you. The life of all persons in India and everywhere is based upon economic considerations. It is the economic considerations that weigh with men more than even patriotic considerations. So if you want to develop your industries, you must develop them on proper economic lines. These crutches will not be of help to you for a long time. I don't mean to say that they will not be of help to you for some time; surely they will be of help to you for some time. You should go in for Swadeshi things even at a sacrifice, but you should try to improve your industries and your agriculture by adopting proper economic measures. If these measures are adopted, then alone the salvation of the country is assured; otherwise the economic salvation of our country will not be assured. With these words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

#### BABU BRIJNANDAN LAL.

Babu Brijnandan Lal (Fatehgarh, U. P.) seconded the resolution. He delivered an interesting speech in Hindustani.

The speaker, in criticizing the policy of Government, with regard to the matter under consideration, asserted that it was the East India Company which had killed the Indian industries. In his opinion there was nothing so badly needed for the salvation of the Indian industries as a policy of 'protection'. No anarchical crime, the speaker further said, could be so dangerous for any Government as the existing miserable plight of

the masses in India. Referring to the second part of the resolution, Mr. Brijnandan Lal said that nothing substantial could possibly be done if the motion proceeded from a sentimental point of view only. The Swadeshi movement of Beugal, he asserted, was of a sentimental nature and therefore it failed. For the same reason the Congress *khaddar* movement also failed. He, therefore, thought that unless the people took actually to using and producing Indian articles their endeavours in that line could not bring any useful result.

The resolution was put to the Conference and declared carried.

### OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

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

#### XII.—Education.

This Federation is firmly of opinion that for the political, social, material and moral advancement of India a sound system of universal education is absolutely essential and calls upon all Provincial Governments and the Government of India to do all they can to advance it in all possible ways ; in particular by

- (i) Making elementary education compulsory for all boys and girls,
- (ii) Creating a sound system of secondary schools in which special attention will be devoted to the building of character and the inculcation of discipline by a proper selection of teachers who should be well paid and by providing ample facilities for games, physical and moral instruction, sound manual training and for promoting proper understanding between students of various communities.
- (iii) Starting and encouraging schools of a modern type in which boys from secondary schools can be given vocational training which will enable the students to learn some bread-winning occupation,
- (iv) Encouraging the promotion of the highest standards of learning and research in the universities,
- (v) Founding institutions of the highest grade in all specialized subjects so as to make it unnecessary for Indian students to go abroad,
- (vi) Paying special attention to the education in all grades of backward classes and the depressed classes,
- (vii) Making special efforts to advance the education of girls and women ; that funds should be amply provided by all Provincial Governments for a well-thought-out programme of education and by the Government of India for educational institutions of the highest grade of an all-India character.

#### XII.—Judicial and Executive Services and Functions.

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial and executive services and functions.

#### XIII.—The Kohat Riots.

The Federation is of opinion that the report of the Government enquiry on the Kohat tragedy is incomplete, one-sided and altogether unsatisfactory. The Federation is strongly of opinion that the local authorities responsible for law and order failed utterly in the discharge of this duty and their failure should be dealt with by the Government. The Federation further urges that every possible step should be taken to resettle the Hindus of Kohat in their homes and to make reparation for the losses they have sustained.

#### XIV.—Medical Aid in Rural Areas.

The Liberal Federation deploras the insanitary condition of the rural areas and the inadequacy of medical aid for its people and therefore it urges the Government to lose no more time in removing these legitimate and due needs of the people.

**XV.—Hindu-Muslim Relations.**

The Federation deplors the outbreaks of lawlessness in several parts of the country due to tension of feeling between the two great communities of India and emphasizes the need of all possible measures to create a feeling of mutual trust and regard. It commends the resolutions of the Unity Conference held at Delhi in September, to provincial and district Liberal leagues and associations as being eminently practical and fair-minded and urges them to secure the largest measure of public support for them by means of active propaganda.

**XVI.—The Liberal Party Organization.**

- (a) In addition to the associations and leagues mentioned in Resolution XIV of the second session of the Federation held at Calcutta in 1919, the Federation recognizes the Berar Liberal League established at Akola in 1923 as one of this provincial organizations.
- (b) The Federation authorizes its Council to set up a working committee to which it may delegate such of its functions as it may deem fit, and further to constitute from time to time standing or special committees to deal with specific subjects or matters. Standing and special committees may co-opt as members Liberals as well as persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation but do not belong to any Liberal organization. The number of co-opted members may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of a committee.
- (c) In supersession of Resolution XXII of the third session of the Federation held at Madras in 1920 except in respect of the part reaffirmed below, the Federation instructs the Council to take steps to organize a British Committee of the Liberal party of India and to make suitable financial provision for it. The Federation reaffirms the decision that the reception committee of each annual session shall hand over to the Genral Secretaries one half of the delegation fees raised by it.

**XVII—Indians in South Africa and Kenya.**

SJR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates and Gentlemen,—At the very outset I desire to draw the attention of this House to a correction which has been made in the printed resolution. I will, therefore, read first of all the resolution drawing attention to the words which are intended to be substituted. I have spoken about the amendment to the President and he approves of it. It is with his consent that I am moving the amendment to the draft as it has been prepared and as I proceed I shall explain to you the reasons for that. The resolution runs as follows :—

- (a) The Liberal Federation strongly protests against the enactment of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance depriving Indians of the Municipal Franchise and thereby not only creating a new civic disability but ruinously hampering them in their occupation as traders.
- (b) The Liberal Federation urges the Government of India to immediately send an officer of theirs and a nonofficial to South Africa to enquire into the Indian situation and to make a full report to them. The Federation urges the Governor-General in Council to move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under Section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909.

The reason for this change is that the Ordinance, it appears, has already received the assent of the Governor-General in Council of South Africa and therefore the language of the resolution as originally framed would not fit in with the actualities.

- (c) The Federation re-affirms its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya in 1923 and notes with regret that the late Labour Government did nothing to undo the wrong done to Indians by its predecessor.
- (d) The Federation further urges the Government of India to publish the report of the Colonies Committee and the steps which have been taken to implement it.
- (e) The Federation re-affirms its resolution asking the Government of India to take urgent steps to secure a reversal of the anti-Indian policy in Natal and Kenya as well as in other parts of the Empire and not to hesitate to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

### Unanimity of Empire

Now, gentlemen, in speaking on this resolution I desire at once to call attention to the unanimity that exists on the subject among all sections of the people of this country and among all political classes. There is not a Liberal, there is not a Swarajist, there is not a Hindu or a Mahomedan who has given thought to the position of our countrymen across the seas, who does not feel equally strongly upon the manner in which our countrymen have been dealt with by the other Dominion Governments or in the Crown Colonies. Indeed, when I speak of the unanimity of opinion and the strength of feeling on the subject it is not merely to indulge in an oratorical extravagance but to emphasize that so far as the position of Indians across the seas is concerned we are absolutely irreconciled to that position and we claim not as a matter of grace or as a matter of favour, but as a matter of right as the equal subjects of a common Sovereign, that we shall be treated not only in India but outside India on terms of perfect equality with other subjects of the King-Emperor. That this is recognized by those in the higher quarters admits of no doubt. Last year, when I had the honour of being present at the Imperial Conference, the then Secretary of State, Lord Peel, led the deputation on behalf of the Government of India. He spoke first, and anticipating a portion of my speech Lord Peel referred to the unanimity of opinion on this question and the strength of feeling—entertained not only by the people but also by the Government on this question in these words. I shall just invite your attention to Lord Peel's observations :

“ I certainly do not exaggerate,” said Lord Peel, “ when I say that this subject more than any other I think is constantly impressed upon me both officially and personally by the Government of India and by Lord Reading, the Viceroy. The Viceroy in his private letters is constantly explaining and pressing upon me how strongly the feeling of soreness and bitterness is growing on the subject and how in many ways the task of wisely governing India is made more difficult by this divergence of feeling. Therefore I want to place this first point before the Conference—the remarkable unanimity of feeling on the position of Indians in the Dominions. But I do not think when you come to ask the cause, it is very far to seek. The reason why there is such unanimity among our fellow-subjects in India is this, that they regard the disabilities under which their countrymen labour in other parts of the world as a brand of social inferiority. That is what cuts so deep in the conscience of Indians. But I am not necessarily, of course, associating myself entirely with that view, because I know quite well that there are other causes contributing, that there are questions of economic difficulty and political questions with which this question must be necessarily linked. But I have no doubt whatever that in what I am saying now I do voice the general opinion of Indians.”

### A Question of 'Izzat'

I have ventured to read this passage from the speech of Lord Peel, because I wish to point out once again that this is a question on which there

is absolutely no divergence of opinion and indeed it is one on which those in authority, whether in India or in England, I mean the India Office, feel it their duty to identify themselves with the Indian sentiment. Now, at the time when this speech was delivered by Lord Peel, General Smuts happened to be the Prime Minister of South Africa. General Smuts has gone and in his place General Hertzog has come. It was pointed out to me last year in England that it was not that General Smuts himself was opposed to redress being given to Indians there that he took that firm attitude, but that he was a victim of circumstances and that he could not possibly run counter to the strong feeling entertained on the subject by the white population in South Africa. And the apologists of General Smuts told me that they did not look forward to a better condition of things when General Smuts made room for any other politician in the Cabinet of South Africa. It was scarcely necessary for them to point that out to me. I fully realized and I fully appreciated that General Smuts and the Government in South Africa were bound to share the sentiments entertained on this question by their own countrymen in South Africa. But I also feel and I pointed out that it was not merely the duty of a statesman in authority to reflect the opinions, right or wrong, held by those entrusted to their charge but it was also their duty—and undoubtedly a difficult but a higher duty—that they should guide and lead and mould that opinion according to the best of their means. It is when you judge of the South African statesmen and ministers in that light that you are compelled to say that they have failed to discharge that duty. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, Lord Peel in the passage that I have just now read to you said that it was a question of social inferiority. I also put practically the same idea in an Indian word, *viz.*, *izzat*. I made an appeal to General Smuts to the best of my ability to adopt a reasonable attitude. I was aware at that time that so far as South Africa was concerned it has been no party to the earlier resolutions passed at the Imperial Conferences, *viz.*, the conferences of 1917 and 1918. I did not expect that General Smuts would be prepared to undo what had been done in South Africa before the year 1923 or to pledge his Government to take a different course without consulting his Government. I was under no such hallucinations. But short of doing that it was open to him to adopt a moderately reasonable attitude and I appealed to him to adopt that moderately reasonable attitude in regard to this matter. He would not have any committee sent by the Government of India although the other Dominions were prepared to have such committees. He would not have even any official representatives of the Government of India there to protect the interests of our countrymen or to represent their grievances to the Government of India in the first instance and to the Government of South Africa in the next. Well, I also pointed out to him at that time that not only the position of Indians in the past had gone down steadily, but that at that very moment the South African Government—or the Natal Government to be more precise—were contemplating legislation which, if passed, would make the position of Indians absolutely intolerable and miserable. And he was not prepared to pay attention to that. Indeed, the one attitude that he took was that “so far as the question of Indians in South Africa is concerned you need have no hopes of any expectation from me or my Government”. That was the answer that he gave. What we anticipated and what we apprehended has now come to pass. I would at this stage read out to you a telegram which I received from South Africa. I received it only just before I left Allahabad. It is from the Natal Indian Congress. It runs thus:—

“ Broughs Ordinance No. 18 assented to by Governor-General notwithstanding vehement protests from Indian community. Ordinance deprives Indians long-enjoyed municipal franchise and imposes other disabilities reducing Indians to condition of helotry. Future of Indians in Natal doomed. Earnestly appeal to Government of India to uphold India's honour and prestige by seeking King-Emperor's disallowance to Ordinance—Natal Indian Congress. ”

### Humiliation to Government of India.

That is the telegram which I received. Now the question which we have got to consider is : What are we to do in these circumstances ? It has been said in certain quarters that if we were a self-governing country we would probably be able to afford relief to our distressed countrymen there,—countrymen who have been badly treated by another Government. I have no doubt whatever that if India were a self-governing country, whether we would be able to give actual relief to Indians there at a distance of six or seven thousand miles away or not, no self-governing dominion and no crown colony would ever ill-treat our countrymen in the manner in which they have been treating them. (Hear, hear.) But ours is a peculiar position. We have got to fight for self-government first in our own country and we have got to fight simultaneously for the proper position of our countrymen across the seas. So far as the Government of India is concerned it has got no power to enforce its decisions or its views upon the South African Government for more reasons than one. In the first place, the Government of India is not an independent Government. It is subject to the control of His Majesty's Government. Let there be no illusions about it. In the second place, even if the Government of India were prepared to take a strong attitude the question which arises is whether His Majesty's Government, and particularly a Government like the present one, would be prepared to support the Government of India. Frankly speaking, it is a position of humiliation for the people of this country and a position of greater humiliation to the Government of India that they should find themselves unable to protect their own nationals in foreign lands. That, to my mind, constitutes a very grave position.

### India's Duty.

Still, notwithstanding the difficulties that exist in our way and notwithstanding the constitutional disabilities under which we suffer, are we going to sit silent or are we going to exhaust such other means as are open to us to adopt for the protection of our countrymen there and for the vindication of our national honour ? I venture to think that there can be only one answer to that. So far as the constitutional means are concerned we have suggested those means in one part of the resolution. We suggest that the Government of India should move His Majesty's Government, indeed should bring pressure to bear upon His Majesty's Government that they in their turn should use all the moral influence that they are capable of with the Natal Government and with the South African Government to re-consider their position. I do not know whether that stage has not already been passed. Probably it has been passed. But it is open to His Majesty's Government constitutionally to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance which has been passed by the Provincial Government of Natal and which has received the assent of the Governor-General in Council of South Africa.

### Disallowance by the Crown.

I will in this connection invite your attention to section 65 of the South Africa Act which expressly provides for the disallowance of Acts passed by the Union Legislature. It says : "The King may disallow any law within one year after it has been assented to by the Governor-General and such disallowance on being made known by the Governor-General by speech or message to each of the Houses of Parliament or by proclamation .....shall annul the law when the disallowance is made known." It may be urged, not without some force, that it is not an easy thing for His Majesty's Government to interfere with the internal affairs of a self-governing dominion. But that power of disallowance has been expressly reserved for the Crown, and although it is to be exercised on rare occasions with extreme caution and care in dealing with a self-governing dominion, I maintain and maintain very strongly that there is a conflict between one part of the Empire, and another part of the Empire, when the subjects of one part of the Empire are treated in another part of the Empire on the footing on which we are treated by the Natal Government that is a proper occasion for the exercise of this power. (Hear,

hear.) Well, if it is said that in a conflict between a self-governing dominion like South Africa and a dependency like India which has not yet got responsible government but which has aspirations only for responsible government it is impossible for His Majesty's Government to ignore the position of a self-governing dominion and to exercise its influence in favour of a mere dependency, then I say it is not playing the game. (Cheers.) Why not endow us with the same position as South Africa? (Hear, hear.) You cannot have it both ways. The sting is all the more keen because we realize that our position, politically and constitutionally, is not the same as that of South Africa. One can bear an insult from an equal. But one cannot bear an insult from one who aspires to be higher but whose claims to a higher position are not recognized by the party insulted. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, gentlemen, I do say with the fullest responsibility that this is one of those rare occasions when His Majesty's Government would be justified in exercising or in advising the Crown to exercise this exceptional power of disallowance of an Act passed by the Legislature of a self-governing dominion.

#### Relations of India and Dominions and Colonies.

So much only about the constitutional aspect of it. But there are certain other aspects of the question which I shall venture to place before you within the next few moments. The question of the relations of India to the Crown Colonies and Dominions was pointedly raised in the two conferences of 1917 and 1918. Indeed, be it said to the credit of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain that so far back as 1897, when India was not at all represented, and when India had not even the Minto-Morley constitution, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain pleaded for a fair and equitable treatment of Indians in the Dominions. Then, before the war, Lord Crewe presented a memorandum which was extremely creditable to that great statesman. After the war, when the War Cabinet was constituted and when two of our distinguished countrymen, Lord Sinha and His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir, attended, and when this question was raised at these Imperial Conferences in 1917 and 1918, and pointed attention was given to it while one of the resolutions which was adopted at the Conference of 1918 was that so far as the composition of the population of any particular self-governing dominion was concerned that dominion was to have absolute liberty. They could regulate their law and lay down what class of people they would admit and what class of people they would not admit within their own borders. But it was recognized that the principle of reciprocity was at stake and in order to recognize that principle it was laid down in the resolution that it was binding on all the Dominion Governments, excepting again South Africa which stood out, and that each one of the Governments concerned and party to that resolution could reciprocate the treatment accorded to its nationals in the case of the nationals of the offending party within its own borders. Now it is important to bear in mind the terms of that resolution. I am not reading the whole, but I shall just read to you a portion of it. This was the resolution passed in 1918.

“ The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution XXII of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that resolution it is agreed that :—

- (1) It is an inherent function of the Government of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities. (2) British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into any other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows :—



- (a) The right of the Government of India is recognized to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.
- (b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visé* there by an officer appointed by, and acting on behalf of, the country to be visited, if such country so desires.
- (c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or permanent settlement.
3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian."

**"Base Ingratitude."**

Now, gentlemen, so far as the question relating to Natal is concerned there is no question of immigration, there is no question of taking your wives and children there. The question is a very narrow and very simple one, and that question is: "Shall those men, those Indians who have been settled—there are thousands of them, the whole population of Indians in South Africa exceeds 1,60,000—and there are thousands of them in Natal who have been settled there for generations, many of whom have not seen this country and many of whom cannot speak the vernaculars of this country, who are thoroughly acclimatized, who have invested their savings in land there, who have been carrying on various professions for two generations are these people to be deprived of the elementary rights of local civic citizenship? Are they to be deprived of their Municipal franchise? Gentlemen, I can understand a whole population being put under a ban if there was something morally wrong about it or if they are really undesirable. That they are not undesirable or at any rate their ancestors were desirable, let the prosperity of South Africa bear witness to. (Hear, hear.) Having built up their fortunes, having built their prosperity to treat their descendants in the manner in which they are treating is, I have no hesitation in characterizing it, a base ingratitude unworthy of the citizens of this great Empire. (Applause and cries of "Shame".) This is not merely my statement. This is not merely my version of the character of my countrymen. I will support it by a reference to the speech of General Smuts and to one of his Ministers, Mr. Burton. When this question was raised in 1918—I am not talking of last year's Conference—this is what first of all Mr. Burton, a Minister of South Africa, who was a member of that Conference said:—

"As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens and it is our duty to see (as he himself expressed it), that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner."

That was what one of the responsible Ministers of a country enjoying self-government said before responsible Ministers of the Cabinet in England in 1918. Because these men these unfortunate countrymen of ours are good, law-abiding and quiet citizens they are going to be penalized in this fashion in the year of grace, 1924. If this is what Mr. Burton said, let me point out to you what General Smuts himself said one year earlier in 1917:—

"We are not a homogenous population".....Now remember the absence of homogeneity among them is a qualification, but the absence of homogeneity among us is a disqualification. (Laughter.)

“We are not a homogenous population. We are a white minority in a black continent, and the settlers in South Africa have for many years been actuated by the fear that to open the door to another non-white race would make the position of the few whites in South Africa very dangerous, indeed. It is because of that fear, and not because of any other attitude towards the question of Asia, that they have adopted an attitude which, sometimes, I am bound to admit, has assumed the outward form, although not the reality, of intolerance. Luckily we have got over those difficulties. The visit of the late Mr. Gokhale to South Africa did an enormous amount of good. His visit was followed later by the visit of Sir Benjamin Robertson, a distinguished public servant of India, who also assisted the Government to overcome great difficulties on this point some years ago. The result has been the passage of legislation to which both the white and the Indian communities in South Africa agreed. There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail, some of which are referred to in the Memorandum which is before us, but I feel sure, and I have always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now—that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed: the great principle of restricting immigration for which they have contended is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India, and, that being so, I think that the door is open now for a peaceful and statesman like solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and which will occur from time to time. Of course, the main improvement has been the calling of India to the Council Chamber of the Empire. Here, if any question proves difficult of treatment, we can discuss it in a friendly way and try to find in consultation a solution, and I am sure we shall ever find it. I for one do not consider that, among the multitudinous problems which confront us in our country, the question of India will trouble us much in future.”\*

The question of India may not have troubled General Smuts or his successor in subsequent years, but it has troubled us all here and it will continue to trouble us as time goes on. I, therefore, say there being no question of immigration, South Africa having got like other Dominions perfect liberty to regulate its own population and to determine what will be the character of that population in future, is it fair, and is it just for the Natal Government to avail itself of its very special powers of passing an Ordinance with regard to municipalities and, in the guise of that Ordinance, to strike at the very root of the Indian population, thereby degrading them from the position which they have enjoyed for so many years to a position which reduces them, as the sender of this telegram says, to the position of helotry? I, therefore, say that the treatment of our nationals by the South African Government has been extremely shabby, unworthy of the citizens of the British Empire and absolutely intolerable. (Hear, hear.) We, therefore, situated as we are, desire to call the attention of the Government of India to this position and we sincerely hope and trust that howsoever difficult the position of the Government of India in this matter may be—I realize to a very great extent the difficulties of the position of the Government of India—the Government of India owe it to themselves and owe it to the people of this country (hear, hear) that they shall make an emphatic protest against this Ordinance to His Majesty’s Government and tell them plainly that the insult which has been heaped upon this country, the injury which has been inflicted upon our countrymen in South Africa shall not for a moment be tolerated in this country and that so far as we are concerned, we are not going to reconcile

ourselves to that position I venture to think that if a proper and adequate representation is made it will not be wholly without effect.

#### Deputation to South Africa.

But the real difficulty of the situation is this that so far as the Government of India themselves are concerned their knowledge of the affairs in South Africa is not very often quite up-to-date. It is very difficult for them to find out what is happening there. Therefore, one part of the resolution suggests that in order to find out what has actually happened there and in order to find out what really is the nature and extent of the grievance of Indians so that they may have the facts before them supplied authoritatively, it is desirable that they should send an officer accompanied by a non-official. Now, let there be no delusion about this part of the resolution. The Federation is not suggesting that we want a committee sent to negotiate with the South African Government. We know that such a committee will not be received and we do not want to receive a rebuff. But we have got the right to ask the Government to send their own officer and a nonofficial to find out how the matter stands. This having been done, and, indeed, before this is done, the Government of India should exercise their pressure upon His Majesty's Government to secure the disallowance of this Act.

#### Retaliation.

But assuming all these demands are made by the Government of India and assuming that ultimately His Majesty's Government say "we are not prepared to take the steps which you advise us to take" what is the Government of India to do? The principle of reciprocity was accepted in this resolution and it is in pursuance of the principle of reciprocity that the Indian Legislature last year, I believe, passed a Bill which was moved by my friend, Dr. Gour. Now, it may be that in the exercise of the principle of reciprocity embodied in that you may not be able to retaliate effectively—I am afraid you cannot retaliate effectively against South Africa—But still that Act, I am sure, should be give effect to the extent to which it can be given effect, so that it may appear without any doubt to every one in England and, South Africa that India is not prepared to receive this insult without retaliating in the manner and to the extent to which it is open to her to do at the present moment. (Hear, hear.)

#### Position with Regard to Kenya.

So much, gentlemen, about South Africa. Now as regards Kenya. You all know the position with regard to Kenya. I will not cover the ground which I covered last year in my speeches. In pursuance of the resolution which was accepted by the Imperial Conference the Government of India early this year sent a committee consisting of two members of the Legislative Assembly, Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar and Mr. K. C. Roy. The Committee was led in England by a very distinguished and retired member of the Indian Civil Service who is really and genuinely sympathetic to our aspirations—I mean Mr. Hope Simpson. I heard a great deal about this Committee from friends in England, but I do not wish to repeat all that I heard about this committee. I do want that the report of this Committee should be published so that this Committee may know to what extent the efforts of this country have succeeded, so that we may know if we have gained on any point, and if we have lost on any point, and we may then exercise such moral pressure as is open to us to exercise upon the Government in England through the Government of India. That has not been done. I understand that so far as the Immigration Ordinance (Kenya) is concerned that practically has been dropped. But as regards the remaining questions, viz., the rights of Indians in the hills and communal representation I understand the position is practically the same as it was last year. It may be that my information is wrong. But no one will be more happy than myself if I am corrected. Before I express any considered opinion upon what has been done or attempted to be done by this Committee on which there were two distinguished friends of mine, I should like to read the report of that Committee.

I should like every one of you to read that report. Therefore, I speak guardedly with regard to the work of that Committee. Meanwhile, I take notice of certain statements made by Mr. Thomas, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Now it is perfectly true that Mr. Thomas was a member of the Labour Government. Notwithstanding the fact that I have great respect and admiration for the Labour Government, much more than I have for any other Government in England, I am bound to say this: Mr. Thomas may be a Member of the Labour Government or may belong to the Labour Party; but so far as these matters are concerned there is very little to choose between him and any member of the Conservative Government. (Hear, hear.)

I will not take your time further with regard to Kenya. Gentlemen, the position to my mind is a very serious and very grave one. I have told you the extent to which we can go in the present circumstances. I do not know whether there are any members of the Indian Legislature present in this hall. Certainly I have just noticed one and I do hope and trust that when they go back after these many months of rest to the Legislature, whatever else they may do or may not do, they will raise a debate on this question and strengthen the hands of the Government of India to make proper and adequate representations. And, speaking for myself, while I know the dangers of retaliation, while I know the limits within which we can retaliate, only I should not blame any member of the Legislature if he told the Government of India frankly that the time had come for them to act with greater courage and with greater determination than they had shown during the past few years on this question. (Hear, hear.) I venture to hope that so far as this question is concerned it will not be treated by us in a light-hearted fashion. To my mind the position of Indians across the seas is not less important so far as Imperial matters are concerned, so far as India and our allegiance to the Empire is concerned, than the question of self-government within India itself. And it is in that light that I present this question to you and I therefore hope that you will pass this resolution with acclamation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

#### PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow) explained briefly in the vernacular the various grievances of Indians in Kenya. He began by saying that an appreciable period had not yet passed since the perpetration of acts of injustice on Indians in Kenya when the Natal Ordinance,—a fresh instance of injustice to the Indians overseas—was announced. The speaker stood by the demand for Swaraj within the Empire, but the last few days' brooding over the Natal Ordinance question had resulted in arousing in him a thought whether it was possible to have justice done to them within the Empire. It was a deliberate attempt to take away what was their birthright and if the Government of India did not succeed in getting it cancelled, then Mr. Misra would say that there was no such thing as 'Empire'. The result, he further said, would be highly injurious to the Empire itself and his Majesty should be advised by the Government to throw out the Natal Ordinance. In conclusion, Mr. Misra suggested that meetings should be held in villages and elsewhere to explain to the classes and the masses what was happening within the Empire to the Indians overseas.

#### MR. BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI.

Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi supported the resolution in a Hindi speech. The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

#### XVIII.—The Bengal Ordinance.

#### MR. HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Lucknow), in moving the resolution on the Bengal Ordinance and the Deportation Regulations, said :—

Mr. President and gentlemen,—The resolution that I have to propose runs as follows :—

The Federation is firmly of opinion that anarchical crime is entirely opposed to the progress of the country and the Federation would support any reasonable measures for its suppression. But it is not satisfied that the recent measures taken in Bengal were called for and strongly protests against the promulgation of the Ordinance I of 1924. The Federation is further of opinion that all ordinary means for proceeding in the matter should have been exhausted before the Government had recourse to any special measures.

The Federation is further strongly of opinion that the Regulation III of 1818 should not have been resorted to as, in the opinion of the Federation, it is an abuse of that Regulation to apply it in the present case.

The Federation is further of opinion that a measure like the Ordinance or the proposed Bill, of such wide extent and giving such arbitrary powers to the executive, especially that of detention of persons without trial for an indefinite period, is not justified. In the opinion of the Federation any special measures which may be passed to cope with the anarchical movement should provide for the speedy trial of persons against whom action is taken under it by a bench consisting of three permanent judges of the High Court.

The Federation is of opinion that Bengal Regulation III of 1818 as well as the corresponding Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1819 and 1827 should be forthwith repealed.

In the opinion of this Federation the only effective permanent remedy for the recrudescence of anarchical activities is the removal of the causes of discontent which encourage and foster such crimes.

The resolution, roughly speaking, may be divided into four parts. We first of all give utterance to the faith that we have in ourselves that the progress of the country depends entirely on the use of peaceful methods. We then protest against the manner in which the Ordinance recently promulgated in Bengal was adopted. We then point out that Regulation III ought not to have been in the present instance resorted to, and also protest against the incorporation of its provisions in the Ordinance to which I have recently referred, and the Bill which will be introduced in the Bengal Council on the 7th January. We ask for the repeal of the Regulation as well as the similar provisions in the Bill. And, lastly, we point out that whatever temporary measures may be adopted for dealing with anarchical crime, Government must not lose sight of the fact that so long as the causes of discontent remain, repression will not serve the purpose they have in view.

#### FORMS OF LAW SHOULD BE OBSERVED.

The Federation, while firmly convinced that the progress of India can take place only if we proceed on peaceful and constitutional lines, and while the existence of anarchical conspiracy is admitted on all hands, protests against the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1924. It protests specially against the manner in which this Ordinance I was brought into existence. If a special situation exists in the country, let it be dealt with by means of special legislation. But in order to pass such legislation, do not neglect the procedure that the experience, the long experience of civilized communities, has found necessary to serve the ends of justice, to secure the punishment of offenders and to safeguard the rights of innocent citizens. It may be that neither the Assembly nor the Bengal Council would have agreed with Government. It may be that any measure proposed by Government would have been thrown out. But even if this were a certainty we would still

protest that the forms of law should be observed. The Ordinance, of course, as you know, is not illegal, but it is against the spirit of the present constitution and against the spirit of the Reforms, the essence of which was described by Lord Chelmsford as being the abolition of autocracy,—that the Government should take action immediately after the prorogation of the Assembly on a matter of such vital importance. Even if all that the Governor of Bengal and the Viceroy of India have said in order to excuse themselves for the manner in which they took action may be believed, it still remains as an unanswerable fact, as pointed out by our President, that the legislature could have been summoned again. But howsoever ignorant the Viceroy might have been of the precise situation in Bengal, it is difficult to believe that the Government of Bengal and the Home department of the Government of India, as pointed out by Dr. Paranjpye, had not made up their minds long ago to insist on being armed with special powers such as those with which they have been invested by the recent Ordinance.

#### GOVT.'S POWERS DANGEROUSLY WIDE.

We come now to the matter of the Ordinance, to the specific provisions contained in it; and in considering the character of the measure we must be guided by two considerations. We must first determine what is the extent of the danger with which the Government was faced; and, secondly, to what extent the measures proposed by the Government, while penalizing the breakers of law and order, will protect the just rights of the innocent. Now, so far as the extent of the conspiracy is concerned, we have it, not on the authority of men of the extremist party, but on that of the Indian Association, consisting of men of sober and mature experience who have not hesitated to face unpopularity in the past in order to support law and order when they thought there was danger, that the movement is not as widespread as the Government would lead us to believe. The anarchical movement exists; but the danger is a limited one and can be, for the present at any rate, controlled by the use of the powers that the law has already armed Government with. In any case, if any special legislation is required, it may be conceded that it is needed only to bring the offenders to a speedy trial. Nothing has so far come to light to warrant the promulgation of that Ordinance, authorizing Government to detain without a public trial and for an indefinite period people whom it suspects to be privy to attempts at violation of law and order. Let me here point out briefly what those objectionable provisions are. The Government of Bengal are authorized by section 12 of the Ordinance to pass various orders, the effect of which as a whole is to restrict the freedom of individuals, and they are further authorized by this section to detain people, against whom they have suspicion, in jail. Now, those of you who have read the report of the Sedition Committee, on which the Rowlatt Act was based, will remember that even that Committee reported against suspects being placed in penal custody. And now, in this Ordinance which runs generally on the lines of the Rowlatt Act, which created so strong a feeling throughout the country, Government go against the recommendations of the very Committee whose conclusions they place great confidence in, and treat suspects almost as if they were sentenced criminals. Now, the Governor of Bengal and Lord Reading say that there is a great difference between this legislation and the previous legislation, in that this legislation does not deal with ordinary sedition, but is aimed at a purely revolutionary movement which cannot be controlled by means of the ordinary law.

#### MISUSE OF POWERS.

It is perfectly true that the sections relating to sedition are not included in either of the schedules appended to the Ordinance, or, as far as I know, to the Bill proposed to be introduced in the Bengal Council. But the power with which Government have been armed are, nevertheless, dangerously wide; and our experience of the manner in which legislation in the past has been used by the Government is not such as to warrant the belief that the Ordinance or the proposed Bill passed into law would be used with the care which every Government, responsive to public opinion, must exercise

even in so vital a matter as the existence of anarchy. Look at the Press Act. Mr. Cokhale complained that if there was any measure in the enforcement of which due regard should have been paid to public opinion it was the Press Act, but it was actually used in such a way as to make it a menace to the free expression of opinion and one of the first steps of the new Legislative Assembly was to insist on the repeal of that obnoxious Act. Then, take the Defence of India Act which, the Government of Bengal say, was effective in crushing out the anarchical movement during the year 1915-19. Many of you will remember the harrowing tales of misery consequent on the unrestricted use of the Defence of India Act, which were unfolded in the old Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Surendranath Banerjea and Babu Bhupendranath Basu. It is admitted that Government succeeded for a time in scotching the movement. But so great was the discontent that the use of that measure produced that even men entirely on the side of law and order exclaimed that even individual acts of anarchy would be better than the suppression of violent deeds in such a manner as to crush all manhood from us. I am sure none of you has forgotten that it was under this Defence of India Act, meant to be used against the enemies of the state for a temporary period, that Mrs. Besant was interned. If the Defence of India Act could be used against Mrs. Besant in that manner, what guarantee is there that the liberties of anybody would be safe, if measures similar to those included in that Act are embodied in the new Bill? And what is our recent experience of the manner in which the preventive sections of the Penal Code have been used? It goes further to strengthen our determination not to place such dangerous powers in the hands of the executive. Who would have believed that sections 107 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code would be used in such a way as to make Government practically independent of special legislation, to do anything they liked in the name of the maintenance of law and order? I remember vividly what was being done in districts like Muttra, Sitapur, Benares and Bulandshahr without our protests being heeded by Government; and it appeared to us then that Government connived at the misdeeds of their executive officers, not because there were serious dangers confronting the Government, but because they had come to regard special legislation as short cuts to administrative convenience. They had fallen a victim to the inevitable temptation of using the special powers on occasions on which the ordinary law would have sufficed. With this experience before us we cannot for a moment consent to, or look with equanimity on, the Bill that the Government now propose to introduce in the Bengal Legislative Council.

#### THE DEPORTATION REGULATION.

As regards Regulation III of 1818, who is there who does not know that it was under this Regulation that Lala Lajpat Rai was deported; that it was under this Regulation that men with such spotless character as Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt and Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra were detained in custody without any charges being formulated against them and without their being brought to trial? Nearly two decades have passed since this action was taken, but the lapse of time has only deepened our conviction of the utter injustice of the action taken by the Government. I am not acquainted with, I have not the pleasure of knowing, the gentlemen against whom action has recently been taken in Bengal; and I understand that they are men against whom accusations of violence cannot be brought. But howsoever that may be, our objection is one of principle, fortified by our experience of the abuse of this Regulation in the past. We, therefore, ask that this Regulation ought to be repealed and that the provisions incorporated in the new Bill on lines similar to those of the Ordinance should be done away with.

#### TRIAL OF OFFENDERS.

I will advert to one more circumstance before I pass on to the last subject on which I will say a few words before I sit down. The Ordinance provides for the appointment of commissioners for the trial of offenders and for placing evidence relating to people detained without public trial before

two sessions judges. Two months have passed since the Ordinance was promulgated and no action has been taken by the Government of Bengal either to appoint commissioners, or, so far as one learns from what has been published relating to Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, to inform the detenees of the charges against them or to place evidence relating to them before responsible judicial officers,—not that one can have entire faith in sessions judges,—but, as Lord Lytton himself has said, the sifting of evidence in secret is not a thing that can be entrusted to the High Court which, by the way, is unwilling to take this duty upon itself. It can be entrusted to executive officers and if sessions judges have been chosen to take such evidence, the conclusion is irresistible that the sessions judges who should be part of an independent judiciary are looked upon by the Government as subordinate to the executive and as the instruments of its policy. But however defective the present system of the administration of justice may be, what answer have the Government to give to the criticism that they did not place the evidence relating to the detenees before men in whom they at least must have full confidence? It may be said of Mr. Subash Chandra Bose that he was arrested under Regulation III of 1818. Granted. But if the spirit inspiring Government is that to which utterance has been given by Lord Reading and Lord Lytton in their speeches, what prevented them from acting under section 18 of the Ordinance and letting Mr. Subash Chandra Bose have in writing a statement of the charges formulated against him? Their unwillingness to do so shows that whatever their public professions may be, they are even now hankering after powers which would enable them to deal summarily with people whom they dislike, whom they regard on reports which being secret we have no faith in, as criminals dangerous to society. Our insistence on the repeal of Regulation III of 1818 is strengthened by the fact that originally the chief purpose of this Regulation was to deal with undesirable Europeans. (Laughter.) And it will also be remembered that the Repressive Laws Committee over which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided, recommended the ultimate repeal of Regulation III of 1818. I suppose, in the circumstances prevailing in the year 1921 due to the non-cooperation movement, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who did not change his political opinions when he entered the Government of India, could not persuade them to part immediately with the powers with which that Regulation vested them. But I am sure that he was confident that under the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading, no time would be lost in repealing that Regulation as soon as things had reverted to the normal. But although the non-cooperation movement has been suspended, although it has been apparent to every body that during the last two years all the danger to the state due to the non-cooperation movement has come to an end, Government are still unwilling to part with the powers with which this Regulation arms them. And it is curious to note in passing that the Government have taken action under Regulation III of 1818 in spite of the fact that they could have detained people for an indefinite period without formulation of charges under the Ordinance itself. I can only conclude that they have chosen to take action under Regulation III of 1818 to avoid even the slight inconvenience of informing the accused of the definite charges they have against them and of placing evidence relating to them before judicial officers, who may be called semi-judicial.

#### MERE REPRESSION WILL NOT SERVE.

Sir, the manner in which the Ordinance has been promulgated and the provisions embodied in the Bill which is to be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council, however serious they may be from our immediate point of view, are however minor compared with the ultimate question as to how law and order are to be placed permanently on a sound basis. Lord Lytton claims that the spirit of terrorism has revived in Bengal, because of the encouragement given to violence in the press and on the platform. He holds Mr. C. R. Das, the mover of the resolution relating to Gopi Nath Saha, as in effect the instigator of crimes of violence. I am no defender of that resolution; Mr. Gandhi himself has disavowed it. But let us look things in their



true proportions. Is Mr. C. R. Das, an inhabitant of this country, and, whatever our differences with him, is after all as a well-wisher of the people of India desirous of maintaining stable society, promoting a revolutionary movement, or have the seeds of this movement been sown by an inconsiderate and tyrannical Government? Hear, hear.) Has Mr. C. R. Das given a fillip to the revolutionary movement, or the infamous massacre of Amritsar? (Shame, shame.) Which is more inimical to the maintenance of law and order, the irresponsible speeches of the most irresponsible politician in India or the condonation of the deeds of General Dyer by the House of Lords and the presentation of a sword of honour to him by the nonofficial Europeans? (Shame, shame.) You heard recently the humiliating tale of the disabilities and grievances of a galling nature inflicted on our helpless countrymen in territories under the British Empire and at a distance of thousands of miles from this country. Can you wonder that the indignities heaped on the heads of our unoffending and helpless countrymen have burnt themselves into the souls of our people and have engendered in them a bitterness which makes them sick of foreign rule? (Hear, hear.) It is well always to hold our enthusiasm in check, but when you deal with human nature, on a consideration of which the Government claim they base their measures, I ask you to consider whether you can have law and order merely by declaiming against the impatience, let us say, the criminal impatience, of a few ardent spirits, or whether you can promote respect for law and order by showing a scrupulous regard for the rights of the people committed to your care? On your own admission the revolutionary movement has been in existence since 1906. You have had ample powers to deal with it. You thought you had crushed it under the Defence of India Act. But it has reared its ugly head again. It is obvious then that mere repressive measures will not serve to put down the spirit of violence that has been manifesting itself in this country noted for its peacefulness and patience for centuries upon centuries. You can only do it by making Indians themselves responsible for the maintenance of law and order. (Hear, hear.) Burke said on a memorable occasion that the greatest revenue that a state would derive was the power in the subjects of refusing to agree to taxes. That refusal, he said, was the greatest revenue that the state could derive. Similarly, the greatest guarantee for the maintenance of law and order is to place power in the hands of the representatives of the people even when you feel that they may not take action on occasions when you think that special measures might be called for.

#### A LARGE DEMAND ON OUR CREDULITY.

Lord Lytton says that he is unable to follow the advice of Mr. C. R. Das, as Mr. C. R. Das refused the offer of Ministry made to him by Lord Lytton. I am certainly not here to defend Mr. Das's refusal of the Ministership. But I must say that Lord Lytton's claim seems to me to be an exaggerated one. Knowing from our own experience and from what has been brought to light by ex-Ministers and even ex-members of the executive Government, it is making a large demand on our credulity to ask us to believe that if Mr. C. R. Das had accepted a post in the Ministry, the Government of Bengal would have paid regard to his advice in measures relating to the maintenance of law and order. Where have they followed the advice of any Indian Minister? But the reply given by Lord Lytton is, I venture to say, the bureaucratic reply. Government pride themselves on their isolation. They regard themselves as better judges of our interest than we ourselves. They regard it as a sign of strength that they can bear down opposition and insist on the application of measures which they alone can do. I say to them—if you can put aside this pride, if you can finally make over the maintenance of law and order to the Indians, you will not only find that they are resolute enough to take action against the disturbers of society, but that the occasion for the exercise of special powers would largely disappear. Could there be a country where self-government could be granted under more inauspicious circumstances than Ireland? Have the representatives of the people there shown themselves slow to take action against those

whom they regarded as enemies of the true interests of the country? And have they not within the short space of two or three years been able to restore order to that distracted country, which the British Government with all its armed legions was powerless to restore? (Hear, hear.) I say, then, to the Government to have faith in the principles to which they pay lip homage, to forget that it is not they who have an interest in the maintenance of law and order, to remember that it is we who are far more interested in having our activities carried out in accordance with constitutional ways. If they do so, they will have a far more potent weapon for consolidating their rule and for serving the welfare of the millions of India than any number of special measures that they may choose to pass. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

MR. JITENDRA NATH BASU.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta) in seconding the resolution, said:—

After the lucid and comprehensive speech of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru it is not necessary for me to say more to commend this resolution to your acceptance. I would say only a word about the attitude of Bengal in the matter. Bengal recognizes that this evil of anarchical crime is present in the province. But Bengal is also decidedly of opinion that it is not of the extent which the Government of Bengal and the Viceroy and Mr. C. R. Das would lead the public to believe. You will notice from the facts that have come out from time to time that this movement in Bengal has been in existence for nearly 16 or 17 years. And the evil results that have emanated from this movement consist of on an average about one or two deaths every year. These deaths are exceedingly regretted. But Bengal has so many pre-occupations and other evils that this small evil is not a matter which concerns the Bengali mind to any very great extent. There is, as you all are aware, the evil of malaria and cholera which carry off a little over 1,00,000 human lives in the course of every year and that has gone on not for 15 or 16 years, but for three-quarters of a century. And we have not found on the part of our rulers the same eagerness to grapple with that much greater evil which we have witnessed in connection with the smaller evil that has only recently come into being. In order to meet the evil the Government has come forward with the Ordinance which is shortly to be followed by legislation on the lines of the Ordinance that has already been promulgated. The difficulty with the people of Bengal about legislation of that nature is that the executive authority or the administrative authority which works this kind of legislation is an alien organism which does not respond to the other organism of which the people of the country consist. They are a small minority in a large country and the slightest shadow sends them into a panic and makes them have recourse to harsh measures which if the executive Government of the country formed part of the national organism and were responsible, all these movements would never have occurred. In Bengal, particularly in rural Bengal, we have a tremendous backwardness in matters of public life, education, communication and various other matters, and having regard to the low economic condition of the country, a great deal of that work is now sought to be done by voluntary organizations. There are village associations springing up everywhere, with voluntary workers who try to improve the health, economic conditions, communications of the village and so on. They are trying to organize national life from below. These associations and organizations are no favourites of those that are now in power. They think that their power over the country is being slowly undermined by these organizations. The Ordinance that has been promulgated and the proposed legislation give power to the executive to detain the men whom they choose and for any length of time that they choose. You are all aware that under the Defence of India Act about ten years ago Government started these detentions and they reached a figure which exceeded, I believe, 1,000 persons. They consisted, as reports have appeared in the papers, mostly of men who have been doing public work in their respective localities, but who were for that reason an eyesore to the authorities. If legislation of the nature

that is intended is passed on exactly similar situation would arise and I could request this conference to say as strongly as it is possible for them to say that they would not put into the hands of the executive powers which would enable them at their sweet will to arrest and keep in detention persons without affording those persons an opportunity of being tried and clearing themselves of the guilt with which they were charged. As I do not want to detain you any longer, I would therefore again urge the acceptance of this resolution.

Babu Muni Lal (Hardoi, U. P.) supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

The resolution was then put and carried.

### XIX.—Council and Office-Bearers.

(PUT FROM THE CHAIR.)

The President :—The last resolution that I wish to place before you reads as follows :—

- (a) The Federation re-elects Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra as honorary joint General Secretaries for the year 1925.

In putting this resolution to you let me express my sentiment as well as the sentiments, I believe, of all of you that no better secretaries could have been selected. I hope that under them the Liberal Federation will thrive even more than before.

The second part of the resolution reads as follows :—

- (b) The under-mentioned members, in addition to *ex-officio* members, shall constitute the Council for the year 1925 :—

I shall ask Mr. Chintamani to read the names.

Mr. Chintamani :—With your permission I shall read the names of the members of the Council for the year 1925.

[The names read out by Mr. Chintamani are printed on the following page.]

## The National Liberal Federation of India.

### COUNCIL FOR 1925.

#### PRESIDENT.

1. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Fergusson College Road, Poona.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

2. Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Barrackpore, Calcutta.
3. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., M. L. A., Mylapore, Madras.
4. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, 18, George Town, Allahabad.
5. Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mylapore, Madras.
6. The right hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., Royapettah, Madras.
7. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D., 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.

#### GENERAL SECRETARIES.

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad).*

8. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, 7, Neill Road, Lucknow.

#### OTHER MEMBERS.

##### Nominated by the President.

9. Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, K. C. S. I., 6, Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
10. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., M. L. A., Malabar Hill, Bombay.
11. Pandit Jagat Narayan, Golaganj, Lucknow.
12. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, 7, Short Street, Calcutta.
13. Principal K. R. Kanitkar, Fergusson College, Poona.

##### Elected.

##### MADRAS.

14. Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu, Rajahmundry.
15. The hon. Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar, Vepery, Madras.
16. Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, M.L.A., Ellore.
17. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, M.L.C., Calicut.
18. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mylapore, Madras.
19. Rao Bahadur. C. S. Subrahmanyam, Mayavaram.
20. Rao Bahadur Dr. C.B. Ramarao, Bangalore.
21. Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasimha Rao, Kurnool.
22. Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer, Puraswalkam, Madras.
23. Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.
24. The hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Esplanade, Madras.
25. Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Mylapore, Madras.
26. Mr. M. G. Mukundaraja Iyengar, Sivaganga.
27. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Sivaganga.
28. Mr. R. N. Aiyangar, Sivaganga.
29. Mr. B. Sitaramrao, Madras.
30. Mr. G. Krishna Rao, Kimberley, Kilpauk, Madras.

31. Mr. V. Venkata Subbayya, Servants of India Society's Home, Royapettah, Madras, S.
32. Mr. R. Surya Narayana Rao, Servants of India Society's Home, Royapettah, Madras, S.
33. Mr. K. G. Sivaswami Iyer, Servants of India Society's Home, Royapettah, Madras, S.
34. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, Servants of India Society's Home, Royapettah, Madras, S.
35. Mr. M. S. Madhava Rao, Servants of India Society's Home, Royapettah, Madras, S.

##### BOMBAY.

36. Sir Gokuldas Parekh, New Queen's Road, Bombay.
37. Sir Hormusji Wadia, Poona.
38. The hon. Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
39. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Girgaon Road, Bombay.
40. Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram, Ahmedabad.
41. Kazi Kabiruddin, Chowpatty Sea Face, Bombay.
42. Mr. Chunilal M. Gandhi, Surat.
43. Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
44. Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale, Ahmednagar.
45. Khan Bahadur N. H. Choksy, Sheridan House, Forjett Street, Bombay.
46. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Satara.
47. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
48. Dr. R. N. Ranina, Chowpatty Sea Face, Bombay.
49. Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmulgund, 377, Sanivar Peth, Poona city.
50. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Fort, Bombay.
51. Mr. L. R. Gokhale, Sadasiv Peth, Poona city.
52. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Angre's Wadi, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.
53. Mr. G. K. Devdhar, Seva Sadan, Poona city.
54. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

55. Mr. V. K. Mainkar, Sangli.
56. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, 73, Charni Road, Bombay.
57. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Poona city.
58. Mr. S. G. Vaze, Servants of India Society's Home, Poona city.
59. Prof. V. K. Joag, New English School, Poona city.
60. Mr. M. D. Altekar, Haji Cossim Block, near French Bridge, Bombay.

## BENGAL.

61. Sir Binode Mitter, 2-1, London Street, Calcutta.
62. Sir Provash Mitter, C. I. E., M. L. C., 34 1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
63. The hon. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, C. I. E., LL. D., 20, Furi Lane, Calcutta.
64. Kumar Arun Chandra Sinha, M. L. C., Harington Street, Calcutta.
65. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
66. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
67. The hon. Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter, 25, Nandram Street, Calcutta.
68. Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Old Ballygunge, Calcutta.
69. Babu Surendra Nath Roy, M. L. C., Calcutta.
70. Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, M. L. C., 14, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta.
71. Rai Fanindra Lal De Bahadur, M. L. C., 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
72. Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore, Calcutta.
73. Mr. D. C. Ghose, 23, Debender Ghose Road, Calcutta.
74. Mr. Surendra Mullick, Calcutta.
75. Mr. Debi Prasad Khaitan, M. L. C., Burra Bazar, Calcutta.
76. Mr. Tarit Bhusan Roy, M. L. C., Abhay Chundar Mitter Street, Calcutta.
77. Babu Suresh Chandra Basu, 8 Strand Road, Calcutta.
78. Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., 9, Rainy Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
79. Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
80. The rev. B. A. Nag, 1-2, College Square, Calcutta.
81. Babu Nibaran Chandra Roy, 62, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.
82. Mr. M. N. Basu Calcutta.
83. Babu Hemendra Nath Sen, wakil, Calcutta.
84. Mr. S. M. Bose, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
85. Mr. Mahboob Ali, 160, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

## THE UNITED PROVINCES.

86. Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
87. Mr. Durga Charan Banerji, 4, Park Road, Allahabad.
88. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, George Town, Allahabad.
89. Mr. A. P. Sen, Outram Road, Lucknow.
90. Babu Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Golaganj, Lucknow.
91. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, 29, Cutcherry Road, Allahabad.
92. Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, O. B. E., Man Bhawan, Canning Road, Allahabad.
93. Mehta Krishna Ram, 12, South Road, Allahabad.
94. Rai Krishnaji, Phatak Rangildas, Benares city.
95. Lala Bihari Lal, Ranimandi, Allahabad.
96. Babu Gauvi Sankar Prasad, Bulanala, Benares city.

97. Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast, Golaganj, Lucknow.
98. Mr. Iqbal Ahmed, George Town, Allahabad.
99. Rai Braj Narayan Gurtu, the Mall, Cawnpore.
100. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Kamachcha, Benares city.
101. Mr. P. K. Telang, Kamachcha, Benares city.
102. Munshi Harnandan Prasad, George Town, Allahabad.
103. Pandit Krishen Pershad Kaul, 15, Aminuddowllah Park, Lucknow.
104. Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tiwary, Kydganj, Allahabad.
105. Mr. Prem Nath Das, Mirzapur.
106. Mr. Kamla Kant Varma, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
107. Pandit Prakash Narayan Sapru, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
108. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, 3, Stanley Road, Allahabad.
109. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, 14A, South Road, Allahabad.
110. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, 15, Aminuddowllah Park, Lucknow.

## THE PUNJAB.

111. Mr. Manohar Lal, Lahore.
112. Pandit Hardatta Sarma, The Palms, Lahore.

## THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

113. The hon. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, K. C. I. E., Nagpur.
114. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, K. C. I. E., Nagpur.
115. The hon. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, K. C. I. E., Nagpur.
116. Sir Biseswardas Daga, Nagpur.
117. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
118. Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobley, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
119. Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar, Nagpur.
120. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, I. S. O., M. L. C., Nagpur.
121. Rai Saheb D. Lakshmi Narayan, M. L. C., Kamptee.
122. Pandit Sita Charan Dube, Hoshangabad.
123. Mr. R. R. Jayavant, M. L. C., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
124. Rai Bahadur D. N. Chaudhri, Raipur.
125. Mr. H. M. Malak, Nagpur.
126. Rao Bahadur A. S. Bombewalla, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
127. Rao Bahadur K. S. Naidu, Wardha.
128. Mr. Saridhar B. Gokhale, Nagpur.

## BERAR.

129. Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C. I. E., Akola.
130. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal.
131. Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Amraoti Camp.
132. Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, Akola.
133. Rao Bahadur B. R. Aegal, Amraoti.
134. Rao Bahadur Dr. W. R. Bhat, Amraoti.
135. Rao Bahadur G. N. Sahasrabuddhi, Ellichpur.
136. Rao Saheb B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
137. Rao Saheb R. M. Khare, Amraoti.
138. Mr. C. G. Bhanu, Yeotmal.
139. Mr. N. A. Dravid, Yeotmal.
140. Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Akola.
141. Mr. Shankar Rao Bhachandra, Yeotmal.
142. Mr. T. R. Gadre, Akola.
143. Mr. R. K. Thombre, Akola.
144. Rao Bahadur Seth Ganesh Das, Amraoti.

**Vote of Thanks.****PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA.**

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra in proposing a vote of thanks to the chair, said :—

Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—It is my most pleasant task to propose on behalf of the Reception Committee a hearty vote of thanks to the President of the seventh session of the All-India Liberal Federation. (Hear, hear) Ladies and gentlemen, you have yourselves seen with what great wisdom, experience, courage and tact our President has conducted the proceedings of this Federation during the last three days. We were told by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, indeed it was not necessary for him to tell so, that Dr. Paranjpye's life is a true example of self-sacrifice. (Cheers.) Dr. Paranjpye, we all know, was one who had won the admiration of all his countrymen when he had topped the list of the wranglers in the Cambridge University, and his unique success had also won the admiration of all the officials in this country, and of no less a person than Lord Curzon himself. (Hear, hear.) If Dr. Paranjpye had gone to any other profession, I can safely predict that his success would have been equally unique and he would have been an ornament to that profession. But Dr. Paranjpye having won that unique and singular success at one of the British Universities decided not to enter any profession where he could gain material benefit for himself. He thought that he could sacrifice his life for the benefit of his countrymen, and he accepted the principalship of the Fergusson College of Poona. He served in that institution for a long number of years, and what progress that institution has made is known to all of us. It was fully anticipated by all of us who had seen his unique career and his singular self-sacrifice that very soon he would be of great service in the cause of his country. Dr. Paranjpye soon proved the anticipation to be true. During the year 1920 when the new Reform Scheme came into existence, he offered himself for election to the newly reformed Legislative Council in the Bombay Presidency, and was elected as a member of the same. It was not surprising to any of us when we found that the Government selected him for the post of the Minister of Education in that Presidency. We all know what Dr. Paranjpye did to his presidency during his tenure of office as Minister in Bombay. His zeal for the spread of primary education is known to us all. After having served his period of three years as Minister in the Bombay Legislative Council, he again offered himself for re-election, but as many of us failed he also failed. That, however, did not mean that his services for the cause of his country were not to be placed at our disposal. Soon after the Government of India appointed three committees, as you all know the Reforms Enquiry Committee, the Committee to go into the question of Auxiliary Force and the Committee which has to go into the question of taxation. In all these three committees Dr. Paranjpye has been appointed by the Government of India. As a member of these committees what amount of work, what amount of sacrifice, what amount of hard labour Dr. Paranjpye has performed, you all know. On the Reforms Enquiry Committee it is an open secret that Dr. Paranjpye has signed the minority report, and I hope that when that report is published you will find Dr. Paranjpye advocating the cause of his country with that singular zeal, enthusiasm and fervour, with which you have always been accustomed to find him advocating any cause that is near and dear to the heart of his countrymen. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that his efforts on the Committee relating to the Auxiliary Force will also bear similar fruit. I also feel that his work in connection with the Taxation Enquiry Committee will be very useful. Although he may not be able to go into those broad domains of enquiry which it was the wish of the Legislative Assembly to go into, yet I am sure that much good will result to the country from the result of the enquiry which will be made by that Committee of which he happens to be such a distinguished member. Ladies and gentlemen, the present time, let me remind you all, is a very delicate time. We all feel that our national effort to secure an advance in the political status of our country has not yet succeeded and borne fruit. I am

not here standing before you to decry the efforts of those who, to the best of their lights, have worked for the uplift of their motherland. I am only here to point out to you that the times in which we live are really critical. Let us all abstain from decrying each other and from abusing each other. Let us all close our ranks. If we all work together, if we all sincerely try to achieve our goal, I am sure that during the next year which stands before us under the wise guidance of our President, Dr. Paranjpye, our work is bound to come to a fruition. Much has been said in this country against the policy of the Liberals. They have withstood the taunts, the insults, the abuses of their countrymen, but they always felt convinced in their minds that their policy was the right one. We only think that we should have a little more enthusiasm and a little more effort, and the reason why we were unable to take any action was that the state of political life in this country was such that much could not be done for a time. But we are glad to find that our policy has been justified. Even those who think differently and happen to be in the opposite camp, have come to realize that the Liberals meant well, that the policy of constitutional agitation for which we were striving so far, for which we were working so long and which has been the policy of the old Congress for such a long time, is the real policy which has to be adopted in order to gain our object and end. (Hear, hear.) And if this is to be the policy which has to be adopted, and the righteousness of which and the correctness of which has been perceived by even those who for a time thought that the salvation of the country could be attained in a different method—if this has been the result I do not see any reason why we the Liberals should feel in any way despondent, why we should despair in the cause of our country which is to be served by us. Our efforts in order to serve our Motherland have to be put forth, and we hope that in the year 1925 we all Liberals shall put forth that struggle which will, if not to a great extent, at least to some extent will have the result of seeing that that goal which we are all seeing before us, namely, the goal of Swaraj for our Motherland, will be attained. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, at this late hour I am not going to detain you longer. I am really extremely pleased to find that the present session of the National Liberal Federation has been a success. (Applause.) The number of men who came to enrol themselves as delegates to the Federation, the number of people who came to witness our proceedings whether as visitors or in any other capacity showed that the pendulum has begun to swing to the other side (hear, hear), and that their sympathy has really come to our side. Let us not act in a manner that it may be said of us that we lost an opportunity which was placed before us for the service of our country. I am sure, they will do and therefore I am appealing to my fellow-Liberals, to put forth one struggle more in company with other political parties for the purpose of attaining the goal of Swaraj. (Hear, hear.) We have already said that whatever else may be our differences, whether we may unite with the Congressmen, and whether we may go into the Congress camp or not, that is a quite different question—but it is there, the point of agreement, namely, to strive for the attainment of self-government for our country on a common platform upon which all of us can work. And let us at least during the next year sink our differences, let us not lay special stress upon points which divide one another, let us all go together upon a common platform, let us all put forward our united effort, because the enemy against whom we have to fight is a strong one. I believe that there is nothing which comes in this world under the guidance of Providence that is not for our benefit and our common good. It may be that during the next few years, these reactionary spirits, these reactionary forces which have gathered strength both in the Government of India and the Government of Britain may lead to this good result, that they may unite us all together and that we may work together upon a common platform for the cause of freedom of our Motherland. (Hear, hear.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I must here, on behalf of the Reception Committee, thank all those various schools and colleges which have so unstintingly given the services of their boys and of their scholars for the work of this Federation, those scholars and boys here who have come and helped the Reception Committee by acting as volunteers. (Hear, hear.) And I do not know

how to thank those school authorities and those students also for the enterprising way in which they have served us from day to day. We should also thank, and we thank most sincerely the band of self-sacrificing ladies who gave us the song of Vande-Mataram every morning before our proceedings started and there were many of us who felt that that national song was the true keynote of the strength of our proceedings. We also thank the students of the Hindu Girls' School now called the Mahila Vidyalaya for the excellent songs which were sung by the girls of those schools. We have also, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to thank our young musician-friend whom we do not see here today, I mean Mr. D. K. Roy. (Hear, hear.) The song which he sang yesterday was one which was appreciated by all, and while he was singing that, in spite of the fact that Providence is in the hearts of all of us we were unable to see the Invisible; we could only translate that metaphor and simile into a common platform that although self-government was with us, yet we could not feel it any more. (Hear, hear.) We have also to thank, on behalf of the Reception Committee, ladies and gentlemen, the various school authorities, especially the authorities of the Church Mission High School for their having placed the hall of their school building at our disposal. On behalf of the Reception Committee, I have to convey our most hearty thanks to the authorities of that school. We have also to thank the leading Talukdars of Oudh. At one time it was found that they would not come near the Liberal Federation. It appears to me that that fear was unfounded. Whatever else they may say, however temporarily for a time their sympathies might have been turned from us, yet I think their heart is really liberal. (Hear, hear.) And they are really with us. The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh came here today and faced the meeting of the Federation. His worthy brother, Thakur Hanuman Singh, who gave us all the best assistance that we could get for the cause of the Federation is well known to the Reception Committee and to you all. We are also glad to announce that one of the Rajas of the district of Etawah—I refer to Lieut. Raja Hukum Pratap Singh—was here today on the platform as a delegate. (Hear, hear.) You have been seeing that our friend, Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh, who holds a very distinguished position among the Zemindari party in the local Council, was constantly with us, and he came to us both as a member of the Reception Committee and as a delegate to the National Liberal Federation. I have also to thank the Raja Sahab of Suva for the way in which he placed his house at the disposal of those who came to attend the Liberal Federation meetings. On behalf of the Reception Committee I have also to thank our young Doctor G. N. Ohdedar for the way in which he placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee his services as a medical officer to attend upon all the delegates. Ladies and gentlemen, we have also to thank the girl guides and the scouts who came to us and placed their services at our disposal. The assistance and help that came to us from various quarters which went to the successful holding of this session in this city is due to all these various institutions, and here on behalf of the Reception Committee I tender to them our most sincere and hearty thanks. Ladies and gentlemen, I need not detain you one minute longer, but would ask you to accept my resolution, and you will carry my motion of a hearty vote of thanks to the chair. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The President was then garlanded amidst deafening cheers.

#### President's Closing Speech.

In bringing the proceedings of the Federation to a close Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, the President, said :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—The work of the conference is now over and I think it will be generally agreed that the session that closes just now has been a most successful session. I know when Mr. Sen, the chairman of our Reception Committee, invited this conference to Lucknow, he modestly told us that we had to make allowance for any deficiencies in the reception that they would give us. Well, I can assure him and the members of the Reception Committee that no such allowance is at all required and that the arrangements made for the delegates and for myself personally have been of the most luxurious kind which one



always expects from the royal city of Lucknow. (Hear, hear.) I have been in particular asked to convey the thanks of the delegates from the Bombay Presidency and the Deccan for the very excellent arrangements that have been made for their reception. While I associate myself with the thanks to the various bodies and associations and persons whom Panditji has mentioned, you will allow me to thank the Reception Committee, of which he is a member, for their excellent arrangements in all matters. (Hear, hear.) Naturally, he cannot mention the names of members of the Reception Committee, and so I hope you will allow me to mention a few names, and excuse me if I omit any. In the first place, of course, I thank most heartily the chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. A. P. Sen. (Cheers.) Our thanks are also due to Mr. Zibbu who was the captain of the volunteers—to him and his volunteers who performed their work most enthusiastically and energetically. The enthusiasm which these volunteers have shown in their work is only a sign of the great work that they would do when they grow up and become members of the Liberal Party in the future. Mr. David, who was in charge of the decorations of this hall, has shown what an aesthetic taste and what a cheerful appearance he has given to this hall and our thanks are also due to him. Mr. Ghosh, one of the secretaries, has also worked most enthusiastically. To him, to Mr. Chakbust and to Mr. Kaul whom we all know how they have worked most heartily for the success of this Conference, our thanks are very greatly due. Finally, Mr. Andrews Dubey, who was in charge of the office, has shown us how efficiently he has managed the work of that office and left nothing undone. Well, ladies and gentlemen, at this late hour I do not propose to keep you long by any remarks by way of conclusion of this Conference. I think every succeeding conference has proved more successful than its predecessor (hear, hear), and I am sure that this success augurs very well for the future of the Liberal Party, and I hope that the next session at Calcutta will be even more successful than the very successful session that we have had here at Lucknow.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Liberal Party is a party of progress of this country, and it has the progress of this country at heart. A political party necessarily has political ends, and the political end that our Liberal Party places before itself is the attainment of the goal of responsible self-government within the Empire—of a dominion nature. Well, while this is the real and the immediate aim, I think at the back of the minds of the Liberals there is a strong desire to attain progress in all directions. (Hear, hear.) And although this Conference does not directly deal with questions of social and other reforms, I think all Liberals are heartily anxious to achieve reform in those other directions. (Hear, hear.) Personally from the beginning of my public career, I have been as keen upon social reform as upon political reform. (Hear, hear.) I consider political reform as one part of the great reform in our country that we all aspire to. And it is because I feel and other Liberals feel that our progress in various directions is greatly hampered by the political restrictions and disabilities that lie upon Indians that we are especially keen upon political reform, I do not believe in the words of the poet for forms of government—"Whatever is best administered is best. Let fools contest." I believe that in these days the best administration can come only from the people of the country, and, therefore, the best administration that we want must come only from a system of responsible government without which no modern country can be said to have an efficient and proper system of government.

Well, gentlemen, I have recently been occasionally charged with being blunt, and frankly I must say that I have always been a blunt man. You remember how I entered public life. I have been a teacher all my life and a teacher of a subject which is supposed to be most difficult for a teacher to inspire any interest among his pupils in, and therefore it is not possible for a teacher of mathematics to use vague language, to use language which can admit of several interpretations, to use language which will be particularly palatable. The duty of a teacher of mathematics must be, above all things, to be absolutely clear, and I cannot shake off the habits of a life-time, and I have always felt that whatever success I might have had as a teacher

is due to my bluntness at least in the teaching profession. Far be it from me to say that the audience who have done me the honour to listen to my rather long address is in the place of my pupils. (Laughter.) But as I have said the habits of a life-time cannot be got over in a few moments, but at the same time I do believe that if you are perfectly honest in your convictions you will find that not much harm can be done if you enunciate your ideas perfectly intelligibly, in a manner that cannot admit of more than one interpretation. We have seen very often in our country that we have often tried to invent formulæ on which to secure an agreement for the moment and spend the rest of the year in trying to interpret those formulæ, each in its own way. Well, I don't believe in that. I would rather like plain, straightforward talk in the beginning. I believe that if there is such plain, straightforward talk in the beginning union is much more easy than after a war of words and the invention of formulæ. (Hear, hear.) I am not against unity in our country among all parties. (Hear, hear.) In my public life I have always wanted unity after clearly understanding one's own point of view and also the point of view of others. If unity is possible on this understanding, that unity will be desirable, that unity will be lasting, that unity will be effective. But a mere unity of words, a camouflage of unity, I do not think will be of any good to anybody, much less to our country. (Hear, hear.) We in Poona are known all the country over as people who are given to quarrelling with each other (laughter), and party recriminations are perhaps stronger in Poona than almost in any part of the country. We are quite accustomed to these recriminations, I don't mind at all. I occasionally think with Bright that if the *Times* praises me I probably have done something wrong. That is what Bright used to say. I often feel that if I receive very great praise from some of the people who are always writing in a very frank manner about me, I think I may possibly have done something wrong. But even in Poona I see, where these party recriminations are so acrimonious, we have often on particular and individual questions been associated on the same platform with all other parties. Take, for instance, the various resolutions on which we have spent a good deal of time during these three days. On the question of the treatment of Indians in the Colonies and in Kenya we wholeheartedly work with the other parties and we shall always be prepared to work with this purpose. (Hear, hear.) Nobody feels more the insulting position of the Indians in the various Colonies than every single Liberal in this country. The work on behalf of these Indians, often infructuous though it has been, has been mostly done by Liberals of the type of the late Mr. Gokhale and of the type of our friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru here. And it would not be right to say that we Liberals do not feel as Indians on these questions which agitate the public mind. So also on the question of Hindu-Moslem unity I believe that we Liberals feel quite as keenly as any other party in the country and will do our utmost to bring about union between these two major communities in this country. The Lucknow Pact which settled these quarrels at least for a few years was mainly brought about by the effective collaboration of all the Liberals in this country. (Hear, hear.)

We may not carry our sympathy for the depressed classes on our lips, but our sympathy for the depressed classes has not been of recent origin, and was not aroused only four years ago. Several of us have worked for a long time in the cause of the depressed classes, when the depressed classes were hardly ever heard of by some other sections of the people, and when some other sections were only finding out passages in our sacred texts to justify various caste distinctions, and finding out the meanings of *chandāl* and various such other words. I do not think, therefore, that we are less keen. We are in fact more keen, and more actively keen on behalf of the depressed classes than any other organized body in the whole country. Personally my sympathies for them are very well-known and when an opportunity ever offered itself to me for doing something actively on their cause, I tried to do what little I could on their behalf also. Well, gentlemen, therefore as I have said we want unity, real heart-to-heart unity. As I said we shall not simply have a camouflage of unity, a formulæ of unity without the substance underneath. Of course, we understand that there are different tempera-

ments. Some people might like one method, others might like another method, but there is no one royal road to progress. Progress can be achieved in various directions. Two of the men under whose most intimate influence I have ever come, both of them eminent workers in the cause of the country, worked from their own different directions. One of them was the late Mr. Gokhale who directed his attention to the political improvement of the country, and another of them is my benefactor, Prof. D. K. Karve who worked whole heartedly from another point of view, in the cause of the social reform and the advancement of women. I do not propose to compare and distinguish between the work done by these two, but all that I say is that while their line of work was different, the work done by both of them was and is most eminently useful for the progress of their country. In that manner different people might work in different ways. All that I say is that in doing work for the country there are certain higher ideals which one must never lose sight of. That is honesty in word and deed, consistency of principles and firm convictions. While I do not wish to speak in language of recrimination we shall only see what is happening as a result of deliberations elsewhere. I shall be glad, indeed, if I could find all the members of the Congress assembled at Belgaum and in the country actually carrying out the terms which they subscribe their name to. We shall work in our own way and progress in whatever way achieved is there. Well, Liberals as men who derive our political lineage from a long line of political workers may perhaps feel that the great obstacle to the progress of our country does not lie only in the present scheme of political administration, and that there might be something which we might do ourselves alone. Doing that perhaps may be rather more difficult under the present political system. But I have always remembered the late Mr. Gokhale's words, that while individuals in our country may have attained the highest possible level, still the average in our country is deplorably low and the great work before the people of the country is to try and raise up that average. It is this great work that is to be done. That great work will require time and we Liberals by our temperament feel that that work may require along time. It cannot be done in a moment, we shall not reach the ultimate haven of national progress in a month or a year or five years. We shall take long, it will require strenuous work. But I am certain that by success as well as by failure we shall only put in more work in the future, teaching our humbler fellow-countrymen their work, interesting them in various questions, trying to help them in all ways. When that work is begun, that work will prosper more and more. The Conference is a good augury for the future and I trust that all the Liberals that are assembled here, and that are scattered over the country, will put in work far more earnestly, each in his own way, and help to raise India to a position in which nobody will be able to cast a stone at her, or to utter an insulting word, or pass an insulting ordinance against Indians settled among them. Well, this is the great work in which we Liberals can take our legitimate share. It is honourable work, it is work about which everyone of us can be proud and it is work for which I trust all of you will do your best. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very heartily for the kind words which Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra said about me. I shall only say that in any work that is before the country, I shall always be along with you. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The session then concluded after three hearty cheers to Dr. Paranjpye, the President, had lustily been responded to.

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## VII National Liberal Federation.

## List of the Delegates.

## LUCKNOW.

- 1 Mr. A. P. Sen.
- 2 Pt. Jagat Narain.
- 3 Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra.
- 4 B. Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava.
- 5 Pt. Brijnarain Chakbast.
- 6 Th. Hanuman Singh.
- 7 Pt. Swarup Kishan Zibbu.
- 8 Pt. Jai Narain Misra.
- 9 Mr. A. S. David.
- 10 Rev. J. N. Mukand.
- 11 Pt. Mathura Prasad Maithani.
- 12 Mr. Habib Ali Khan.
- 13 Syd. Ahmad Husain Rezvi.
- 14 Lala Ganesh Prasad.
- 15 Lala Harak Chand.
- 16 Mr. H. K. Ghosh.
- 17 Pt. Suraj Narain Bahadur.
- 18 Pt. Sangam Lal Chak.
- 19 Lala Hari Kishan Das.
- 20 Pt. Manohar Lal Tiwari.
- 21 Rev. J. R. Chitamber.
- 22 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan.
- 23 Pt. Dev. Dutt Bajpai.
- 24 Pt. Jagmohan Nath Chak.
- 25 Mrs. Jagmohan Nath Chak.
- 26 Dr. Harihar Nath Hukku.
- 27 Thakur Nawab Ali Khan.
- 28 Chaudhri Niamatullah.
- 29 Mr. Gokul Chand Rai.
- 30 Pt. Rajnarain Shukla.
- 31 B. Tribeni Prasad.
- 32 Mr. Ram Bharose Lal.
- 33 B. Suraj Narain Srivastava.
- 34 B. Bishambhar Nath.
- 35 Syed Wasi Hasan.
- 36 Rev. Ganga Nath Shukal.
- 37 Mr. K. S. Hajela.
- 38 Mrs. K. S. Hajela.
- 39 Lala Sri Kishan Das.
- 40 Mr. K. C. Bhalla.
- 41 Pt. Maharaj Narain Chakbast.
- 42 Pt. Mahesh Nath Sharma.
- 43 Mr. K. N. Chak.
- 44 Mr. K. P. Kaul.

## HARDOI.

- 45 B. Tribeni Sahai.
- 46 B. Avadh Bihari.
- 47 Th. Maneshur Bux Singh.
- 48 Lala Ram Narain.
- 49 B. Raj Bahadur.
- 50 Pt. Triloki Nath Kaul.
- 51 R. B. Mohan Lal.
- 52 B. Oudh Bihari Varma.
- 53 B. Tirbhuan Sahai.
- 54 Mr. Sundar Lal Gupta.
- 55 Mr. Raghbir Sahai.

- 56 Mr. Manni Lal.
- 57 Rai Tirjugi Narain Kaul.
- 58 Pt. Darshan Lal.
- 59 B. Jalpa Bux.
- 60 Pt. Brijnarain Kaul.
- 61 R. B. Th. Mashal Singh.

## BAREILLY.

- 62 Mr. Janki Prasad.
- 63 Mr. Madan Mohan Bhatnagar.
- 64 B. Prem Narain.
- 65 R. B. N. K. Kakkar.

## RAI BAREILLY.

- 66 Pt. Gaya Prasad Shukal.
- 67 Sirdar Birpal Singh.
- 68 Lt. Sirdar Amar Singh.
- 69 Th. Jugal Kishore Narain Singh.
- 70 B. Badri Nath Bhargava.
- 71 Pt. Shew Shankar Tripathi.
- 72 Pt. Shew Gobind Tripathi.

## ALLAHABAD.

- 73 Mr. Harnandan Prasad.
- 74 Mr. Iqbal Ahmad.
- 75 B. Durga Charan Banerji.
- 76 Munshi Gulzari Lal.
- 77 Munshi Narain Prasad Ashthana.
- 78 B. Durga Prasad.
- 79 B. Uma Shankar.
- 80 R. B. Gokul Prasad.
- 81 Mr. Kamta Prasad Kakkar.
- 82 Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta.
- 83 B. Surendra Nath Varma.
- 84 B. Indu Bhushan Banerji.
- 85 Pt. Prakash Narain Sapru.
- 86 Rai Tirjugi Narain Chadda.
- 87 B. Kamla Kant Varma.
- 88 Sir T. B. Sapru.
- 89 Lala Behari Lal.
- 90 Pt. Baldev Ram Dave.
- 91 Major D. R. Ranjitsingh.
- 92 Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwal.
- 93 Mr. Jagjivan Nath Takru.
- 94 Rai Amarnath Agarwal.
- 95 Dr. Anand Prasad.
- 96 B. Vishwanath Prasad.
- 97 Mr. Daljit Man Singh.
- 98 Mr. B. P. Mathur.
- 99 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
- 100 Mr. S. S. Shastri.
- 101 Pt. V. N. Tiwary.
- 102 B. Ram Dayal Chaube.
- 103 Mr. L. R. Krishnaswami Iyer.
- 104 Pt. Hirdaynath Kunzru.
- 105 Pt. Sri Ram Bajpai.
- 106 Mr. S. P. A. Dube.
- 107 Mr. B. H. Naik.

## BENARES.

- 108 Captain S. K. Chaudhri.  
 109 Dr. Sobha Ram.  
 110 Rai Krishnaji.  
 111 Prof. P. K. Telang.  
 112 Pt. Tirbhuwan Nath Munshi.  
 113 B. Gauri Sankar Prasad.  
 114 Munshi Mahadev Prasad.  
 115 Rao Vaijnath Das Shapuri.  
 116 Mr. Mahipat Ram.  
 117 Mr. S. P. Sanyal.

## FYZABAD.

- 118 Lala Ram Raghbir Lal.  
 119 Pt. Parmeshwarnath Sapru.  
 120 B. Nand Lal.  
 121 B. Manohar Nath Sapru.  
 122 Pt. Daya Shankar.  
 123 Mr. N. N. Dutt.  
 124 Mr. Sundar Lal Rajay.  
 125 Mr. Triloki Nath Kapur.

## CAWNPORE.

- 126 Rai Bihari Lal Bahadur.  
 127 Rai Brij Narain Gurtu.  
 128 Mr. B. N. Sen.  
 129 Pt. Bishwanath Tholal.  
 130 Lala Ram Narain.  
 131 Mr. P. C. Mitter.

## MUTTRA.

- 132 B. Bishambhar Nath Varma.  
 133 B. Dwarka Nath Bhargava.

## SAHARANPUR.

- 134 Mr. Raghunandan Gupta.  
 135 Sahu Ram Sarup.  
 136 B. Raghbir Dayal.  
 137 Mr. B. Nand.  
 138 Mr. Kalka Prasad.  
 139 Mr. Kali Charan.

## MORADABAD.

- 140 Mr. Soti Vishnu Swarup.  
 141 Mr. Banarsi Prasad Misra.  
 142 Mr. Kumar Sirdar Singh.  
 143 Mr. Sahu Jagdish Saran.

## LALITPUR.

- 144 Mr. Badri Prasad.  
 145 Mr. Shankar Dayal.

## NAINI TAL.

- 146 R. B. Badri Dutt Joshi.  
 147 R. S. Mathura Dutt Joshi.

## BOMBAY.

- 148 Mr. Kabir-uddin.  
 149 Mr. D. G. Dalvi.  
 150 Mr. M. D. Altekar.  
 151 Mr. G. K. Devadhar.  
 152 Mr. J. R. Ghurpure.  
 153 Mr. C. S. Deole.  
 154 Dr. R. N. Raini.  
 155 Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A.

## BIJNOR.

- 156 R. S. Jagunandan Das.

## JAUNPUR.

- 157 Mr. Radha Mohan.

## AGRA.

- 158 Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru.

## CALCUTTA.

- 159 Mr. P. C. Ghosh.  
 160 Sir P. C. Mitter.  
 161 Mr. V. K. Nair.

## AKOLA.

- 162 Mr. R. K. Thombe.

## LAHORE.

- 163 Pt. Hardutt Sharma.

## MIRZAPUR.

- 164 Mr. P. N. Das.

## SITAPUR.

- 165 Mr. B. K. Bhargava.  
 166 Pt. K. P. Trivedi.

## JHANSI.

- 167 B. Shankar Dayal Raizada.  
 168 B. Alakh Prakash.  
 169 Mr. Bodhraj Sahny.  
 170 Mr. Brindaban Lal.  
 171 Lala Janki Prasad.  
 172 Lala Mutsaddi Lal.  
 173 Pt. Phool Chand Prohit.  
 174 B. Narain Das Chola.  
 175 B. Badri Prasad.  
 176 Chaube Prashottam Narain.  
 177 B. Shankar Dayal.  
 178 Dr. Sarju Prasad.  
 179 B. Prithvi Nath.  
 180 B. Shankar Krishna Bhira.  
 181 L. Mool Chand.  
 182 Mr. Thakur Prasad.  
 183 Mr. N. K. Sanyal.

## FATEHGARH.

- 184 Mr. Brijnandan Lal.  
 185 Mr. Brindaban Lal.

## YEOTMAL (BERAR.)

- 186 Mr. C. G. Bhanu.  
 187 Mr. Shankar Narain Bhal.

## NAGPUR.

- 188 Mr. R. K. Jayavant.  
 189 Mr. R. T. Deshmukh.

## SATARA.

- 190 Mr. R. R. Kale.  
 191 Mr. V. N. Deshpande.  
 192 Mr. N. G. Joshi.  
 193 Mr. V. N. Kumbhar.  
 194 Lt. Aba Saheb Nibalkar.

## FARRUKHABAD.

- 195 B. Faqir Chand.

## POONA.

- 196 Mr. Dattatonja Vasdev Ambekar.  
 197 Mr. S. G. Vasa.  
 198 Mr. Bapuji Mastand Ambekar.  
 199 Mr. Krishnaji Keshav Joshi.

- 200 Mr. Narhar Govind Guru.  
201 Mr. Shankar Ramchandar Kanitkar.  
202 Mr. V. K. Joag.  
203 Mr. R. K. Kanitkar.  
204 Mrs. V. K. Ranabai Kanitkar.  
205 Mr. V. K. Manikar.  
206 Dr. R. P. Pranipye.

• AHMEDABAD.

- 207 Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth.

PARTABGARH.

- 208 B. Baldeo Prasad.

FATEHPUR.

- 209 B. Hirday Ram.  
210 B. Dalipman Singh.

BELGAUM.

- 211 Mr. B. S. Mudkari.

GORAKHPUR.

- 212 Mr. Abhay Charan Singh.

BAHRAICH.

- 213 Mr. Triloki Nath Kaul.

## VII National Liberal Federation.

### List of Members of the Reception Committee.

LUCKNOW.

- 1 Mr. A. P. Sen.  
2 Pandit Jagat Narain.  
3 Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra.  
4 B. Bisheshwarnath Srivastava.  
5 Pt. Brijnarain Chakbast.  
6 Th. Hanuman Singh.  
7 Pt. Swarup Kishun Zibbu.  
8 Pt. Jainarain Misra.  
9 Mr. A. S. David.  
10 Rev. J. N. Mukand.  
11 Pt. Mathura Prasad Maithani.  
12 Mr. Habib Ali Khan.  
13 Syed Ahmad Husain Rizvi.  
14 Lala Ganesh Prasad.  
15 Lala Haran Chand.  
16 Mr. H. K. Ghosh.  
17 Pt. Suraj Narain Bahadur.  
18 Pt. Sangam Lal Chak.  
19 Lala Sri Kishan Das.  
20 Pt. Manohar Lal Tiwari.  
21 Rev. J. R. Chitamber.  
22 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan.  
23 Pt. Dev Dutt Bajpai.  
24 Mr. Jagmohan Nath Chak.  
25 Mrs. Jagmohan Nath Chak.  
26 Dr. Harihar Nath Hukku.  
27 Th. Nawab Ali Khan.  
28 Chaudhri Niamatullah.  
29 Mr. Gokul Chand Rai.  
30 Pt. Raj Narain Shukla.  
31 Chaudhari Ram Bharose Lal.  
32 B. Suraj Narain Srivastava.  
33 B. Bishambhar Nath Saheb.  
34 Syed Wasi Hasan.  
35 Pt. Gaya Prasad.  
36 Mr. K. C. Bhalla.  
37 Pt. Maharaj Narain.  
38 Pt. Mahesh Nath Sharma.  
39 Pt. K. N. Chak.

ALLAHABAD.

- 40 Mr. Harnandan Prasad.  
41 Mr. Iqbal Ahmad.  
42 Mr. Durga Charan Bamerji.  
43 Mr. Gulzari Lal.  
44 Mr. Narain Prasad Ashthana.  
45 Mr. Durga Prasad.

- 46 Mr. Uma Shankar.  
47 R. B. Gokul Prasad.  
48 Mr. Kamta Prasad Kakkar.  
49 Pt. Krishna Ram Mehta.  
50 B. Surendra Nath Varma.  
51 B. Indu Bhushan Banerji.  
52 Pt. Prakash Narain Sapru.  
53 Rai Tirjugi Narain Chaddha.  
54 Mr. Kamla Kaut Varma.  
55 Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.  
56 Lala Behari Lal.  
57 Pt. Baldeo Ram Dave.  
58 Major D. R. Ranjit Singh.  
59 Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwal.  
60 Pt. Jagjiwan Nath Takru.  
61 Rai Amarnath Agarwal.  
62 Dr. Anant Prasad.  
63 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.  
64 Mr. L. R. Krishnaswami Iyer.  
65 Pt. Hirdaynath Kunzru.

BENARES.

- 66 Dr. Sobha Ram.  
67 Rai Krishnaji.  
68 Prof. P. K. Telang.  
69 Pt. Tirbhawan Nath Munshi.  
70 B. Gauri Sankar Prasad.  
71 Rao Vajpath Das Shapuri.  
72 Mr. Mahipat Ram.  
73 Mr. S. P. Sanyal.  
74 M. Mahadev Prasad.

FYZABAD.

- 75 Mr. Ram Raghbir Lal.  
76 Pt. Parmeshwar Nath Sapru.  
77 Pt. Nand Lal.  
78 Mr. N. N. Dutt.  
79 B. Sundar Lal.

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- 80 Rai Behari Lal Bahadur.  
81 Rai Brijnarain Gurtu.  
82 Mr. B. N. Sen.  
83 Pt. Bishwanath Tholal.  
84 Lala Ram Narain.

HARDOL.

- 85 Mr. Sundar Lal Gupta.  
86 Mr. Raghbir Sahai.

- 87 Mr. Manni Lal.  
88 Rai Tirjugi Narain Kaul.  
89 Pt. Darshan Lal.  
90 B. Jalpa Bukhsh.  
91 Pt. Brijmohan Narain Kaul.  
92 R. B. Thakur Mashal Singh.

## SHAHJEHANPUR.

- 93 Mr. Raghunandan Gupta.  
94 Mr. Sahu Ram Swarup.  
95 B. Raghubar Dayal.  
96 Mr. B. Nand.  
97 B. Kali Charan.

## BAREILLY.

- 98 B. Prem Narain Saksena.  
99 R. B. N. K. Kakkar.

## MORADABAD.

- 100 Mr. Soti Vishnu Swarup.  
101 Pt. Banarsi Prasad Misra.  
102 Kunwar Sardar Singh.  
103 Sahu Jagdish Saran.

## RAE BAREILLY.

- 104 Sirdar Birpal Singh.  
105 Lieutenant Sirdar Anar Singh.  
106 Thakur Jugal Kishore Narain Singh.  
107 B. Badrinath Bhargava.

## LALITPUR.

- 108 B. Badri Parsad.  
109 B. Shankar Dayal.  
110 Chaube Purshotam Narain

## NAINI TAL.

- 111 Rai Bahadur Badri Dutt Joshi.  
112 Rai Saheb Mathura Dutt Pande.

## TILHAR.

- 113 Mr. Kalka Prasad.

## MIRZAPUR.

- 114 Mr. P. N. Das.

## SITAPUR.

- 115 Mr. B. K. Bhargava.

## BAHRAICH.

- 116 Pt. Tirloki Nath Kaul.

## JHANSI.

- 117 B. Shankar Dayal Raizada.  
118 B. Alakh Prakash.  
119 B. Bodhraj Sahay.  
120 B. Brindaban Lal.  
121 L. Janki Prasad.  
122 L. Mutsaddi Lal.  
123 Pt. Moolchand Prohit.  
124 L. Narain Das Choola.

## FATEHGARH.

- 125 Mr. Brijjandan Lal.

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## CHAIRMAN.

Mr. A. P. Sen.

## VICE-CHAIRMAN.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.  
Babu Bisheshwarnath Srivastava.  
Pandit Jagat Narain.  
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.  
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

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Pandit Brijnarain Chakbast.  
Mr. A. S. David.  
Mr. H. K. Ghosh.  
Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul.

## MEMBERS.

Thakur Hanuman Singh.  
Dr. P. D. Kakkar.  
Babu Bishambhar Nath Srivastava.  
Pandit Dev Dutt Bajpai.  
Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru.  
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Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube.  
Syed Ahmad Husain Rizvi.  
Lala Hari Kishan Das.  
Chaudhari Niamat-ullah.  
Pandit Mahesh Nath Sharma.

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2 Mr. A. P. Sen.  
3 Mr. H. K. Ghosh.  
4 Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube.  
5 Th. Hanuman Singh.  
6 Mr. A. S. David.  
7 Pandit K. P. Kaul (Secretary)

**Messages of Sympathy**

*Regretting inability to attend and wishing success to the Federation were received from the under-mentioned gentlemen among others. :—*

**Madras.**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1 The rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. | 6 Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda-<br>raghava Iyer, Madras. |
| 2 Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Madras.   | 7 The Hon. Mr. G. A. Natesan,<br>Madras.                |
| 3 Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Ditto.     | 8 Mr. N. Subbaram Pantutu,<br>Rajahmundry.              |
| 4 Diwan Bahadur T. Ranga-<br>chariar.  |   |
| 5 Dr. Annie Besant. Ditto.             |   |

**Bombay.**

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| 1 Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Bombay.           | 6 Lady Emily Lutyens, Bombay.             |
| 2 Mr. B. S. Kamat, Poona.                   | 7 Sir Purushottamas Thakurdas,<br>Bombay. |
| 3 Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale,<br>Ahmednagar. | 8 Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Bombay.               |
| 4 Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Bombay.               | 9 Mr. M. B. Marathe, Belgaum.             |
| 5 Mr. Chunilal Dayaram Mehta,<br>Nathdwara. | 10 Mr. C. M. Gandhi, Surat.               |

**Bengal.**

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| 1 Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Cal-<br>cutta.             | 6 Babu Hirendra Nath Dutta,<br>Calcutta.         |
| 2 The Hon. Sir Deva Prasad Sarva-<br>dhikari, Calcutta. | 7 Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra,<br>Calcutta. |
| 3 Mr. B. Chakravarti Ditto                              | 8 Dr. S. K. Dutta, Calcutta.                     |
| 4 Babu Bipin Chandra Pal Ditto                          | 9 Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri,<br>Rajshaha.     |
| 5 The Hon. Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitra,<br>Ditto              |  |

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| 1 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.                            | 16 Mr. N. K. Mukerji, Allahabad.                    |
| 2 The Hon. the Nawab of Chhatavi.                         | 17 Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur, Cawn-<br>pore.         |
| 3 Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh,<br>M. L. C., Rae Bareilly. | 18 The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Sinha,<br>Muzaffarnagar.   |
| 4 Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh,<br>M. L. C., Cawnpore.    | 19 Babu Manohar Lal, Fyzabad.                       |
| 5 Shrotri Harnam Kumar, Bijnor.                           | 20 M. Ramji Lal, Muzaffarnagar.                     |
| 6 Rai Amar Nath Agarwala, Allah-<br>abad.                 | 21 Rai Ram Sarup Bahadur, Pilibhit.                 |
| 7 Mr. B. R. Bomanji, Saharanpur.                          | 22 Munshi Sham Lal, Cawnpore.                       |
| 8 Mr. C. P. Singh, Dehradun.                              | 23 Dr. Sobha Ram, Benares.                          |
| 9 Pandit Dharmasand Joshi, Al-<br>mora.                   | 24 Babu Chhail Behari Capoor,<br>Bareilly.          |
| 10 Dr. G. N. Chakravarti, Lucknow                         | 25 Dr. Surendra Nath Mukerji, Go-<br>rakhpur.       |
| 11 Munshi Iswar Saran, Allahabad.                         | 26 Rai Krishnaji, Benares.                          |
| 12 Mr. C. C. Das, Gorakhpur.                              | 27 Munshi Jwala Prasad, Cawnpore.                   |
| 13 The Raja Sahib of Tirwa, M. L. C.,<br>Fatehgarh.       | 28 Chaudhuri Sher Singh Vatsa,<br>Bijnor.           |
| 14 Major Ram Prasad Dube, Cawn-<br>pore.                  | 29 Rui Sahab Parameshwari Dayal<br>Amist, Hamirpur. |
| 15 Rai Radha Raman Bahadur, Muttra                        | 30 Syed Alay Nabi, Agra.                            |

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| 1 Sir Maneckji Dadabhoj, Nagpur.              | 4 Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma,<br>Amraoti.    |
| 2 Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Nagpur.                | 5 Rao Sahib D. Lakshmi Narayan,<br>Kamtee. |
| 3 Dewan Bahadur Ballabh Das, Jul-<br>bulpore. | 6 Rao Bahadur Mundle, Yeotmal              |