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**NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.**

**9th Session, Akola 1926.**



GROUP PHOTO OF DELEGATES.



Group Photo of President, Office-Bearers and Volunteers.

# Ninth National Liberal Federation of India, Akola 1926.

December 27, 28 and 29, 1926.

## RESOLUTIONS.

### I—Swami Shradhanand.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of horror at the murder of Swamy Shradhanand by a fanatic and the loss sustained by the country in the death of the great patriot, who devoted his life to the cause of education, religion and social reform.

(Put from the Chair.)

### II—Death of Prominent Public Men.

The National Liberal Federation records its deep sense of regret at the death of Sir Krishna Govind Gupta, Mr. N. M. Samartha, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhopley, Munshi Gujjarilal, Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast and Mr. N. G. Virkar—members of the Liberal Party and Mr. T. V. Sheshgiri Aiyer, Sir Lalubhai Shah, Mr. H. S. Dikshit and Babu Govind Das who all rendered meritorious public services.

(Put from the Chair.)

### III—Indians Overseas.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses the earnest hope that the Conference between the delegates of the Government of India and South Africa may result in the repeal of the Colour Bar Legislations and in securing for Indians settled in the Union the status of free and full citizenship.
- (b) The Federation again urges that Indians settled in any part of the Empire should in law and in fact be accorded their rightful position as equal subjects of the King and that all the racial inequalities and distinctions should be removed.

Moved by :—Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari M. L. C., Allahabad.

Seconded by :—Mr. V. N. Deshpande B. A. LL. B., Satara.

### IV—Bengal Internments.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1925 and urges that they should be either set free or tried under the ordinary Criminal Law.
- (b) The Federation again urges the repeal of the said Act as well as of the Deportation Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827.

Moved by :—Rao Bahadur R. R. Jayawant, Nagpur.

Seconded by :—Mr. Jatindranath Basu of Calcutta.

Supported by :—Mr. T. S. Dighe of Akola.

### Y.—Judicial Reform.

The Federation once more urges the immediate and complete separation of the Judicial and Executive functions and services.

Moved by :—Mr. D. G. Dalvi of Bombay.

Seconded by :—Mr. Surendra Nath Verma of Allahabad.

### VI.—The Hindu-Muslim Relations.

The National Liberal Federation of India deplors the estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations and exhorts both communities to make earnest and sustained efforts to bring about a better understanding, and urges the Government to see that the law is enforced with firmness and strict impartiality in all matters likely to engender communal friction.

Moved by :—Sir Chinnlal Setalvad of Bombay.

Seconded by :—Mr. C. Y. Chintamani of Allahabad.

### VII.—Improvement of the Condition of the People.

The Federation again emphasizes the urgency of the amelioration of the condition of the people by measures for the better organisation of the co-operative movement, free and universal elementary education, extended medical relief, improvement of the rural sanitation, development of communications, agricultural education, the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the backward classes.

Moved by :—Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A., Bombay.

Seconded by :—, M. K. Parthasarathi Iyengar, Madras.

Supported by :—, Dalip Man Singh, U. P.

„ „, R. S. Saterkar, AKOLA.

### VIII.—Military Policy and Expenditure.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that the Government should make an explicit declaration defining the goal of British Policy to be the making of India self-sufficient in the matter of defence, within a reasonably short period and that the Government should take effective steps towards the Indianisation of the Army as regards both officers and ranks in all arms of defence in accordance with such policy.
- (b) The Federation reiterates its demands that steps should be taken immediately for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and that no further time should be lost by Government in carrying into effect the recommendations of the Territorial and Auxiliary Committee.
- (c) The strength of the Army should be determined by a reference to India's requirements and not by any consideration of the needs of the British Empire in Asia and Military expenditure should be substantially reduced.

Moved by :—Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru M. L. A., Allahabad.

Seconded by :—Mr. Jitendra Nath Basu, Calcutta,

Supported by :— „ : M. B. Marathe, Belgaum.

### IX.—Land Revenue Settlement in Berar.

That this Federation enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Central Provinces Government in giving effect to the proposals for the enhancement of Land Revenue Assessment in some Taluks of Berar, and in proposing the revision of assessment in some other Taluks against the opinions and recommendations of the Berar Legislative Committee and even without obtaining the sanction of the Government of India to the principles of assessment as required by the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, and recommends to Government

that the enhancement announced or proposed, should be suspended at least, till the necessary legislation has been passed with the approval of the representatives of the people of Berar on the Berar Legislative Committee.

Moved by :—Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Amraoti.

Seconded by :—Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, Akola.

Supported by :—Rao Saheb R. M. Khare, Amraoti,

„ Mr. Namdeorao S. Patil, M. L. C, Akola,

„ V. K. Rajwade, Akola.

#### X—Education of the Electorate.

The Federation emphasizes the urgent necessity of educating the electorate and hereby calls upon the various Liberal Associations to take up the work of organisation in that behalf.

Moved by :—Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M. L. C., Satara.

Seconded by :—Mr. T. R. Gadre, Akola,

Supported by :—Mr. V. N. Deshpande, Satara.

#### XI—The Civil Services.

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion,

- (1) That there should be a rapid Indianisation of all the superior Civil Services ;
- (2) That the principles and conditions of recruitment for all such services should vest in the Governments in India ;
- (3) that the actual recruitment should be made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commissioners in England ; and
- (4) that direct recruitment should be by means of examination and not of nomination by the Government.

Moved by :—Rao Bhadur R. V. Mahajani, Akola.

Seconded by :—, „ Doctor C. B. Ramarao, Bangalore.

#### XII.—Self-Government.

1. The National Liberal Federation re-iterates its convictions of the necessity of a revision of the present constitution of the Central and Provincial Governments on the following lines :—

- (1) Indians should be accorded the same status as the Dominions.
- (2) Except in respect of foreign and political affairs and of the defence of all the country, for a transitory period, the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India should occupy a position analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions.
- (3) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
- (4) The Superintendence, direction and control of the revenues and administration of British India should be vested in the Governor General in Council.
- (5) While for a transitory period, the Governor General should remain responsible to His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament for the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and for the defence of the country, the Governor General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (6) Provincial Governments should be responsible to the respective Legislative Councils and Governors should be constitutional Governors.

(7) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision should be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.

(8) The Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies with due provision for the protection of the rights of important minorities:

Moved by :—Sir Moropant V. Joshi, Amraoti.

Seconded by :—Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., Allahabad.

**XIII—Vote of Thanks to the President.**

Proposed by :—Sir Moropant V. Joshi, Amraoti.

**XIV—Council and Office-Bearers for 1927.**

- (a) Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani M.L. C. and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. be the joint Honorary Secretaries of the Federation for 1927.
- (b) Resolved that the Council of the Federation for 1927 be constituted as follows :—( See Appendix C. )

**XV. Meeting Place of the next Session.**

That the Tenth Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation be held at Bombay or Allahabad as the Council may decide.

Proposed by: Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.

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# Report of the Reception Committee

OF THE

## NINTH SESSION

OF THE

### National Liberal Federation, Akola.

1926.

#### 1. How the Session was invited.

It was in a special general meeting of the Berar Liberal Association held as far back as the 13th of December 1924, on the eve of the Lucknow session of the Federation, that a resolution was passed which empowered the delegates to invite a session of the Federation to Berar. Calcutta having intervened and come forward to invite a session, its venue was fixed at Calcutta for 1925. The Berar Liberal Association had, therefore, to wait to seize the next opportunity and at the time of electing delegates for the Calcutta session of the Federation, the Association passed a resolution at its special general meeting held on 12-12-1925, authorizing the Berar members attending the Calcutta session to invite the Federation to hold its IX session in Berar. Accordingly, on behalf of the Berar delegates and the Berar Liberal Association, Rao Bahadur Damle, C. I. E., gave invitation at the Calcutta Session, and it was readily accepted.

#### 2. Formation of the Reception Committee.

Immediately after returning from Calcutta, Rao Bahadur Damle, C. I. E., President of the Berar Liberal Association issued a lengthy printed circular letter in Marathi, regarding the ensuing session of the Federation and the necessary steps required to be taken in the direction. Immediately after the circular was issued, a provisional sub-committee was appointed on 28-3-1926, by the Berar Liberal Association, at its second annual general meeting, held on the same date. This meeting decided that the session should be held at Akola. The regular Reception Committee was, however, formally formed on 27-9-1926, at the special general meeting of the Berar Liberal Association, held on the same date. This meeting unanimously resolved that all the members of the Association should constitute a Reception Committee on payment of Rs. 10/- or more.

#### 3. Office-bearers of the Reception Committee.

Rao Bahadur Damle, C. I. E., was elected President of the Reception Committee, while the following gentlemen were elected as Vice-Presidents:—Rao Bahadur Dr. Bhat, Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagwat, Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Rao Saheb David, Rao Bahadur K. J. Deshmukhi and Rao Bahadur G. R. Kothare; Messrs. Thombre, Dighe, Satarkar and Cadre were elected as Honorary Secretaries. Mr. T. M. Gupte was elected as Honorary Treasurer and Rao Saheb R. M. Khare, Auditor.

#### 4. Dates of the Session.

It was further resolved at the same meeting that the IX session of the Liberal Federation should be held on the 27th, 28th and 29th of December 1926.

#### 5. The choice of the President.

The members assembled in the meeting also decided that the honour of presiding over the IX session of the Federation should be given to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. I. E. of Madras after consulting the several Provincial Liberal Associations in India. The latter were then duly consulted and their opinions coincided with the choice made by the Reception Committee. Rao Bahadur Damle, C. I. E., wrote a cordial letter of invitation to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, asking him to consent to preside over the IX session of the Federation. Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, however, replied by wire on 9-11-1926, deeply regretting his inability to accept the invitation. But Rao Bahadur Damle, C. I. E. supported by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, again pressed his request and Sir Sivaswami Aiyer eventually agreed to accept the invitation.

#### 6. Formation of sub-committees.

The next task before the Reception Committee was the formation of sub-committees and distribution of work. Accordingly, a special general meeting of the Reception Committee was held on 9-12-1926, when such sub-committees were formed and work distributed. An accommodation subcommittee was formed to look after the erection of the Pandal etc. A dinner sub-committee was formed to look after messing arrangements of the delegates and guests. A separate refreshment committee was also formed. A sub-committee was formed to look after conservancy and water supply arrangements. A Reception sub-committee was also formed. Office work and correspondence was delegated to another sub-committee. It is very gratifying to note that all these sub-committees did their work well and in hearty co-operation with one another.

#### 7. Special features.

The report of the Reception Committee would not be complete without making reference to the special features of the Federation session. The Reception Committee was satisfied with the response such as was received from all the Provinces which were represented by their delegates. Delegates came from the Punjab, U. P., Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Deccan, Bombay and the C. P. The Reception Committee also felt much obliged to the members of the Servants of India Society, which was strongly represented by nearly ten members.

#### 8. Expression of thanks.

In conclusion, the Reception Committee begs to express its feelings of thankfulness to the following gentlemen and authorities, in helping the Reception Committee, to hold the IX session of the Federation successfully :-

- (1) The Director of Public Instruction, Nagpur, and the authorities of the local Normal School and High School, Akola.
- (2) The local District Council staff.
- (3) Messrs. R. V. Dharmadhikari, Shamrao Raoji Khanzode and Narayanrao Kanhere.
- (4) The local Central Bank staff.
- (5) Mr. Nathasingh and Mr. Budhasingh, contractors, who erected the Pandal.



- (6) Mr. D. W. Pingle.
- (7) The local Municipal Committee staff.
- (8) Mr. B. R. Gadgil, the President of the Akola Municipality.
- (9) " H. R. Tanden, the Executive Engineer, Akola.
- (10) " F. C. Turner, C. I. E. I. C. S. the Commissioner, Berar.
- (11) " A. L. Hoyle, I. C. S., Deputy Commissioner, Akola.
- (12) " Rajpaulsingh, the D. S. P., Akola.
- (13) " Gorelal, the City Inspector, Akola.
- (14) The young band of volunteers composed of the students and teachers of the local Normal school and High School.
- (15) The Press Reporters.
- (16) The Reporters of the Associated Press.
- (17) Mr. Sheshgirao, the special Federation reporter,
- (18) Mrs. Agashe, the Head Mistress of the Akola Girl's V. M. School.

R. K. THOMBRE,  
T. S. DIGHE,  
R. S. SATARKAR,  
T. R. GADRE,

Honorary Secretaries, to the Reception Committee  
of the IX National Liberal Federation,  
AKOLA,

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# The National Liberal Federation, Akola.

## 9th Session.

27th December, 1926.

The 9th session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held in a specially erected beautiful shamiana in the premises of the Normal School, Akola, which was tastefully decorated with flags, festoons and buntings. Portraits of Maharashtra heroes like Sivaji Maharaj, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, as well as inspiring national mottoes were hung in different parts of the shamiana. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the Vaudemataram song by a batch of young girls.

### Welcome Speech.

Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, Chairman of the Reception Committee, next read his welcome address. The following is the text thereof :

Welcome Speech.  
Rao Bahadur K. G.  
Damle.

### BROTHER DELEGATES,—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

This is the happiest moment in my life of which I shall ever remain proud, when I have been afforded an opportunity by the Reception Committee to enjoy the honour and exercise the privilege of offering to you on its behalf and on my behalf a hearty welcome to this, the ninth session of the National Liberal Federation of India. Last time at the Calcutta session of this Federation it was my pleasant mission to invite this session to Berar and the Berar National Liberal Association feels deeply grateful to the Federation, for the generous response it gave by accepting my invitation.

Unlike other big towns and cities in India, an undeveloped place like Akola, essentially representative of the country side of Berar and its rural population, generally regarded as being backward in education is largely deficient in many of the amenities of life which you would naturally expect to make your short stay fairly comfortable. Beyond being centrally situated in Berar in the midst of a plain tract of deep black soil of cotton, Akola cannot pretend to recall to your mind, any old peculiar associations or any striking local event or episode of historical value or interest, nor is its name in any way hallowed to claim a reverential attention from casual visitors. It may be classed as a second-rate commercial town of comparatively recent growth, being one of the centres of cotton trade and manufacture of fair magnitude; These are matters which will hardly interest many of you. We are sorely conscious of our deficient arrangements to make your stay comfortable, but all the same we assure you that we shall be doing our very best not to be found wanting in the earnestness and cordiality of our willing and hospitable service to you. If by our constant attention and timely services we succeed in minimising your inconvenience, we shall feel amply rewarded and our satisfaction will be greater still, if we find that you are made quite happy all the time of your stay here.

Welcome Speech.  
Rao Bahadur K. G.  
Danie.

The members of the reception committee feel particularly thankful to you all for your having taken the trouble to attend this annual function of the Liberal party in obedience to the call of national duty and at a very critical stage of the party's political existence in India. I regret to announce a severe loss in our Liberal camp this year. The cruel hand of death has snatched away from among us a valuable co-worker in the person of Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobley of Nagpur.

Usually the chairman of the reception committee is permitted to take a bird's eye view of the circumstances in which the Federation holds its session and incidentally, to present a cursory retrospect of the political activities directed to advance the interests of India. Counting on your kind indulgence, therefore, I propose to make a few pertinent observations and present a faithful picture of the situation in India in my own humble way.

After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the British Parliament transferred the Indian Administration from the Honourable East India Company to the British Crown by the Act of 1858. The supremacy of the British Crown being firmly established all over India, the British Government, as a part of its administrative policy, established educational institutions from the primary stages to the college and university limit. Indian youths were encouraged to make free use of these institutions to enrich their minds with the liberal ideas of western civilization and to broaden their general outlook of the world conditions. As inheritors of a pre-historic oriental civilization and culture the Indian youths assiduously studied western methods and ideals and realized their bearing on human progress material as well as intellectual. As a result of the liberalizing influence of western education, the most cultured brains in India did not fail to contrast the political helplessness and impotency of the Indian people with the highly cultivated systematised and powerful forms of democratic institutions and government prevailing in other civilized countries. They could easily trace the downfall of India to its correct causes. As true patriots they combined to devise a working plan modelled on western lines, to create and educate public opinion. The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 came to be laid by our elders on a firm basis of universal love, goodwill and collaboration. Having had to work within the practical limitations of the situation the organisers and helpers of the Congress have defined the object of this political national movement to be the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. The proceedings of its annual sessions eloquently testify to the splendid service done to the country by this Congress. It was appreciated and acknowledged in the following gracious words of the Royal Proclamation of December 23, 1919, promulgated when the Royal assent was given to the Government of India Act of that year:—

"I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative Institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which, at times and places, lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence, committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the great war and it claims support in the part

which India has taken in our common struggles, anxieties and victories. In truth, the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connection has opened to the Indian people."

Welcome Speech.  
Rao Bahadur K. G.  
Damle.

The illustrious founders and acknowledged guides and leaders of this Congress are almost to a man no more by now, but they have by their efforts left behind them a permanent legacy of noble national work of construction which it will be the sacred duty and privilege of every true Indian patriot to carry forward faithfully and fearlessly on the lines within the natural limitations and in the direction wisely delineated by them after due circumspection and forethought. Their inspiring counsel and personal example must guide us in the work of our mission. For thirty long years the Congress went on doing its constructive political work on the lines laid down. The patriots who took part in the deliberations of the Congress were distinguishable by their temperament. Those who preached and practised caution, moderation and self-restraint both in expression and demand were known as moderates and those who were easily excitable, impatient and over-enthusiastic in their expressions of demands were regarded as extremists. Between these two wings of the Congress there used to be perfect amity and good fellow feeling apart from the harsh and unpalatable criticism which one party chose to level against the other in the heat of their debates. Till 1917 the Congress as a whole kept the same end in view and practically pursued a uniform policy. Soon after the famous announcement of British policy in relation to India was made by the Secretary of State for India on August 20, 1917, in the House of Commons, there was a feeling of general satisfaction all over India. Every Indian patriot was expectantly looking forward for a scheme of constitutional reforms falling in line with his own ideals. Mr. Montague's visit to India, and his tours, discussions and consultations with the Viceroy are all fresh in our mind. The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1919 embodying the constitutional reforms granted to India. The measure of reforms granted caused a split among the political workers in the Congress. The Moderates or Liberals while affirming that the reforms granted were quite inadequate and fell short of public expectations, held nevertheless that they were a substantial advance on the old state of things and that they were worth trying. The extremist section in the Congress condemned the reforms as disappointing and unsatisfactory and declined to work them. They went further and decided to wreck them and by using obstructive tactics, to make them unworkable. There being a fundamental difference in the end kept in sight by the Moderates and the Extremists the cleavage between Congress workers became acute and there was no room for reconciliation. The Liberals were forced by this fundamental difference in their attitude towards the Reforms to part company with the extremists who captured it and dominated the Congress. I may quote here with advantage the observations of our revered old veteran Congress leader of revered memory, Sir Surendranath Banerjea. He said :

"It was not without a wrench that we seceded from the Congress and absented ourselves from its special session. Some of us have contributed to build up the great national institution with our life-blood. There was no sacrifice which we were not prepared to make, no toil which we were not ready to undergo, for the sake of the Congress. We watched it at its birth, nursed it at its cradle, and rejoiced with parental jubilation at its growing maturity. We have helped to rear up this great national organization, to steer it through the perils of childhood and the temptations of adolescence and manhood and now when we are within view of the crowning reward of our life-long labours, we find the voice of conflict and controversy, of bitter opposition charged with the elements of

**Welcome Speech,** personal and partisan rancour, raised in what had been the temple of our National  
**Rao Bahadur K. G.** Unity and the healing counsels of moderation, prudence and expediency, dictated by the  
**Datta** highest patriotism, consorated by the noblest examples, cast to the winds. We could not  
 but succede; for the difference between those who had captured the machinery of the  
 Congress—I call them Extremists for want of a better name—and ourselves was funda-  
 mental and that upon a matter equally fundamental, of supreme and vital importance:  
*viz.*, the question for self-government of India. The Congress exists, the Congress was  
 called into being, for the attainment of self-government. But we know that extreme  
 views would prevail at its last special session. We know that the scheme would be  
 condemned there and the interest of responsible government jeopardized. The Congress  
 was a means to an end, *viz.*, the attainment of self-government. We sacrificed its  
 means for the end, the organisation of the Congress for the sake of self-gov-  
 ernment for India. It has been said that we should have attended the special sessions  
 of the Congress, urged our views and if outvoted, then and then only should we have  
 seceded. This procedure did not commend itself to us. We did not wish to add to the  
 bitterness of a situation which was already sufficiently painful by heated controversy on  
 the Congress platform. If we were outvoted, as we were to be, we felt that the influence  
 of a moderate conference with the stigma of a defeat, which did not represent the real  
 sense of the country, would weaken our just influence and would take away from the  
 weight of the deliberations of our Conference. It would be a conference of a defeated  
 party."

From 1918 onwards, therefore, the Liberals as a distinct party have  
 been holding their annual sessions at different centres all over India. This is the ninth annual session of the Liberals. There seems to be  
 no possibility of reunion of these two wings of the Congress so long  
 as the extremist section does not feel convinced of the impracticability  
 of their line of thought and of the futility of the methods they propose  
 to employ for the attainment of the end, *viz.* self-government for India.  
 It is India's great misfortune that on a vital question on the solution of  
 which depends her progress and welfare, her full growth to strong and  
 healthy nationhood; her right place in the commonwealth of nations  
 and a willing recognition on all hands of her real inherent power to  
 contribute materially to the peace and progress of the world, they should  
 disagree or not see eye to eye with one another.

The unhappy and unfortunate schism between the two wings of  
 the Congress was widened and their mutual relation largely embittered  
 by a coincidence of happenings in India which were quite beyond the  
 control of the two parties. It will not be out of place, therefore, for me  
 to refer to those incidents and the activities pursued by the other wing  
 to arouse public sentiment in favour of their policy.

In the beginning of 1919 when it transpired that the Government  
 of India proposed to introduce the Rowlatt Bill in the first session of  
 the Indian Legislative Council in February, public meetings were held  
 in Madras, Calcutta, Allahabad, Nagpur, Bombay and elsewhere, protest-  
 ing against the measure of repression. Despite these strong protests  
 the Government did introduce the Bill on the 6th of February, 1919  
 and on the 10th February it was referred to a select committee which  
 presented its report to the Council on 1st of March, 1919. The report  
 drawn up in hot haste within 18 days, roused universal resentment.  
 Three members—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. V. J. Patel and  
 Mr. G. S. Khaparde—refused to sign the report while the Hon. Messrs.  
 Banerjee, Sastri and Shañ in their note of dissent opposed the principle  
 of the Bill. On the 12th, 13th and 14th of March, 1919, consecutively  
 for three days the Council debated and the non-official members put up  
 inch by inch strong opposition. The Council sat a whole day and night  
 on the 14 March, but the Bill was eventually passed. Mr. Gandhi  
 announced through the press that the 6th April, 1919, should be observ-  
 ed as a day of fast throughout India as an emphatic mark of public  
 condemnation of the Rowlatt Act so hurriedly passed into law. Mr.  
 M. A. Jinnah, resigned his membership of the Imperial Council on the

28th February. R. B. Pandit Bishnudutt Shukul also resigned his membership on March 6.

Welcome Speech.  
Rao Bahadur K. G.  
Damlu.

To check this widespread public distemper Sir Michael O'Dwyer by way of a strong counterblast denounced the agitation against the Rowlatt Act in his last speech in the Punjab Council on 7th April, 1919. Soon after, on 9th April, Mr. Gandhi was arrested while on his way to Delhi. Mob disturbances followed at Lahore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad. In the afternoon of April 13 General Dyer marched into the Jallianwalla Bagh with 25 British rifles, 25 Baluchi rifles, 40 Gurkhas armed with Kukris and two armoured cars. General Dyer took his riflemen inside and opened fire in 30 seconds. He fired 1650 rounds using all his ammunition, he had killed outright 415 on the spot and wounded probably three times the killed. This wanton massacre of the Jallianwalla Bagh, which was studiously concealed from the British people for nine months raised a strong storm of unmitigated censure all over the world and will permanently go down in the pages of history as an ugly black spot on the administration of India by the British people. Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were deported. The Satyagraha movement was set on foot in Calcutta and its public demonstration was dispersed by the police opening fire on the mob. The unrest and agitation rapidly spread far and wide like wild fire and the Government of India promulgated a resolution justifying measures of repression. The Government treated the Panjab discontents and disturbances as an open rebellion and proclaimed martial law. The public press was terrorized. The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* press forfeited its deposit of Rs. 5,000 and a fresh one of Rs. 10,000 was demanded. Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, was deported on 26th April and strict censorship was ordered to be exercised on the *Chronicle*, which had on that account to suspend publication. Both parties in the country held meetings and conferences to pass resolutions condemning these repressive measures of the Government. The regrettable incidents in the Panjab were so horrible that Sir Sankaran Nair also thought it his public duty to resign his membership of the Executive Council of the Government of India as his personal protest against the Government action in the Panjab. All this public unrest and agitation could have been easily avoided by the statesmen at the helm if they had kept their heads cool and handled the situation more tactfully and sympathetically. The mischief was, however, done and the country was ablaze. Distrust in Government measures reigned supreme. All this ill-conceived and widely condemned policy of repression was being pursued at a time when the question of constitutional reforms as embodied in the Government of India Bill was being seriously argued and considered in both the houses of the British Parliament. The Indian public strongly suspected that this untoward Government attitude of repression was engineered by the element in India opposed to the grant of any power to Indians. Rightly or wrongly, the public mind was not favourably attuned to the Government policy. The Government of India Act of 1919 became law on December 25 of that year under conditions of such widespread public discontent and distrust. Although previous to the Panjab horrors, the Reforms proposals were warmly received by the Indian public and there seemed a possibility of securing unanimity in working the reforms when introduced, the chance was lost by the policy and action of the Government itself. However, decidedly the reforms as introduced by the Act of 1919 may be regarded as a measure of advance upon the old state of things, public indignation and distrust of measures emanating from the Government was so great that the

**Welcome Speech.** Liberals found it impossible to calm the troubled waters, to pacify the passions of the people and to bring round the hot heads to a mood of sober reasoning and dispassionate consideration of the essential features of the Reforms. In the Amritsar session held in December, 1919 the Congress expressed its sense of deep resentment and of abhorrence by beseeching His Imperial Majesty to recall Lord Chelmsford inasmuch as he had forfeited the confidence of the people of India and by unequivocally declaring that India would not have real peace until the Rowlatt Act was repealed, and it affirmed its conviction that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

**Rao Bahadur N. G. Dangle.**

At the special session held at Calcutta in the September and at the next annual session held at Nagpur in the December of 1920, the Congress advocated the doctrine of non-co-operation, preached boycott of councils, law courts and Government educational institutions, and mass civil disobedience. The Nagpur Congress was attended by not less than 20,000 people and the saintly personality of Mr. Gandhi and his soul-stirring utterances kept the huge assemblage spell-bound. None could be heard to the contrary. Mr. Jinnah alone showed courage enough to stand up and amidst continuous shouting and hissing to raise his voice to silence the howling crowds and assert his undeniable right to speak out his opinions without hindrance. The rage and fury of the people was so intense that no man of weaker nerves could face it, much less withstand it. The voice of Mr. Gandhi reigned supreme. He was revered as an oracle. His pronouncement could not be questioned, much less contradicted. Surrounded by a countless host of admirers and pious devotees, Mr. Gandhi met no opposition to his will and received willing allegiance and homage from the spell-bound masses. He interpreted this wide and profuse popular sympathy and support as the spontaneous will and readiness of the people to follow and carry out faithfully in practice his doctrine of non-co-operation boycott and civil disobedience. He proclaimed that by following his lead and his preaching, Swaraj was easily attainable in a year. The frenzied mass literally believed in the gospel and the marvel of all marvels was that a man like Mr. C. R. Das from Calcutta suspended his legal practice on January 19, 1921 and dedicated his life and property to the non-co-operation movement. This was a signal for carrying on an active campaign of non-cooperation. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught visited India at the bidding of His Imperial Majesty to inaugurate the Legislative Councils, the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State and the Chamber of Princes established by the new scheme of Reforms. But *hartal* was observed in Calcutta on his arrival for this purpose. Mr. Gandhi addressed several meetings advocating a boycott of the Duke's visit. Bengal and Punjab were in commotion due to the support the people and students received from the propagandists of non-cooperation. The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri raising his voice against the practice of non-cooperation at a public meeting at Bombay, was mobbed by students and other non-cooperators on Feb. 2, 1921, while the Duke was at Delhi inaugurating the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. Lala Lajpat Rai received orders from the Punjab Government preventing him from entering or remaining in the N. W. Frontier Provinces, and Dr. Ansari exhorted the public at Delhi to boycott reformed councils and practise non-co-operation. The havoc perpetrated by the Moplas in the Malabar district filled the Indian hearts with horror and disgust and Mr. Yakub Hasan from Madras who proffered personal help to the Government to pacify the Moplas was arrested and imprisoned. One by one the principal advo-

cates of non-cooperation and boycott came to be arrested and put under restraint all over India as a result of the vehement propaganda of non-cooperation and boycott assiduously carried on the one hand and a determined policy of repression pursued by the Government for and in the name of the maintenance of peace and order on the other. The climax was reached in December, 1921, when Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Master Das, Mrs. Das and eventually Mr. C. R. Das suffered personal restraints. While these conflicting forces were at work the Congress at its Ahmedabad session held on December 27, 1921, fully endorsed the non-co-operation programme of the Congress, and for its successful execution appointed Mr. Gandhi its sole executive officer or dictator. Installed in this exalted position Mr. Gandhi held the reins of non-cooperation only for two months and a half, as he was arrested on March 3, 1922, and convicted on March 18. At the Gaya Congress held in December, 1922, the same congress policy was endorsed but on January 1, 1923, Mr. C. R. Das resigned his presidentship of the Congress and formed a separate party of his own called the Swaraj party.

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The Congress at Coconada held under the presidentship of Moulana Mohammad Ali in December, 1923, reaffirmed the non-cooperation policy and the principle and policy of boycott, appealing to the nation to carry them out as the foundation of constructive work. It was at the Belgaum Congress held in December 1924, that a Das-Gandhi pact was concluded uniting in the Congress the no-changers with the Swarajists. By virtue of this pact a resolution was adopted to suspend the non-co-operation programme as the national programme and permission was granted for work in connection with the central and provincial legislatures to be carried on by the Swaraj party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation. Gradually but definitely Mr. C. R. Das was revising his policy and his speech as president of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Faridpur delivered on May 2, 1925, bears ample testimony to the healthy change which was taking place in his ideas. But, alas, he was not spared long to serve India. He died on June 16, 1925, and the Swaraj party lost in him an indomitable leader. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru succeeded to the leadership of this party. In the next Congress at Cawnpore in December, 1925, Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar revolted and a new party of Responsive Co-operators came into being. This party advocates Council entry with a view to the working of the reforms and coincides in all material points of its activities with the party of Liberals. This steady progress of disintegration taking place in the Congress camp by the formation of divergent groups shows that the Congress activities are just losing their hold on the popular mind. This progressive history of the non-co-operators, the Swarajists and the Responsivists, further gives us ground to hope that the opposition to the working of the Reforms will slowly but surely disappear and the Congress will again have on its platform all its workers reunited with minds chastened by experience and hearts filled with love and good fellow-feeling. Time will heal the sores if still existing and experience will teach sobriety and prudence. With these signs of an early possibility of rapproachment the Liberal members who attended the last session of the Liberal Federation in Calcutta last December, set on foot negotiations with the leaders of the different groups. These negotiations carried on in a spirit of give and take succeeded so far as to bring into existence a party of coalition. The Liberals, the Responsivists and the Independents offered to coalesce into this new party which was formally established in Bombay in the first week of April;



**Welcome Speech.** 1926, at a meeting of the members of these parties in Chinabagh. The  
**Rao Bahadur K. G.** recognised leaders of the Responsive Cooperation party, Messrs Jayakar  
**Dante** and Kelkar, expressed their personal agreement with the aims and policy of this National party, but deferred final action until the members of their party were formally consulted and their consent to coalesce in this party was obtained. Seeing that a formidable combination of the prominent and intelligent section of the political workers was being formed to oppose the activities of the Swarajists Mr. Motilal Nehru tried through the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi to bring about an understanding between the Swarajists and Responsivists. On the 21st of April last a compromise was effected at Sabarmati but it was to be submitted to the All-India Congress Committee for confirmation. Pandit Motilal found that prominent Swarajists were not prepared to support the terms of this compromise known at the Sabarmati pact, and sought to offer explanation about the difference in the understanding between the parties to the compromise. In the first week of May, 1926, the compromise failed and the Swaraj and the Responsivist parties remained the two militant parties in the Congress. The imperious mandates to walk out and walk in issued to the Congress members in the central and provincial legislative councils by the Swaraj executive committee and the literal execution of these mandates by the members so enjoined lowered the Swaraj parties activities in the public estimation and there is no knowing when the smouldering fire of disagreement may kindle into flames and destroy the apparent amity which is being kept up with great efforts in the working of the Congress programme. One dominant result of the Swaraj tactics which has largely weaned popular sympathy from them is the actual suspension of Reforms in Bengal from June 25 to January 31, 1927 and in the C. P. and Berar from April 20, 1926, to January 31, 1927. No manner of reasoning can satisfy an inquiring mind that the swarajist methods appeal to the general public as calculated to serve the best interests of India.

During the period of trouble and anxiety as shown above, the Liberal party had an arduous task to perform. It had to raise its voice of vehement protest against the repressive measures of the Government, to emphasise the defects of the Reforms Scheme brought to the surface by its actual working and incessantly but fearlessly to combat the futile dissemination of doctrines of non-cooperation, mass civil disobedience, and boycott. The Government looked upon the Liberal party with distrust and perhaps with serious misgivings when it unsparingly condemned the Government measures of repression. The people, on the other hand, called it names, denounced it as a snake in the grass, and as a band of traitors to the country. Foully deprecated and held up to wanton ridicule, the Liberal party was driven to a position which became intolerable. Deprived of all sense of respect for age, education, social standing and eminent public service, students and crowds of people imbued with the spirit of rowdiness could freely shout down public speakers on public platforms. What stormy scenes such high personages as Dr. Besant, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Surendranath Banerjee had to face during this period of public unrest and tense disaffection towards the Liberals, is a matter well within our memory. This was primarily due to the fact that the cult of Gandhism as misinterpreted by the people reigned supreme all over India. The Liberal party withstood with fortitude and forbearance all rebuffs, ridicule, calumny and misrepresentation, and patiently maintained its ground boldly, firmly and persistently, fully fortified as it was by the strength of its convictions.

Both the wings of the Congress as it originally stood, came to be distrusted and therefore unheeded by the Government. This was and is altogether an undesirable result. It is undeniable that all the political workers in India, whether they are inside the Congress or outside and whether they belong to one group or another, are animated by the same motive to do devoted service to their motherland and are fired with the same righteous and noble sentiment of patriotic love for India. They have honestly been seeking out the surest way to carry forward the political status of India to the highest altitude attainable as early as possible. They are agreed also as to the practical limitations within which their activities have to be carried on. In this state of things every right-minded patriot has to place the true interests of his country above considerations of self or party. In his heart of hearts every sensible Indian cherishes and must cherish an ardent wish for the rapid advance of his country to the destined goal, *viz.*, responsible self-government or Swaraj. For an early realisation of this object is required the consolidation of our forces and united action in the right direction. Any move which retards this onward march in the direction marked out has to be scrupulously avoided. The road is one and the same it must be clear to every one who has to use it and he must vigilantly keep it in sight despite the elusive effects of a temporary stormy atmosphere or foggy weather. Deviation from the right path means so much waste of energy and consequent delay in reaching the goal. Those who lose their path and in their stray wanderings ask their fellow-workers to join their company, require more guides to bring them back to the right path and this necessarily entails delay. Perhaps it may amount to an act of immodesty or impertinence on my part—an humble worker in an obscure corner of the country devoting his attention to the study of politics—to go out of his limited groove, and to criticise the value and propriety of the counsel which the widely acknowledged leaders of non-cooperators and the Swarajists are deliberately giving to the country. That higher task of responsibility and superior authority, I must leave to abler and worthier hands. I shall content myself with asserting my honest conviction that the activities of the Swarajists and non-cooperators in the country are proving a serious handicap to the smooth and orderly progress of the country along the right path.

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Dangle.

The Government of India Act, 1919, in its preamble which embodies in an amplified form, the Declaration of August 20, 1917, postulates in clear terms that the British Parliament shall be the sole judge to determine the amount of cooperation rendered and the progress achieved by the Indian people in working the reforms granted. Those in the country who have avowedly disclaimed association with the Reforms inaugurated under this Act and proposed to wreck or obstruct them in every possible manner, can have no claim for hearing before this judge. They have voluntarily chosen to deny themselves the opportunity to press their version of the country's grievances and having thus forfeited their right to influence the judge by addressing their arguments to him, their cries will not catch his ears. They will be out of court by their own act. The Government of India Act, 1919, expressly prescribes a definite procedure for the determination of India's claim to a further and larger measure of responsible self-government, and provides that the Statutory Commission as its accredited agent will investigate the merits of the claim and report its recommendations to the British Parliament for final determination. Will it in any way be possible for Swarajists and non-cooperators to avoid the prescribed procedure? They are not in a position to deny the binding force

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 Rao Bahadur K. G. Parliament to determine the merits of the claim. India will be on her  
 Damle. trial before the Royal Commission which will come out in 1929. If the  
 Swarajists and the non-cooperators who pose as the real representatives  
 of India purposely keep out and avoid ventilating their just grievances,  
 who will suffer? Can they afford to treat so lightly this grave  
 situation? Can they not cast aside their personal sense of dis-  
 pleasure or dislike and give up their attitude of wrecking or obstructing  
 the Reforms, for the sake of their country which they love so dearly  
 and in advocating and furthering whose cause they are and ought to be  
 prepared to make the largest personal sacrifice demanded of them? The  
 claims of India will have to be presented before the Commission as  
 strongly as possible with a united will and purpose. Shall I be appealing  
 in vain to my fellow-countrymen when I imploringly beseech them to  
 rise to the occasion, to prove themselves to be the worthy and loyal sons  
 of India, and to work whole-heartedly, lovingly and unitedly to press  
 India's claims on the attention of the Commission, in the best and most  
 effective manner? I feel confident that petty party quarrels and diffe-  
 rences will not prevent them from the performance of their clear duty  
 to their country. Shall I be fruitlessly invoking their good-will and  
 co-operation in the heavy and responsible task ahead of us which will  
 require a full measure of energy and attention from the best brains in  
 India, no matter what way their inclinations lie? The country's need  
 transcends all personal difficulties and grievances. Let us then forget  
 the past, give up misunderstanding, forgive wrongs real or imagined,  
 and sincerely join hands solely to throw our heart and might into our  
 country's cause, and win it easily and successfully with one mind  
 and aim.

Our misfortunes do not end with our political dissensions. We  
 have amidst us religious antagonism and consequent religious feuds to  
 contend against. These religious disputes have long since been under-  
 mining our strength. India's population mainly consists of two reli-  
 gious communities, Hindus and Mahomedans. The former are 163  
 millions while the latter are 67 millions of the entire population. But  
 it is a matter to be greatly regretted that both these communities, born  
 and bred on the same soil, moving in the same atmosphere and intima-  
 tely and equally interested in the prosperity and progress of the com-  
 mon land and in the establishment of harmony and good-will between  
 class and class, have been nevertheless distrusting each other, and their  
 mutual misunderstandings are the root cause of all Hindu and Maho-  
 medan disputes of which we hear so much and which are calculated to  
 arrest our political growth. For one reason or another, in season and  
 out of season, this religious antagonism exhibits itself in open violence.  
 During the past few years this communal tension has developed and  
 extended widely, and has assumed alarming proportions. So much so  
 that the Muslim League may any moment openly threaten to sever all  
 connection with the National Congress and its activities and may  
 decide to work exclusively to further only the Muslim interests in  
 India. Religious orthodoxy was more rampant in days of old than it  
 is now. It might or might not have served any purpose in days gone  
 by and we are not concerned with its previous history. It is now  
 common knowledge how Turkey has emerged from the War. The  
 Angora Republic has shaken off the hold of old religious notions, ideals  
 and prejudices. With the Turks religion does not stand above politics.  
 Its claims on its followers have been subordinated to those of the State.  
 In India, however, the same old notion survives in full force. With

due respect to this doctrine, which it is nobody's right to meddle with, it will be admitted on all hands that a major part of a Mahomedan's every-day life is engaged like that of the non-Mahomedan population in attending to non-religious matters of purely worldly importance and in their associations with their fellow-men of other faiths the occasions are rare when their religious preachings affect their every day acts and their relations with other communities. The history of all civilized countries, Turkey included, teaches us that in proportion as the peoples' interests advance in matters political, social, and international, the primitive rigidity of religious precepts and injunctions requires to be relaxed and religious orthodoxy to be shaken off so as to permit social and political growth to keep pace with advancing and changing times and circumstances. In India both the Mahomedans and the Hindus possess a large community of interest. Neither of them can afford to impede and risk the steady advancement of their political growth and social amity. Both must advance side by side with equal pace and in equal measure if the entire body politic of India is to present a healthy and all-sided advancement. The religion of neither community should demand a surrender of these non-religious interests. Religion teaches us our duty to God and our devotion to Him can be expressed as fervently in a temple as in a mosque. The conventional outward symbols formalities clothed with sentiments of religious sanctity have hardly any permanent and real value in estimating the depth of heart and the steadiness of mind dedicated by a religious devotee to the service and realization of the Divine Power. The religious truths far as they are divine claim common allegiance and homage from humanity as a whole. That being so the apparent points of antagonism discernible in what may be strictly deemed to be mere outward conventional appendages should not be regarded as of great significance and value. They may be made adjustable to varying needs and circumstances; such adjustment does not affect the high divine truths. It behoves the leaders of both the communities; therefore seriously to consider the religious aspect of the situation and to find out a workable formula in practice to avoid the outbursts of religious passion and consequent communal disturbances.

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Dawle.

Non-Brahmin activities as they have been pursued lately form another disquieting feature of the present times in India. As a result of the wide growth of democratic institutions and the spread of education an awakening of political consciousness and a sense of individual value as an integral part of the body politic have arisen and are developing far and wide. They indicate the healthy progress of the people in the right direction. The assertion of individual rights is always welcome, but higher social duty demands that the assertion of the right or its exercise need not be expressed in an offensive tone or manner. Further the recognition of this right must be free from feelings of hatred and animosity. The non-Brahmin agitation set on foot in some places has assumed a form which is distasteful and offensive and instead of winning public applause alienates public appreciation and sympathy. My earnest appeal to those who are leading this agitation is that they should guide its course so inoffensively and decently that it engenders no feelings of hatred, annoyance or disrespect towards the Brahmin as a class.

I have so far dealt with conditions as they are. There are many subjects of great importance which affect India's march towards responsible self-government. There are important questions such as:—

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- (1) Indianization of the Army.
- (2) Indianization of the Civil Service.
- (3) Early establishment of a truly Indian Navy.
- (4) Indian fiscal policy.
- (5) Measures of economic amelioration.
- (6) Compulsory education with liberal state aid.
- (7) The treatment of Indians overseas.

These questions require treatment by able hands and I may safely reserve them for the worthy President and other prominent delegates attending this session of the Federation. The achievements of the League of Nations and of the successive Imperial Conferences form in themselves important topics and I am sure they will interest the delegates. The part which India plays in the deliberations of these august assemblies and what status India must aspire to attain as a constituent member thereof are weighty considerations which require our close study and steady and persistent attention. The Commonwealth of India Bill as embodying a common national demand—whether adequate, or inadequate, comprehensive or inadequate—deserves urgent attention and sympathetic support from the Indian people as a whole. These are my humble suggestions which I beg to place before the subjects committee which will be appointed to-day and it will be their pleasure and discretion to select such of them as they may deem fit for discussion and determination.

I feel I have already encroached unduly long on your patience and indulgence. It is time for me to step aside and ask you to proceed to elect your President. Before resuming my seat, I again take the liberty to warmly thank you for the hearty response you so generously gave to the invitation of the Reception Committee by attending this conference unmindful of the great personal inconvenience, worry and trouble it involved.

Election of President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the task has been entrusted to me to propose the President of this Liberal Federation this year. Ladies and gentlemen, it is now nine years since we separated from the Congress in the political sense. The part which is played by the Liberals in forming a separate organisation and continuing it has now been fully demonstrated. During these nine years, though misrepresented, maligned and abused, the Liberal party has steadfastly pursued its principles and followed what it thought to be right in the real interests of the country and, ladies and gentlemen, it is gratifying to see that slowly but surely the country is coming to realise that the real salvation lies in following the principles advocated by the Liberal party and not in following the clap trap of people who promise them Swaraj in a year, who promise them Swaraj in a month by plying the Charka and following the doctrines of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. The recent elections, ladies and gentlemen, afford us considerable encouragement. In Bombay, in the University constituency, which consists of the educated classes, the graduates, we have got returned Dr. Paranjpye (Applause), a steadfast Liberal, by an overwhelming majority, a majority exceeding the combined votes of the other two defeated candidates. In the United Provinces we have the satisfaction of having veteran Liberal leaders like our esteemed General Secretary, Mr. Chintamani (applause) and Mr. Kunzru (applause) returned with overwhelming majorities again, and I am sure, ladies and

gentlemen that if we persist in our task and if we go on steadfastly as we have gone on till now, we shall yet succeed in relieving the country from the false doctrines by which it is being misled at present. It only requires steadfast working, firm belief in our principles and persistent working to make those principles to the general population. I cannot but observe that in one particular we are lacking and it is the work throughout the year. If the Liberal party would be, as it should be, more active throughout the year, would be more active in the way of bringing home to the people the correctness of their principles, I am sure it would find much greater support than it is finding now. Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing my friend, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar (applause), to the chair of this session of the Federation. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, ladies and gentlemen, needs no introduction to any audience in India. He has devoted his whole life to public affairs, he has large administrative experience, he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, and he has always in his behaviour, in his public life and in his utterances displayed high political sense and patriotism. As you remember, ladies and gentlemen, he was a member of what is known as the Muddiman Committee on the working of the Reforms and he was one of those who signed the minority report voicing the requirements of the country. It would have been a majority report if two Indian gentlemen who since declared themselves for the minority had stood by their real convictions. (Hear, hear.) Ladies, and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you longer. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer is so well-known to the people of this country and it is indeed our good fortune to have secured him to preside over this session of the Federation. I beg to propose Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer to take the chair. (Applause).

Election of President.  
Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani : Ladies and Gentlemen, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and also my friend Sir Chimanlal Setalvad referred to the circumstances in which we, old Congressmen, deemed it necessary to separate ourselves from that organisation and form this Liberal party. During the eight years of our existence there has been no leader of the party who has been more uniformly loyal and faithful to its principles and policy and more constantly helpful to everyone connected with the party than the honoured Liberal whose election as President of this session I have the great honour to second. (Hear, hear.) At the second session of the Federation held seven years ago in Calcutta Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was the President and you well remember the highly instructive address which he delivered on that occasion. Those who knew the extreme unpopularity of the Liberal party and its great numerical weakness hardly dared to hope when we met in the Town Hall of Calcutta in 1919 that we would live as a party for so long as we have done. You have already been told of the change of public feeling in our favour. If during these years we have been able to maintain ourselves and to do some useful work, the credit for that is due to no small extent to the lawyer and educationist, the scholar and statesmen, the upright man and the disinterested patriot, whom we claim not only as a leader but as a teacher. (Hear, hear.) Sir Sivaswami Aiyer has a record of public work behind him and is a man of such signal personal worth that any country might be proud of him and any assembly and any party of which he is leader has reason to rejoice in that distinction conferred upon it. (Hear, hear.) It has been my privilege to have been admitted to the confidence and friendship of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and I am free to confess that I am not tired of speaking to friends who know him less intimately how great is the value I

Election of President.  
Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

attach to his leadership of the Liberal party and how grateful I feel to the circumstance that I can reckon him a friend.

This year the Liberal Federation meets in circumstances more critical, speaking with reference to its own internal affairs, than it did in any preceding year and therefore, it is of the greater value that a politician who is a philosopher, a patriot who has the qualities both of insight and of foresight should be at the helm of affairs in order to give a sagacious lead.

With these words I have great pleasure in inviting you to signify in an enthusiastic manner your support of the proposition that is now before you. (Applause.)

**Babu Jatindranath Basu :** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been placed before you by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, as you have already heard, has been nearly all his life a worker for our national progress. There is one particular department of national progress in which he has taken a great deal of interest and to which he has devoted a great amount of his work and it is the military organisation of the people. For the uplift of a nation one of the things that is vitally necessary is to fit the people for self-defence. So long as we are dependent upon the forces of an alien power, to support us in our hours of need, we cannot expect that we should have political power brought into our hands. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, both as regards the Auxiliary Forces and as regards the Permanent Army establishment, has tried to see that the rights and claims of the people are not overlooked. Gentlemen, we are passing through a critical stage of our national development. And it is a matter of congratulation that we have Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as the President at our deliberations at this meeting of the Federation. Gentlemen, you have to the right and to the left of the chair the portraits of two men who devoted their life to the work of national regeneration in this country. They studied our needs and our wants and our difficulties and they exerted themselves to the utmost of their powers in finding methods and means that would lift us from the position in which we now are. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is now before us to carry on the work for which the foundations were laid by Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Like the disciples of the ancient Vedic sages who through generations kept up the glow of sacrificial fire, we are confident that Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer will keep up the spirit of the work that these two great patriots initiated. I have great pleasure, gentlemen, in supporting the resolution. (Applause.)

**Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit** next supported the proposition in Marathi and it was carried by loud and enthusiastic acclamation.

#### The Presidential Address.

The Presidential Address  
Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer was then garlanded amidst cheers as he rose to deliver his Presidential address. He said :

**MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-DELEGATES :**

I am grateful to the Liberal Party for its mark of confidence in calling upon me to preside over its deliberations for a second time during its history. Owing to an accident, from the effects of which I have not yet fully recovered, I should have preferred that your choice had devolved upon some other member of our party. But, as it was represented to me that it was not possible for the committee to find any one else to fill the office, I had no other alternative than to obey you

call. I was all the more impelled to do so for the reason that the name of our party does not enjoy popular favour like some of the newfangled names which have the charm of novelty. Allow me to thank you most sincerely for the honour you have conferred upon me by your choice.

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All India has been deeply shocked by the dastardly murder of Swami Shradhanand by a Mahomedan fanatic four days ago. It throws a lucid light upon the unhappy relations between the two main communities which to our sorrow have prevailed for some time since the attempts of the Hindus to fraternise over the Khilafat question. It has vividly brought home to all minds the danger to the country of allowing this communal tension to continue unchecked. If the death of Swami Shradhanand will strengthen the hands of those who are seeking to bring about a reconciliation and will hasten that much-desired consummation, he will not have died in vain. His was a noble soul which gave itself wholeheartedly to the uplift and service of the country. He espoused with fervour the Arya Samaj of purifying ideal the Hindu religion from latter day corruptions and reforming Hindu society by the abolition of the distinctions of caste and the promotion of inter-marriages. His great educational experiment of the Gurukul at Hardwar was an attempt to translate the whole Hindu method of education into practice and commanded sympathy and admiration. He strove for unity between Hindus and Mahomedans during the days of the Khilafat movement. He believed that the only abiding basis of true friendship between communities is respect for each other's manliness, bravery and readiness to defend rights. His association with the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements has been ascribed to fanaticism, but I doubt whether he was more narrow-minded or fanatical than any other person who earnestly believes in a proselytizing religion, be it Christianity or Islam. Great patriots of his type with deep faith, lofty ideals, courage of convictions, resolute purpose and unremitting effort are uncommon and the memory of this martyr to his faith is an inspiration to their countrymen.

During the year that is now coming to a close, our party lost two distinguished members who had rendered signal services to the country and to the party. Sir K. G. Gupta was one of the earliest Indian recruits to enter the civil service, and after rising to the highest position in the service, which it was then possible for an Indian to attain, was appointed a member of the Secretary of State's Council by Lord Morley. As a member of the Esher Committee, he strongly urged the policy of Indianisation of the Army, a subject in which he took a keen interest to the last. His mature experience and sage counsel were always at the disposal of the Liberal Party. Receiving his political training at the feet of Sir Phirozeshah Mehta and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Samarth was an active member of the Congress for many years. He was the Organising Secretary of the First Moderate Conference and continued to be a staunch member of the Liberal Party. As a member of the Liberal Delegation to England, as a member of the first Indian Legislative Assembly, as a member of the various important committees and commissions to which he was appointed and finally as a member of the Secretary of State's Council, his life was one of strenuous public service and zealous championship of Indian interests.

#### THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

We are meeting at the close of the third general election to the various legislative bodies in the country and it is useful to make a



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survey of the position of the different political parties. It must be confessed that the Liberal Party has gained no material accession of numbers in the various legislatures, though our position may be said to be slightly better than it was at the end of 1923. Some of our most prominent fellow-liberals, who were defeated in the elections of 1923, have been successful in the recent elections and will be a great source of strength to the various bodies to which they have been elected. Our hearty congratulations are due to Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Sir P. C. Mitter and Sir S. M. Chitnavis. I am not clear which party has the honour to claim my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour as a member, but I know that he is one of those who are prepared to work the constitution and I extend my congratulations to him also on his election for the third time as a member of the Assembly, where I trust he will carry on his mission as a law-giver and social reformer with characteristic zeal, industry and vigour. For the first time in the history of the Indian Legislative Councils a lady has been nominated as a member and I rejoice that the distinction belongs to my province. It is an event of great significance and will, I hope, be followed by the nomination or election of a larger number of women in our Legislative Councils. The experiment is pregnant with hopes of fruitful work in the field of social welfare and the amelioration of the position of women in the domain of personal law. May I offer our felicitations to Dr. Muthulakshmi, the first recipient of this honour?

There are numerous political parties in this country going under different names and with various aims, but they may be classified under two main heads—those who wish to work the constitutional reforms and those who wish to wreck them. The former class may be again roughly divided into those who profess the communal creed and those who do not. From the point of view of the interests of the country, it is rather a difficult task to decide who are likely to cause greater harm to the country, whether it is the Swarajists who wish to wreck the constitution or the communalists who prefer the interests of sections of the community to those of the nation at large. The results of the elections are viewed with satisfaction both by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swarajists, and by Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the distinguished leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha party. Let us briefly examine the situation and see whether the cause of those who are prepared to wreck the constitution has secured a victory. Except in Madras and in Behar and Orissa, there has been no addition to the strength of the Swarajist party. They have suffered severely in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. The success of the Swarajists in Madras cannot be interpreted as due solely to the unmitigated ascendancy of the Swarajist creed. It may, with considerable justice, be claimed that the result of the elections was largely determined by the communal issue. There were only two powerful parties in the province, the so-called Justice party strongly entrenched in the seats of power and well-organised and equipped with funds and the Swarajist party, which fought the elections under the Congress ticket and was equally well-organised. The Independent party, which refused to identify itself either with the Justice party or the Swarajist party and included the Liberals and Home Rulers, was comparatively inferior in organisation and could not put up candidates in all the constituencies. In many constituencies, like the city of Madras, there were candidates only on behalf of the two main parties, the Justice party and the Swarajist party. Those who were opposed to the communal creed of the Justice party had no other

alternative than to vote for the Swarajists. It was for many voters a choice between the devil and the deep sea. It remains to be seen whether the 45 members of the Swarajist party are all wreckers at heart. If the representatives of the Hindu Sabha party, who have succeeded in the elections in the Punjab and the United Provinces, are guided by sectarian ideals, it would be a misfortune not less serious than the return of those who are pledged to wreck the constitution. But I hope that under the leadership of broad-minded patriots like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the representatives of the Hindu Sabha party will be guided along safe lines and will not be influenced by any spirit of animosity towards the Mussalmans. The habit of strict insistence upon rights may be unfavourable to a spirit of compromise and may stand in the way of reconciliation between conflicting sects. I trust that the object of the Hindu Sabha is not the denial of equal opportunities to Mahomedans, but the defence of the rights of Hindus against encroachment by members of other communities. I should hesitate to believe that patriots of the culture and experience of Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would, like the Non-Brahmin leaders, inculcate or tolerate a spirit of hostility to other communities or counsel them against any reconciliation. Taking the elections for India as a whole, the conclusion may be fairly drawn that while there is likely to be a definite set-back in the policy of the Swarajist party, there will probably be no pronounced development of sectarianism.

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#### LIBERAL AND SWARAJIST CREEDS.

Let us now turn our eyes to the position of our own party. From the very moment of the inauguration of the reforms we adopted the view that, while the reforms fell short of our expectations and were defective in many respects, they marked a substantial step in advance of the previous state of things and that we were bound to work the reforms for what they are worth. The reforms opened to us new opportunities for useful constructive work and we felt we were not justified in throwing them away in a fit of sulkiness. There were imperfections inherent in the very structure of the scheme of the Act. There were difficulties created by the rules framed under the act and by the manner in which they were worked by the Governors. There were also difficulties created by the exceptional financial stringency which prevailed during the first term of the Legislative Councils. In spite of all these impediments, we resolved to work the reforms in a spirit of co-operation with the Government. We were prepared to demonstrate our fitness for further advance by the success with which we could work the constitution. The goal of political parties in India is no doubt the same, but there are only two ways of attaining it—either with the consent of the British nation and Parliament or against their wishes and by force of arms. The latter method is so obviously impossible that no party in India has advocated it. But, as a substitute for a revolution by force of arms, the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation has been suggested. From the beginning we pointed out the dangers of the policy of non-co-operation and the difficulty of maintaining non-violence. The numerous outbreaks of violence that followed the inauguration of this policy have abundantly justified our warning. The enquiry made by the Congress Committee showed that the country was not prepared for mass civil disobedience. The policy of non-co-operation originally included the boycott of councils as well as schools and law courts. The boycott was a complete failure and the Swarajist party

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was then started with the object of wrecking the councils from inside. The policy was adopted against Mr. Gandhi's own advice and soon found to be impracticable. The Government of India Act has been framed with sufficient foresight to provide against all dead-locks which may be created by would-be wreckers and the Swarajist party has learned how impossible it is to wreck the constitution or bring the machinery of administration to a standstill.

#### SWARAJIST FAILURE.

The leader of the Swarajist party was obliged to confess during the last Delhi Session of the Assembly that the party had failed to achieve its object. He said that he had no further use for show institutions like the Assembly and that the least they could do to vindicate the honour and self-respect of the nation was to get out of them and go back to the country for work. He said that in the country they would try to devise those sanctions which alone could impel any Government to grant the demands of the people. He hoped and trusted that the nation would give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of their demands and would send them again in larger numbers with a stronger mandate and, God willing, with the sanction for fulfilling its aspirations and enforcement of its commands. It is perhaps not strange that show institutions have a great fascination for the Swarajists and that they have again decided to enter the show-halls. The Swarajist party has not been returned in larger numbers except in Madras. May we ask what new weapons the learned Pandit has forged and what sanction for enforcing the commands of the people or of the Swarajist party he has secured? The sanction which he darkly hinted at could only be the sanction of mass civil disobedience. We wonder whether the country has since the 8th of March, 1926, been secretly or openly prepared for mass civil disobedience and whether it is any more fit to resort to this weapon than it was when the Congress committee submitted its report. Knowing, as the Swarajists must do, that the country is not prepared to follow them in the stunt of civil disobedience, their talk of sanctions is meaningless and can only be sheer bluff. Many members of the Swarajist party cherish the belief that bluff may deceive the British people. But the British Government has been sufficiently long in this country to be able to distinguish between bluff and effective threats and prominent statesmen in the seats of authority have repeatedly warned us that, while the British Parliament would be willing to carry out its promises, it would never make any concessions to menaces or violence.

#### CHANGES OF THE CONGRESS CREED.

The creed of the Congress party has undergone many changes. They have climbed down from their heights of non-co-operative aloofness to participation in the work of the councils. They have climbed down from a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction to a policy of supporting some at least of the measures for the benefit of the people. It is not however likely that the Swarajist party as a whole will abandon their infructuous policy and return from barren wilderness to the paths of common sense and wisdom.

#### THE REVOLT OF THE RESPONSIVISTS.

With the robust good sense and grip of the actualities which is characteristic of the Maharashtra community, they have led a revolt against the fatuous policy of the Swarajists party and succeeded in forming the party of Responsive co-operation. We welcome the formation

of this party which has practically adopted our creed, though it has not joined us and seems to fight shy of the name "Liberal." In what respect the creed of this party differs from ours and what its distinguishing characteristics are, I have not succeeded in ascertaining. But I prefer to dwell upon the large measure of agreement between their views and ours rather than upon any differences. All honour to the leaders of this revolt and I offer my felicitations to Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Aney and other leaders on the conspicuous success which has attended their efforts. The formation of the Responsive Co-operation party is really a triumph of the principles for which the Liberal party has all along stood.

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#### UNPOPULARITY OF THE LIBERALS

It is an irony of fact that, while the principles for which the Liberal party has stood have been slowly gaining recognition, the party itself should have fallen into disfavour with the people. But the explanation is not far to seek. In the first place, the policy of moderation does not appeal to the popular mind in the same way as a policy of extremism. A member of the Moderate or Liberal party, who is prepared to look at the different sides of a question and make allowances for them all, can never indulge in the same sweeping statements and denunciations, as a member of a party which refuses to look at the other side of the question or face realities and is prepared to recommend short-cuts, however dangerous, to the end in view. The Liberal party cannot possibly make specious promises of a millennium to be attained in months or weeks and can neither attribute all the evils under which the country is suffering to the foreign domination nor refuse to recognise the benefits that the country has derived from the British connection. In the second place, the Congress party owes an immense portion of its prestige to its association with the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. They have exploited his influence to the utmost and profess to be followers of his impracticable constructive programme which a large number of them do not believe in. Witness, for instance, the use of khaddar on ceremonial occasions and the borrowing of khaddar clothing just before entering meetings of Congress committees. Again, the Swarajist party has had the advantage of the widespread organisation of the Congress and its prestige. Having entered the temple of non-co-operation as worshippers, they have quietly dethroned the simple-minded *Mahant* who is satisfied with nominal allegiance and lip-homage of his followers. We have also to contend against the odium which has been sedulously created in the country against all persons who co-operate with the Government in any measure. The action of the Government in enhancing the salt tax by certification led the people into the belief that a policy of co-operation with the Government had no effect in restraining the Government from unpopular legislation. And let me finally add an observation borne out by our experience of social psychology that parties bent upon destruction display far greater zeal and energy than parties interested in construction or conservation. It is no wonder that under all these difficulties our party fell into disfavour with the people. We shared the unpopularity of the Government and got no credit for our achievement in the first term of the Legislative Assembly and Councils.

Our party lost heart and failed to cope with the situation. Our lack of enthusiasm and earnestness, of organisation and funds and our woe-begone sense of despair are responsible for the present plight of our party. Parties with vastly larger funds and followers and far more

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efficient organisation like the Liberal party in England have suffered greater disasters. But, firmly convinced as we are of the soundness of our principles, we may with confidence look forward to a brighter day for the party of constitutionalism, by whatever name it may be called. Our party has had no occasion to revise its creed and is the only party in the country which has been throughout consistent in its principles. The fact that an influential section of the Congress has adopted the creed of Responsive co-operation is the best proof of the soundness of our creed. The dangers that we predicted as the result of a policy of non-co-operation have been realised. Beyond producing a spirit of distrust in the sincerity and intentions of the Government and beyond weakening the sense of respect for law and order, the policy of the Congress party has been barren of any results whether by way of constructive or destructive work. It passes my comprehension that men of light and leading like many of those who are members of the Swarajist party could still believe in the efficacy of their methods of attainment of Swaraj.

#### THE CONDITIONS OF FURTHER ADVANCE.

Now that the time for the appointment of the Statutory Commission is approaching, it is to our interest to prove our fulfilment of the conditions of advance laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act and in the speeches of British statesmen from time to time. Our Swarajist friends appeal to the doctrine of self-determination and ask what right one nation has to judge of the fitness or otherwise of another nation for responsible government. Whatever may be the justice of this contention in the abstract, there is no wisdom in refusing to face hard facts. The British Government is ruling over the country and has no intention of leaving it, unless the Parliament is satisfied that the conditions imposed have been fulfilled. The British Government is the master of the situation and is not prepared to yield to any threats. The Congress party wished to make the position as hot and uncomfortable for the Government as possible, so that they might yield to our demands and they have admittedly failed. There is a dictum of Hindu Law that facts cannot be altered by a hundred texts. To refuse to recognise the stern logic of facts may be a heroic pose but is not consistent with common sense. It would be not merely a peaceful but an easier road to the attainment of Swaraj to so shape our policy that we shall be able to satisfy the Statutory Commission that we have fulfilled our part of the bargain.

So far as we can judge from the utterances of British statesmen, the main point upon which they desire to be satisfied is our willingness to co-operate with the Government in working the reforms introduced in 1921. It is laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act that the action of Parliament must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities for service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. The Commission to be appointed under the Statute will be charged with the duty of inquiring into the working of the system of government and reporting whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government existing at the time. We have from time to time pressed for the acceleration of the appointment of the Statutory Commission. Singus are not wanting of a disposition on the part of British statesmen to advance the appointment of the Commis-

sion. One can see a marked change in their utterances and a tone of greater willingness to appoint the Commission earlier. From the point of view of those who consider that India has been and is already fit for responsible government, the delay on the part of the Government in yielding to our demands for reconsideration and further advance is held to justify a suspicion of their intentions.

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Let us, however, look at the other side of the shield and put ourselves for a moment in the position of the British statesmen. In the very first year of its existence, a resolution was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly for the establishment of autonomy in the provinces and the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government. Eventually, it was passed in an amended form requesting the communication to the Secretary of State of the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India in the path of responsible government warranted a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929. May it not be said with some show of reason that the resolution was premature and need we wonder at the reply of Lord Peel that the new machinery had still to be tried in its working and that the merits and capabilities of the electorates had not been tested by time and experience? A resolution was again moved in 1923 by Dr. Gour and in 1924 a resolution was passed on the motion of Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar recommending the early revision of the Government of India Act.

While these resolutions show that the Legislative Assembly did not relax its efforts to secure a revision of the constitution, the view of English politicians that these attempts were premature or indicated impatience cannot be regarded as natural or as indicating an intention on their part not to honour the promises of the Parliament. When the Labour party which is the most friendly to us came into power, the premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, declared in his message to India that no party in Great Britain would be cowed by threats of force or by policies designed to bring the Government to a stand-still. He urged upon all the best friends of India to come nearer to Britain rather than to stand apart and get at the reason and goodwill of the British.

#### RECENT GESTURE OF LORD BIRKENHEAD.

In the recent speech of Lord Birkenhead at the Indian Students' Union, he remarked that non-co-operation could not be an argument for the extension of the reforms and the unwise course which could be pursued by any body of men who wished to convince the world that they were adequate for a larger degree of democratic responsibility was to refuse utterly to confront the not inconsiderable degree of democratic influence and responsibility which was conceded to them under the existing constitution. He said he wished to know the post-election temper of the successful candidates. In his Guildhall speech he said that a real desire to make the constitution a success amongst the people entitled to speak with representative authority would be responded to in no niggardly spirit. I do not know what exactly will be the attitude of the British Government, when the time for the revision of the Statute comes. But whatever may be their attitude, I am convinced that far from doing any good, the policy of non-co-operation from within or of obstruction to wreck the constitution is bound to retard further constitutional advance.

#### MEANING OF DEMAND FOR CO-OPERATION.

It is desirable to try and understand the meaning of this demand for co-operation in the working of the reforms. Is it merely for the pur-

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pose of enabling us to acquire experience in the practical working of parliamentary institutions and to judge of our capacity and fitness for the purpose, or is it for the purpose of ascertaining our good will and friendship for the British nation and our loyalty to the British connection? There is reason to believe that both these objects are at the back of these demands for co-operation. In the remarkably frank speech of H. E. Lord Lytton at the St. Andrews' Dinner at Calcutta, he pointed out that there was lack of faith on the part of Indians in the sincerity of British intentions and there was too little faith on the part of the British public in Indian friendship. He observed that concessions to Indian demands would never be acceptable to British opinion until they were shown to be compatible with the national interests of Great Britain. He therefore very properly appealed for a spirit of confidence to take the place of mistrust. Let us allay the apprehensions of Britain that the grant of responsible government may be accompanied by a desire on our part to injure British interests or sever the British connection. I would say to the Government that trust begets trust and that the longer the delay in making the further advance, the greater will be the feeling of distrust on the part of Indians in their professions of sympathy and goodwill. Let them take their courage into their hands and deal with us generously and they will find a grateful response from politicians of all shades and a closer and a more spontaneous linking of the ties that bind the two countries.

#### PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED

That there are several difficult problems to be solved in connection with the question of constitutional advance may be readily admitted. Some of these problems have been referred to and discussed in the minority report of the Muddiman Committee on Reforms. Others were referred to by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his speech on the constitutional resolution moved by Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar in January, 1924. He referred to the problems arising in connection with the Indian States, the control of the defence of the country and the acute differences between communities. He did not say that the problems were insoluble or insurmountable.

#### HINDU MAHOMADAN RELATIONS

One of the problems to which Sir Malcolm Hailey drew attention was the existence of communal differences and particularly the tension between the Hindu and the Mahomadan communities. Unfortunately, this problem has assumed a much graver aspect now than it ever wore at any previous time. The numerous outbreaks of violence between the two great communities indicate a wide-spread feeling of mutual antagonism which must be deeply deplored. Every one must realise that this feeling of estrangement and discord between the two communities must not merely hinder the attainment of Swaraj but the maintenance of peace and order in society. One cannot help feeling that the violent outbursts of the last few years are in some measure due to the spirit of contempt of authority and defiance of law which have been engendered by the policy of non-co-operation. Not that there are not other causes also at work. It behoves the leaders of both communities to set to work earnestly to allay the existing unrest and to restore harmony and goodwill.

In the notable speech which His Excellency the Viceroy made at the Chelmsford Club, he made a most earnest and eloquent appeal to

all men of influence and following in the communities, to their representatives in the press and their leaders in matters of religion, to condemn violence and intolerance and promote feelings of friendship. The riots in Calcutta and elsewhere must have convinced the intolerant sections of the two communities that neither could attack the other with impunity. A permanent solution of the difficulties between the communities can only be reached by education and mutual understanding, by the abandonment of prejudices and by appreciation of the rights of others. But education is a slow process and whether it is possible or not to restore concord by private efforts at reconciliation, it is the duty of the State to provide all the objective conditions necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. Fortunately for this country, His Excellency the Viceroy is inspired by a deep anxiety to promote friendly relations between the communities. The causes of the differences between the two communities and the appropriate remedies are not the same with regard to all the classes. The two matters which give rise to these riots among the masses are processional music in front of mosques and the slaughter of cows. In each case the remedy is clear and it consists in the strict and impartial enforcement of the law. With regard to the slaughter of cows, so long as it is not conducted in public places or in places visible to the public and so long as the animals destined for slaughter are not led through the public streets in such an ostentatious manner as to attract attention and needlessly offend his susceptibilities, no Hindu has the right to object to or interfere with the right of the Mahomedan. This position has been adopted by a unanimous resolutions of the Unity Conference held at Delhi.

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As regards the subject of processional music before mosques, a strict and uniform enforcement of the existing law is the only sure means of preserving order. The law was clearly laid down by a full bench decision of the Madras High Court nearly forty-five years ago and I am not aware that it has been dissented or departed from anywhere else. According to the law, the right to protection in the performance of religious worship is limited to an assembly and does not extend to individuals engaged in worship in a public mosque. Assemblies for the purpose of worship are scarcely held in any place at all hours, but are generally held at appointed hours only and there is thus no necessity for a rule restricting the right of procession in the neighbourhood of a recognised place of worship, except during the appointed hours of congregational worship. The right of persons of any section to conduct religious processions through the public streets has also been recognised by the highest judicial authority, provided that they do not interfere with the ordinary use of such streets by the public and subject to such precautions as the Magistrate may lawfully give to prevent the obstruction of the thoroughfare or breaches of the public peace. Any claims therefore by the Mahomedan community to interdict processional music at other times than those set apart for congregational worship can only be justified on the ground of some valid local usage.

As regards the erection of new places of worship, they should be regarded as possible sources of communal friction and it is necessary to introduce legislation for the purpose of prohibiting the construction of new mosques, temples or churches except with the previous permission of the Government. Rules to this effect are in force in the States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Hyderabad and the enforcement of the rule has been attended with great success in the prevention of communal riots. It is a matter of gratification that His Excellency the



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Viceroy has repeatedly declared that it is the undoubted duty of the executive authorities to secure the enjoyment of the private right of others and the preservation of public peace. In his speech in the Assembly last August, he expressed the desire of the Government of India that this duty should be performed with fairness and scrupulous impartiality. He emphasised the intention of Government to allow no unjust or unreasonable claims, still less any violence, or threat of violence, to deter them from their clear duty of maintaining the public peace and, so far as is compatible with the rights of others, the right of the individual citizen to pursue unhampered his lawful avocations. His Excellency, however, is not aware that very often there is a disposition on the part of Magistrates to fall into the facile habit of over-riding well-established civil rights, even those established by decisions of the civil courts, on the ground of a likelihood of a breach of the public peace if the exercise of such right should be allowed. The paramount interests of public peace and order cannot be denied and a Magistrate must be allowed in extreme cases to prohibit the exercise even of a legal right when there is a real danger. But, it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the attention of the Magistrates that they must use their best endeavours to protect the enjoyment of civil rights and that it is only when it is impossible to do so, should the exercise of such rights be disallowed. We know from experience that Magistrates do not always exhibit a solicitude for the protection of civil rights and they find prohibition a much easier course than protection. It is not realised by the magistracy that the repetition of such orders is bound to create the impression that the authorities are powerless to protect persons in the enjoyment of their civil rights and against the class from whom violence is apprehended. As pointed out by Sir Charles Turner the eminent Chief Justice of Madras, when this impression takes hold of the minds of sections of the population, graver dangers are to be apprehended from refusing than from conceding protection to the legitimate enjoyment of civil rights. I have a suspicion that the impression of the inability of the executive to afford just protection must have driven the people in several cases in northern India to take the law into their own hands as a matter of self-protection. A return of the cases, in which the exercise of civil rights by members of one sect or another has been interdicted by orders of the Magistrates in the provinces where communal riots have largely broken out, is likely to throw light upon the question whether Magistrates do not too readily yield to the temptation of passing prohibitory orders. We must be careful, however, not to pronounce an opinion upon the conduct of the Magistrates too readily or lightly; for it often happens that the police forces at their disposal are utterly inadequate to the proper discharge of their duties. I cannot help thinking that the niggardly animus of some of our legislatures in dealing with the police budget may be one of the reasons for defective police arrangements.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Passing now to the causes of friction between the educated sections of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities, they resolve themselves into the question of representation in the Legislatures and the public services. The utterances of Lord Irwin on this subject also have been clear and satisfactory. The general principles laid down on the subject of representation of the Mahomedans in the services must meet with approval. As regards the question of communal representation in the Legislatures, however much we may disapprove of the system of communal electorates as tending to perpetuate communal

differences and outlook and as preventing a closer union between the two communities, it is not within the range of practical politics to induce the Mahomedans to agree to give up communal representation. Whether a reservation of seats to the extent of the numbers they are now entitled under the existing rules will not equally serve their purpose, is a proposition which I would earnestly invite the leaders of that community to consider. The advantage of the system of reservation of seats over the system of communal electorates is that it would tend to mitigate the feelings of aloofness and particularism which largely animate the members of that community by requiring candidates to seek the support of the general electorate.

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It may perhaps be apprehended that under a system of reservation of seats in a common electorate, it would be possible for Mussalman candidates not acceptable to their own community to get into the Legislatures on the strength of the Hindu voters in constituencies where there is a large preponderance of Hindu voters. It must be admitted that this is by no means an improbable contingency, but it seems to me possible to suggest a device for allaying this apprehension. To achieve the advantages claimed for a reservation of seats over the system of communal electorates and at the same time to prevent candidates from succeeding solely on the strength of either the Hindu voters or of the Mussalman voters, I would propose the following contrivance. Wherever there is a serious disparity between the voting strength of the mahomedans and the Hindus, the value to be attached to each Mahomedan vote for a Mahomedan candidate may be multiplied by a quota which shall be one less than the ratio which represents the strength of the Hindu voters to that of the Mahomedan voters. Thus, if there are 2,000 Mahomedan voters and 8,000 Hindu voters in a constituency, I would multiply each Mahomedan vote for a Mahomedan candidate by 3 (4—1). I throw out the suggestion in the rough for consideration by both communities. At the Lucknow conference, my distinguished friend Dr. Paranjypte suggested the device of proportional representation, but apart from the technical and complicated character of the system, it is to my mind doubtful whether it may not be possible for an organised majority party to win all the seats by concerted action, wherever the disparity between the parties is large and the number of seats open to the constituency is small. As regards the number of seats to be allowed to the Mahomedans in the different legislatures, the Lucknow Pact, which was arrived at after prolonged discussion and with immense trouble, has been adopted by Government and has hitherto been loyally observed. There is some dissatisfaction with that pact among the Mahomedans of Bengal and Punjab where they form a majority of the population, and some of them wish to obtain a revision of the pact in their favour. But, it must be remembered that the compromise arrived at was equally unsatisfactory to the Hindus in several provinces. If the agreement is to be revised it must be ripped open with regard to the whole of India and not merely with regard to a few provinces.

#### DEFENCE.

I now pass on to another difficulty pointed out as one of the hindrances to the attainment of responsible government, *viz.*, the control of the defence. The difficulty is not one of our creation. It is the government which is responsible for our present inability to take charge of the control of the defence of our country. It is only after the great war that the Government have professed any sympathy with the as-

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pirations of Indians to enter the higher military rank and their professions of sympathy have not yet been materially translated into practice. Even at the present moment, there is no evidence of any concern or desire on the part of Government to make this country self-sufficient in the constitution and organisation of its defensive forces. The British Government is quite alive to the value of the resources of India in man-power for the army, but has no wish to utilise Indian talent for the officering of the Indian army in the same or even in any appreciable measure. Reforms in the direction of Indianisation are an uphill task even in the civil services of the administration, but they are far, more so in the military services. No one, who is acquainted with the long delays of the Government of India and of the Imperial Government in arriving at a decision on proposals relating to the training of the people for defence, will wonder at the popular dissatisfaction thereby caused. The Report of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Committee was submitted to the Government in the beginning of last year and the orders of the Secretary of State are still awaited. The establishment of an Indian Sandhurst at an early date was recommended to the Government so far back as 1921. It was only in 1925 that the Government was prepared to take action even to the extent of appointing a committee to consider the subject. The Skeen Committee is said to have just concluded its labours and submitted its report to the Government of India. How many months or even years the Imperial Government will take to pass orders on the subject we cannot forecast. All the more important resolutions of the Assembly with regard to the Institution of the Army have either not been carried out yet, or been refused. Though the Air Force will play the most important rôle in future warfare, its doors are closed against us as in other important branches of the army. The scheme of a Royal Indian Navy is in a process of slow embryonic development.

#### THE REAL REASONS.

While we cannot acquit the Government of blame for our past helplessness in the matter of defence, it is not difficult to understand the reasons for their unwillingness to embark on any considerable scheme of Indianisation. The Government cannot completely get rid of the old notion that India must be kept by the sword-not in the sense of being administered by a system of martial law, but in the sense that the maintenance of British Rule must in the last resort depend not upon the civil administrator but upon the control of the army. Britain does not mind experiments in the sphere of civil administration, so long as she keeps the army in her control. They feel they cannot afford to Indianise the army, because they do not feel sure what its reactions will be on the maintenance of the British ascendancy or connection. It is this lack of faith in the loyalty of India to the British Empire that is really the underlying motive of the attitude of the Government. There are other reasons also which have no little influence upon the policy of the Imperial Government, though we cannot be expected to sympathize in or attach any weight to them. I may here quote an extract from Sir Valentine Chirol's book on 'India'. It is observed by that fair-minded writer :

Though the army department may wish now to approach it (question of Indianisation) chiefly from the point of view of military efficiency, it has to reckon with the strong racial objections of British officers to being placed in the position of ever having to take orders from Indian officers. Nor can one ignore the danger of personal friction between the British and the Indian officers with their very different outlook and social habits if they are made to rub shoulders in a common mess-room. But the feeling goes

deeper and responsible and experienced British Officers, not unnaturally proud of the confidence and even personal affection of their native officers as well as their men, are found to declare that the Englishman's prestige with the native troops themselves will be gone, if they are ever placed under other than British command. Indians whom education has trained to modern standards of self-respect resent deeply such a stigma of racial inferiority.

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We can thus understand the reasons for the reluctance of the Government to move forward in matters of defence with any liberally conceived scheme of Indianisation. But so long as they fail to recognise their obligation to enable India to defend herself, it is not open to them to cast it in our teeth that our inability to defend ourselves is a barrier to the attainment of the goal of responsible government, which has been guaranteed to us by Parliament.

British statesmen have often acknowledged in the past and are now in the habit of proclaiming that they hold India as trustees for the people. Is it unreasonable to ask whether our self-constituted trustees have ever displayed consciousness of an obligation to hand over to the people the army which is being maintained at their expense or to train their *cestuis que trustent* to officer and control their military establishment? The Government of India Act declares the policy of Parliament to be to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration. This would certainly include the military as well as the civil branches of the administration. If the British Government as our trustees have made no attempt to prepare us for our responsibility for the defence of our country, it is necessary in our interest and for the credit of our trustees that we should press them to declare and affirm explicitly the goal of their military policy in India and to frame a suitable scheme of Indianisation to enable us to reach the goal within a generation at least.

#### THE INDIAN STATES

One other problem which was referred to by Sir Malcolm Hailey as requiring solution before full self-governing Dominion status can be granted to India is the one arising from the relations of the Indian States to the paramount power. That this problem will have to be faced at some future date when full responsible government is granted to India, admits of no doubt; but the demands made by Indian politicians do not include a voice in the settlement of foreign and political affairs. We have purposely decided to postpone the consideration of this problem and are content to leave the management and control of relations between the Indian States and British India in the hands of the Governor-General under his responsibility to the British Parliament. There are some politicians who are impatient in their eagerness to bring Indian States into line with British India and who are prepared to suggest more active steps towards this end. While I fully appreciate and sympathise in their objects, I am convinced that the right policy for us at the present moment is one of mutual non-interference. The problem of attaining a substantial measure of responsible government in the internal administration of British India is in itself sufficiently beset with difficulties and it would be the height of unwisdom for Indian politicians to add to its difficulty and complexity by raising the question of the relations between British India and the Indian States. The Indian princes are now benevolent spectators of our struggle for constitutional reforms, but any attempt to trench upon their authority, privileges and jurisdiction will have the effect of enlisting their interests on the side of those who are opposed to further advance in British India. It will have the effect of indefinitely retarding our

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constitutional progress. I would therefore advise the younger politicians to trust to the interplay of public opinion between British India and the States. In the meanwhile we have the satisfaction of knowing that the policy by which the Government of India are guided in their relation towards the Indian States is consistent with a due regard for the welfare of Indian as a whole.

*A propos* of this question, let me offer my hearty congratulations to the people of Berar on the satisfactory termination of the longstanding controversy between His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the Government of India about the restoration of this province. Whatever might be the legal aspects of this controversy, a question which it is unnecessary for us to enter into, there can be no doubt or difference of opinion among us that the decision of the Government of India is in accordance with the best interests of the people of this province. The days when sovereigns could, by treaty between themselves, conclude arrangements for the transfer of territories and populations are past. The population of a province cannot now be transferred like chattels by one ruler to another. It is the wishes of the people occupying a territory that should be the paramount consideration in the disposal of all questions of readjustment of territory. If a plebiscite were to be taken on the subject of the restoration of the province to the ruler of Hyderabad, I have no doubt that it would emphatically support the decision of the Government of India. Is there any one among you who wishes to be placed under the rule of His Exalted Highness? In their disgruntled moods politicians may sometimes indulge in comparisons between the Indian States and British India to the disadvantage of the British Government, but I question whether, in his heart of hearts, any politician in British India seriously entertains a wish to exchange British rule for that of an Indian State. Let me not be misunderstood. There are model Indian States like Mysore and Baroda, where the people live under a reign of law and order and under conditions of government hardly differing from the state of things in British India. But the question is whether any British Indian subject feels convinced that it would be advantageous for him to transfer himself to the rule of an Indian prince. One important principle laid down by the Government of India with the concurrence of the Imperial Government is the supremacy of the British Government and its right and duty to preserve peace and good order throughout India. Indian Princes have often advanced a claim to equality of status with the British Government and sought to support their claims by reference to the terms of treaties in which they have been described as faithful allies, to the circumstances and conditions under which treaties were concluded and to ancient history. But facts are stubborn and the longer they have been established, the more futile it is to quarrel with facts. I am not suggesting that treaties should be treated as scraps of paper. The Government of India do not entertain any intention of repudiating their obligations under treaties and engagements. The contention that the loss of his jurisdiction in external affairs has left the Indian Prince's sovereignty unimpaired in all other respects has been examined and disposed of on grounds acceptable to the well-wishers of India. It must be a matter for deep satisfaction to you and to all that the Government of India have given the quietus to the pretensions of His Exalted Highness and have in clear and unambiguous terms affirmed the principle that where Imperial interests are concerned or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of the Government, the paramount power has the

obligation and the responsibility of taking such remedial action as may be necessary.

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#### ROYAL CURRENCY COMMISSION.

Lengthy as my address has been, I cannot bring it to a close without dealing with a subject of great importance even at the risk of tiring your patience. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Currency have been engaging a large share of the attention of the public and legislation is about to be introduced in the approaching session of the Indian Legislature for the purpose of giving effect to those recommendations. The subject has given rise to very exciting controversy and the mass of literature upon the subject is daily growing at a pace which it is not possible to overtake. An agitation has been started in Bombay and carried on with great vigour and is being echoed in Calcutta. A layman intervening in a conflict between financial experts is in the position of an earthen pipkin between two iron pots. But the matter is one of such grave importance to the public, that it is the duty of every citizen to form his own opinion to the best of his lights and not to shrink from the duty of expressing them. It is unfortunate that in the discussion of a question requiring calm consideration and judgment there should have been imported such a large amount of heat and acrimony. But it cannot be helped, as it is only natural that in a matter touching the interests of all classes, apprehensions should arise as to the way in which the interests of different classes will be affected. I have read and re-read the report of the Commission and I have endeavoured to study the question and consider it as dispassionately and impartially as possible and form my own judgment upon the materials available and to the best of my humble ability.

For many years past the Indian public has been dissatisfied with the system of currency prevailing here and has been pressing for a reform. The people have been anxious to secure a gold standard and a system of currency which would admit of automatic expansion and contraction in accordance with the requirements of trade. They have been anxious to eliminate or minimise the fluctuations of exchange and stabilise the ratio between the rupee and gold. The various commissions and committees which have been appointed from time to time to examine the questions of currency and exchange have more or less sympathized with the desire of the public for the introduction of a gold standard, and though the views of the Government of India have generally been in accordance with the wishes of the people, the introduction of a gold standard has been thwarted and delayed by the attitude of the authorities in England.

#### GOLD STANDARD.

The Hilton Young Commission whose report is now before the public have unanimously recommended the introduction of a gold bullion standard. The scheme recommended by the Commission is intended to provide India with a system of currency practically the same as that now prevalent in England under the statute of last year. Apart from the sentimental desire to handle the more precious metal, the main reason for the advocacy of gold currency for internal circulation is that it will inspire confidence among the people who have been accustomed to the use of metallic coin and have not sufficiently learned the use of substitutes for a metallic currency. On the other hand, it is urged that since the war people have become accustomed to the use of paper currency, that it is uneconomic to hold precious metals as a store

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of value and that in the United Kingdom and almost all civilised countries, the use of a metallic currency has been practically dispensed with for all internal purposes and that the concentration of gold in a central Government provides the strongest position for the support of exchange and the settlement of external transactions. Irrespective of the greater advantages to the community arising from a more economic use of gold there is the formidable practical difficulty of obtaining the necessary credits and acquiring the requisite amount of gold. The effect which a large demand for gold would produce on the supplies available for the construction of financial equilibrium in European countries, the prospect of a fall in gold prices and a restriction of credit, the disorganisation of industries in Europe with the unavoidable reaction upon the trade and prosperity of India and the unwillingness of America and England to part with their gold are decisive reasons against the employment of gold in internal circulation in the immediate future. The possibility of allowing the use of gold coins in internal circulation would depend upon the question whether the people of India have become habituated to economy in the use of the precious metals and to the use of the same substitutes for metallic currency that other civilised nations have adopted. The concurrence of Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas in this recommendation renders it unnecessary to labour this point.

When the currency bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly last autumn, there was no provision giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission that on the expiry of the transition period, the Central Government should sell gold bullion at a notified price. I took exception to this omission on the ground that if there was no statutory obligation to sell gold bullion, the currency would be practically inconvertible and would not differ from the gold or sterling exchange standard. As the Secretary of State is said to have approved of the recommendations of the Currency Commission, it may be inferred that sanction has since been obtained to give effect to their recommendation in this behalf also. Some of our people are disposed to think that the postponement of the introduction of a gold currency is based upon undue tenderness for British interests and not upon the impracticability of carrying out the measure in the near future. This is not a fair view of the position and it is abundantly clear from the evidence that it is not a regard for British interests alone or even for European interests that has dominated the Currency Commission, but the difficulty of acquiring the amount of gold necessary for the scheme of a gold currency and the probability of the danger to Indian interests arising from the disorganisation of credit and industry and the fall of prices all the world over. In view of the fact that the introduction of a gold standard is not opposed by the British Government and that the present Finance Minister is anxious to place the currency system of India on the same sound basis as in England, it will be determined to the best interests of the country to lose this opportunity by wrangling over the question of the precise ratio at which the rupee should be stabilised.

#### CENTRAL BANK.

Another important recommendation of the Currency Commission relates to the machinery by which the currency system should be administered. The Commission recommend the creation of a new Central Bank and though Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas admits that it is the ideal system, he considers it premature in the present conditions of India. His reasons for differing from his colleagues are that there

is not sufficient scope for two banks working side by side, one fully and the other partially with Government support and that the development of banking facilities by the creation of new branches is an important function which the Imperial Bank is best fitted to discharge and may be crippled in performing by a partial withdrawal of Government funds. On the other hand, the majority of the Commission are of opinion that the restrictions which should be imposed upon the nature of the business to be transacted by a Central Bank would, if imposed on the Imperial Bank, have the effect of diminishing its usefulness as a commercial bank. The question of agency is a technical one and it is of comparatively minor importance. What is essential is that the control of the currency and of credit should be entrusted to the same authority and which should perform the functions of a banker's bank without competing in the ordinary daily business of Commercial banks. It may be hoped that by negotiation between the Government and the Imperial Bank it will be possible to arrive at an arrangement acceptable to all parties and advantageous to the best interests of the country.

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#### BATTLE OF THE RATIOS.

I now approach the recommendation of the Commission to stabilise exchange at the ratio of 18d. round which the battle has been fiercely raging. The case for the 16d. ratio has been argued with great ability by Sir Purshottamas Thakurdas in his dissenting minute. On the other hand, the case for 18d. has been put forward with equal ability, though not in the same detail, by the majority of the Royal Commission and has been stoutly defended by Sir Basil Blackett in his recent speeches which contain a masterly and lucid exposition of the subject. It will be tedious and unnecessary for me to traverse the whole ground covered by the combatants. It will be sufficient for my purposes to present the problem as I have understood it and state the reasons for my own conclusions in favour of the higher rate of exchange.

The question of ratio between the rupee and the gold is one of undoubted importance to the public generally and to business-men in particular. Considered in its operation over a long period, the question of ratio has no importance. It cannot possibly be suggested that the adoption of any particular ratio is in the long run conducive to the economic prosperity or otherwise of a country. It is only during the period of non-adjustment when prices rise or fall that gains are made or losses incurred by different sections of the people.

If a gold bullion standard is established and it is used as it must be in the settlement of international dealings with gold using countries and internal prices are expressed in terms of gold, the problem of ratio between silver and gold is not likely to trouble us unless exceptional circumstances arise. There are times when such exceptional conditions may occur, as during the great war when, owing to the scarcity of gold, the paper currency was unduly inflated in European countries and there was a divergence between sterling and gold.

During the transition period, however, the effect of the ratio of stabilization is a matter of importance.

The first question to be determined is whether the time is now ripe for stabilisation of the ratio. If it is, the further question has to be determined what is the most suitable rate at which the ratio is to be stabilized.

Sir Purshottamas Thakurdas and other advocates of the lower ratio do not dissent from the conclusion of the Currency Commission



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that the weight of evidence is in favour of immediate stabilization. Accepting this conclusion, it has to be seen whether the ratio to be adopted should be the ratio now prevalent or at some former time or some other ratio. The proper tests of suitability are (1) which ratio will involve the minimum disturbance, in extent and duration, of the present conditions, and (2) which ratio has the greater chances of permanent stability having regard to the factors by which it is liable to be upset, such as the scarcity or abundance of the metals. The application of the first test would suggest the adoption of a ratio approximating as nearly as possible to the ratio now obtaining. The ratio of 18 d. in relation to gold has been in operation since June, 1925, and in relation to sterling from October, 1924. Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas admits that in connection with this question of stabilization, the main point for examination is whether there are any economic adjustments to the current rate of exchange still incomplete and which, after the stabilization of the rupee at 18d., will involve a disturbance of existing conditions. He points out that the examination should be in two directions; (1) whether the adjustments are complete and, if incomplete, in what directions, and (2) in the latter case the period required for complete adjustment. He quotes the statement of Professor Keynes that in the United Kingdom a period of two years is necessary for adjustments to take place to a 10 per cent variation in exchange. Sir Purushotamdas points out that in India the period of adjustment may be longer because the internal trade is large and the external trade is small. There is no evidence upon this question. But, assuming that the period of adjustment, which would be required in India is about three years, about half the period required is already past. As to the question whether there has been an adjustment of internal prices to the current rate of exchange, the conclusion which Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas arrives at after an examination of the price indexes, etc.; is that the greater part of the general adjustment to 18d. by a fall of prices is still to come and he thinks that if gold prices fall from their present level, the effect of the fall in prices consequent upon the adoption of the 18d. ratio will be further aggravated. He says that two distinguished experts, Professor Gustav Cassel and Mr. Joseph Kitchin, express apprehensions of a fall of gold prices which are referred to in the report of the majority. But, on turning to the report of the majority the future fall of gold prices is not spoken of as a probability but as a possibility in the absence of great economy in the use of gold. The question whether there has or has not been a complete adjustment of prices to the current rate is a highly technical one, and it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion for the reason that there are no reliable data of prices and the interpretation of the data is far from clear. On the one hand, we have the conclusion of Sir Purushotamdas quoted above and, on the other hand, we have the opinion of the majority that prices in India have already attained a substantial measure of adjustment with those in the world at large.

Let us assume that Sir Purushotamdas is right in his contention that the adjustment is still incomplete. It has been going on for the last eighteen months at least and the opinion of experts like Professor Gustav Cassel is in favour of stabilization at present value. The professor remarks that the idea that the rupee must necessarily be restored to the pre-war gold parity of 16d. has a striking resemblance to the programme of raising depreciated currencies to their pre-war parity which has played such an unfortunate role in the recent monetary policy of many European countries.

It is said that other countries which have stabilized their ratio have adopted the pre-war parity and that India should do the same. We do not know whether this is true of all other countries and we do not know whether any country restored the pre-war parity at a time when such parity was not the operative ratio. The advocates of 16d. would have been more logical, if they had contended that the time for stabilization had not come and that we should therefore wait for some time longer before fixing a ratio.

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As regards the other test of what ratio has the best chance of maintaining itself permanently, there is a large element of conjecture in any attempt to give a definite answer to this question. The crucial question is, has there been a complete adjustment or not. If there has been, I do not suppose that even Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas would care to produce an unsettlement of present conditions. It does not matter whether the steadiness of exchange, which has been in operation, has been brought about by manipulation or otherwise. In the first place manipulation had to be largely resorted to for the purpose of preventing a rise and Sir Purushotamdas concedes the legitimacy of the operation, though he objects to a reverse operation. But, assuming that it is open to us now to consider the merits of the rival ratios, it is worth while pointing out certain considerations which would have to be borne in mind in assessing the weight to be given to the arguments in favour of the 16d. ratio. One such argument is that as 70 per cent of the population consists of agriculturists who produce raw materials for export, they would gain during a period of rise in prices. The statement that 70 per cent of the population would gain by a rise in prices is open to question. Turning to the figures of the latest census the number of persons described as ordinary cultivators is 173 millions, out of a total population of 316 millions for the whole of India. But even out of this figure a very considerable deduction would have to be made on account of the large number of small holders of land who cannot have any disposable surplus produce after satisfying their own demands for consumption. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether the agriculturists who are supposed to be likely to make a profit by the high prices of raw produce would amount to even 50 per cent of the population. Against the gain which the agriculturist may make by the high prices of the produce that he can sell must be set off the higher price of the commodities that he consumes. Assuming that the agriculturist consumes articles produced in this country, it is difficult to believe that the prices of these articles will not also quickly rise in sympathy with the upward movement. It cannot be assumed that every agriculturist grows everything that he wants and is not under the necessity of making purchases from others. The agriculturist will have to pay more for the clothing, fuel, implements, cattle, milk, ghee, etc., that he requires. The actual gain made by him from the high prices will thus be enormously reduced. While it is not every one that is a producer, every member of the community is a consumer and stands to lose by the higher rupee prices of the articles of consumption. The poor agriculturist and the debtor have monopolized the sympathy of the advocates of 16d. for obvious reasons. But are the small creditor and the small investor of hard-earned savings and the vast masses of wage-earners and poor consumers entitled to no sympathy or even justice?

Another argument upon which great stress is laid is that in the case of long term contracts, a rise of exchange would place the debtor under a disadvantage. But, there is practical difficulty in determining what should be regarded as a long term and how many contracts were

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entered into at a time when the exchange was at 16d. With regard to the incidence of land revenue, it is well to remember that there is a considerable margin of difference between the commutation value adopted as the basis of revenue settlement and the average market price of the crop, so that the liability is at no time proportionate to the rise of prices. It is true that there is a tendency for wages to lag behind movement in prices and that there will be difficulty in effecting a reduction of wages which have once been raised. But no one who has any knowledge of the low standard of living of labourers in this country can approve of the plan of causing a reduction of real wages. The difficulty in the adjustment of wages may add to the acuteness of the depression in the textile industry. The depression is ascribed to a number of other causes also and the appropriate remedy would seem to be rather by giving a bounty to the industry in case of established need than by enabling the employer to cut down wages. Almost all the arguments brought forward by advocates of the lower ratio have been met in the report of the majority and refuted in the powerful speech of Sir Basil Blackett at Cawnpore. The preponderance of argument is in favour of stabilising the ratio which has been prevailing for more than eighteen months rather than in favour of restoring a ratio which was overthrown more than eight years ago.

The Finance Minister has been accused of deflating the currency with the sinister object of checking a fall. If there has been a recent tendency towards a fall, it is due not to the operation of causes affecting the currency but to other factors like the coal strike in England, which have led to heavy demands for shipping and increase of freight, to the overproduction of cotton in America or Jute in Bengal. These causes would have operated, even if the ratio had been fixed at 16d. That the contraction of currency was simply the withdrawal of redundant supplies is abundantly manifest from the fact that the bank rate remains at 4 per cent, a rate even lower than that of the Bank of England and that there is no sufficient demand for money. The sale of sterling or reverse councils has not resulted in any depletion of the reserves either in the paper currency or in the gold standard reserve. In coming to a conclusion on this knotty subject, we have to take into consideration the certain prospect of disturbing the financial equilibrium of the Government, of increased taxation, of increased railway fares and of the postponement of the provincial contributions. It is claimed that the loss of revenue to the Government will be made up by increased receipts under the head of customs and income-tax. The taxation is certain and the receipts are problematical, dependent as they are upon a variety of assumptions as to the value of imports, the proportionate rise in their value and the increase in prosperity of businessmen. The subject requires careful and clear thinking and we must not be led away by the presumption that the opinions of the Bombay financiers must be necessarily right. The introduction of a gold standard and the stabilization of the ratio are boons for which the country has been long praying and are now in sight. The reform of Indian currency and exchange will be a most notable achievement of Sir Basil Blackett's term of office. I hope that before he lays down his office he will put the coping stone on his work by carrying out an investigation of the banking and credit facilities in this country as recommended by the External Capital Committee and devising a suitable scheme for the extension of such facilities and the drawing out and employment for productive purposes of the capital resources of the country.

It has been the fashion with the presidents of our conferences to make their speeches comprehensive, if not exhaustive, and cover every subject of importance to the country. I do not propose to follow that custom partly for the reason that it makes addresses unduly long and partly for the reason that it is unnecessary. All questions of importance at the present moment will be the subject of resolutions and debates and there is no purpose in anticipating a discussion.

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#### OUR RELATIONS TO OTHER PARTIES

The public is often impatient at the existence of a number of parties in the country and believes that if they could all be merged into one and unite forces, it will be easier to attain the national goal. They are disposed to curse the party politicians and to attribute motives of personal glorification or aggrandizement to them. There are other countries also where new parties have been formed for the purpose of attracting notoriety to the leaders or gratifying their ambition of self-advancement. While the multiplication of parties for such purposes deserves to be deprecated, the existence of vital differences of opinion in matters of principle cannot be ignored. The suppression of such differences in the interests of artificial unity is injurious to the honesty of public life. All artificial unity must share the inevitable fate of bunkam. While it is not possible for the Liberal party to sacrifice its convictions or merge itself in any party which differs in essential principles, we are prepared to co-operate with the members of other parties, wherever it is possible for us to do so on particular questions. It is in that spirit that Mr. Chintamani made gallant efforts in 1925 to bring about a coalition. The failure of his efforts was due to no fault of ours. It will be our duty and our policy to co-operate with any and every party in all questions where we can see eye to eye with them.

#### THE WORK BEFORE US

The Oriental has often been accused by Western nations of a tendency to fitful work. There is some truth in this charge. We have our fits of feverish excitement and our fits of apathy and depression. One of the virtues we have to learn from Englishmen is that of dogged perseverance and steady work. Our energies are like our mountain streams, at times flowing in torrents but more often drying up. Our energies have to be dammed up and directed into a steady perennial stream flowing not over the rocky beds of non-co-operation and indiscriminate obstruction, but over the fertile and promising fields of constructive constitutional work and social welfare that remain neglected. Another virtue we have to learn from the Englishman is what has been described as the 'committee sense'. I will give you one illustration of the lack of it. When the enhancement of the salt tax to make up the deficit in the budget came before the Assembly, some of us suggested a distribution of the burden under other head also, like income-tax and customs. We had an informal representative conference of the members of the Assembly and, after an excited discussion for three hours during which the Bombay men would not hear of an addition to income-tax and the Calcutta men would not hear of an addition to the customs duties, we parted without arriving at any agreement and the enhancement proposed by the Government was carried. Let us resolve upon constructive work in the councils of the country and let us realise that with the increasing remission of provincial contributions more funds will be released for such work. In the field of education, co-operation and social reform, there is a vast field of useful work which demands our attention and our energies. The Liberal party in

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Aiyer.

particular has yet to learn the virtues of organisation, of self-sacrifice, personal, pecuniary or both, and of sustained work from day to day and from year to year. Let us not allow our souls to be palsied by despair but work with a courage which will quail before no obstacle and a sturdy optimism which will endure any reverse or disappointment and success is bound to crown our efforts for the welfare and progress of our fatherland.

#### Messages of Sympathy.

Messages of  
Sympathy.  
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy  
Aiyer.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer : I now call upon the Secretary to read the messages which have been received from gentlemen who have been unable to attend the conference.

Mr. Thombre (Secretary) : Ladies and Gentlemen, the Reception Committee has received about 200 letters and telegrams from the members of the party from different provinces intimating that they cannot attend this year's conference, either owing to domestic difficulties or ill-health. It is really unfortunate that they should have been prevented from attending this session. I shall, however, read to you names of some of the gentlemen from whom telegrams have been received.

1. Principal Heramb Chandra Maitra, Calcutta.
2. Mr. W. B. Pimplikar, Pleader, Malkapur (Berar)
3. „ B. S. Kamat, B. A., Poona.
4. Sir P. C. Miteer, Calcutta.
5. Mr. L. A. Govind Raghav Iyer.
6. Rao Sahab Ganesh Nagesh Sabasrabuddhe, Pleader, Ellichpur (Berar).
7. Mr. B. Jagannath, Bilaspur (C. P.)
8. „ Anand Swarup, Cawnpore.
9. „ Bhagwatisharan, Gaya.
10. Prof. V. K. Joag, Poona City.

The following are names of some of the gentlemen from whom letters were received.

1. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Bombay.
2. Mr. H. J. Bhaba, Bombay.
3. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Nagpur.
4. Mr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Advocate, Allahabad.
5. Mr. E. Natarajan, Bombay.
6. Sir Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkhantha, Ahmedabad.
7. Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Bombay.
8. Sir Rajendra N. Mukerjee, Calcutta.
9. Prof. Jodh Singh, M. A. Amritsar.
10. Rai Bahadur Seth Sir Bisesardas Daga, Kt. Bikaner.
11. Rai Sahab L. Jugdish Prasad, M. L. C. Muzaffarnagar.
12. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, Calcutta.
13. Mr. G. Krishnarao, Madras.
14. Mr. V. V. Garud, Dhulia.
15. Sir Shankar Rao M. Chitnavis, Nagpur.
16. The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Kharde, Amraoti (Berar).
17. Prof. H. R. Diwekar, M. A. Hingne Budruk, Poona.
18. Rao Bahadur Purank, Wum (Berar).
19. Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Rajahmundry.

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :** I move that the members of this session of the Federation do constitute the Subjects Committee. This is in accordance with the precedent of former years. I am asked by the President to state that the subjects committee will meet in the adjoining hall at 6 p. m. The conference stands adjourned till to-morrow 12 noon.

## SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

( Tuesday, the 28th December, 1926. )

The second day's session of the 9th National Liberal Federation of India was held with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, the President, in the chair. There was again a good attendance of delegates and visitors. The proceedings commenced like yesterday with the singing of the Bande Mataram song.

### Resolutions.

#### I. Swami Shradhanand.

Swami Shradhanand,  
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy  
Aiyer.

**Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer,** (the President): Ladies and Gentlemen, the first resolution on the agenda to-day is one relating to the late Swami Shradhanand and I will put it from the chair. The resolution runs as follows :—The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of horror at the murder of Swami Shradhanand by a fanatic and the loss sustained by the country in the death of the great patriot, who devoted his life to the cause of education, religion and social reform.

I have already expressed my sentiments at some length in the course of my Presidential address and I think it unnecessary to make any remarks upon the resolution. I will now put the resolution to the house.

The resolution was carried. The whole house standing.

#### II Death of Prominent Public Men.

Death of Prominent Public men  
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy  
Aiyer.

The next resolution relating to the death of prominent public men was also put from the chair and carried, the whole house standing. It ran as follows :—The National Liberal Federation records its deep sense of regret at the death of Sir Krishna Govind Gupta, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhoble, Munshi Gulzarilal, Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast and Mr. N. G. Virkar, members of the Liberal Party, and Mr. T. V. Seghagiri Iyer, Sir Laloo Bhai Shah, Mr. H. S. Dixit and Babu Govind Das, who all rendered meritorious public services.

#### III. Indians Overseas.

Indians Overseas,  
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy  
Aiyer.

**Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer** (the President): Before calling upon the speakers to move the third resolution I would point out that for the purpose of bringing our proceedings to a close by tomorrow, it is necessary to fix some time-limit. I understand that in accordance with the usual practice the time allowed to movers of resolutions is 10 minutes and to seconders 5 minutes. In particular cases the time may be extended if it is the desire of the meeting or if it is really necessary in the particular case. I hope that gentlemen who have to speak

Indians Overseas, on particular resolutions will exercise a certain amount of moderation in regard to the time occupied by them and bring their speeches to a close as quickly as practicable.

**Pandit Venkatesh Narain Tiwari, M. L. C., (Allahabad).** Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to move the resolution which appears third in the agenda, relating to the Indians Overseas. It runs as follows :—

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses the earnest hope that the conference between the delegates of the Government of India and South Africa may result in the repeal of the Colour Bar legislations and in securing for Indians settled in the Union the status of free and full citizenship.

(b) The Federation again urges that Indians settled in any part of the Empire should in law and in fact be accorded their rightful position as equal subjects of the King and that all the racial inequalities and distinctions should be removed.

This resolution, as will have been observed, contains two propositions. The first relates to the Indians settled in South Africa and the other relates to the Indians settled in the other Colonies and Dominions of the British Empire. As regards the first, the question of Indians in South Africa, it is not necessary for me to say that at the present moment few questions have given cause for greater anxiety to us than this. Ever since the early 80's the question of the Indians in South Africa has been agitating the minds of the people in India, and instead of their condition improving we have found that their condition has been going down from bad to worse. Indians in South Africa do not enjoy political rights except in the province of Cape Town. They used to enjoy municipal franchise in the province of Natal, but that too has been taken away. In the Province of Transvaal and South Free State they had never enjoyed either the political or the municipal franchise. Trading facilities which they used to enjoy have already slowly but steadily been taken away from them. Last of all, last year or in the course of the present year the Colour Bar Bill was enacted which aimed at the exclusion of Indians and Asiatics as well as Africans from occupying positions which require technical skill. In the Colour Bar Act six classes of positions were specifically mentioned which could not be held by anyone who was not a European after a notification to that effect had been published by the Government of the country. Along with the Colour Bar Bill another bill known as the Class Areas Bill was also introduced by the present Ministry and the object of this Class Areas Bill was to set apart certain areas to which Indians residing in different parts of the Union were to be segregated, where alone they could carry on trade, where alone they could engage in agriculture. For instance, in the province of Natal the prosperity of which has been built up by the labours of the Indian coolies who went from here under indenture, a coastal belt with a breadth of 20 miles—malarial, unhealthy and very poor—has been set apart which alone in future, if this Bill becomes law, will be open to Indians either for settlement or for agriculture or for trade purposes. Indians will be prohibited from carrying on trade in localities which are not specially scheduled for them. It was with a view to force the Indians to leave South Africa that this legislation was undertaken. You will remember that before this was attempted General Smut's Ministry had evolved a scheme known as the scheme of Voluntary Repatriation of Indians from South Africa. There was a good deal of cry in this country against that scheme. It was no-

minally voluntary, but it was so worked as to give it a character of <sup>Indians Overseas,</sup> compulsion. Although we were dissatisfied with the scheme as it was, <sup>Pandit V. N. Tiwari,</sup> there was even greater dissatisfaction in South Africa against the inadequate results yielded by the working of that scheme. The South Africans felt that Indian residents from South Africa were not being repatriated in as large numbers as they expected. With a view, therefore, to persuade Indians to leave South Africa under that voluntary repatriation scheme in large numbers this legislation was undertaken. And if this becomes law the inevitable consequence of that will be that Indians residing in South Africa will be forced to leave South Africa and to return either to India, or finding Indian climate unsuitable, to migrate to other British colonies as they have been doing up to now. The Government of India, be it said to their credit, were roused to action. They sent an official deputation to South Africa known as the Paddison deputation which gave evidence before the Select Committee to which this Bill had been referred and that deputation was also to satisfy the Select Committee that this Bill was unnecessary. After hearing the evidence of the Indian deputation the Select Committee recommended to both the Houses in South Africa that the Bill be postponed and the Government of South Africa agreed to the suggestion of the Government of India to refer the matter to a Round Table Conference. As the resolution says, the Round Table Conference is at the present moment taking place in South Africa between the delegates of the Government of India and South Africa, and the resolution expresses the earnest hope that this conference may result in the repeal of the Colour Bar legislation and in securing to the Indians settled in the Union the status of free and full citizenship. How far the Conference will be able to achieve the result it is not for me to say. But so long as the conference has not dispersed and we do not know the decisions at which they might arrive, it will be premature either for you or for me to express any opinion.

As regards part two of the resolution Indians are to be found in Australia, in Fiji, in West Indies and in Canada as well as outside the British Empire. So far as the Indians in Kenya are concerned, the old disabilities, under which they have been labouring and against which we have protested from time to time, have not so far been removed. But only recently a fresh disability has been imposed upon them, namely the Poll Tax. Recently the Governor of Kenya appointed a committee with a view to devising means for the spread of education in that colony. That committee by a majority recommended that a certain amount of money should be raised from the Europeans by means of taxing their luxuries. But so far as the Indians were concerned, they were asked to contribute towards the education of their children by means of a Poll Tax. The Indian members in the Legislative Council of Kenya protested against this racial distinction in the matter of taxation, but their appeal went unheeded with the result that this fresh racial disability has been imposed upon them. Similarly in the matter of the Defence Ordinance, another ordinance which was recently before the Legislature but which has now been postponed, Indians were expressly excluded from enrolling as volunteers in the Defence Corps that was proposed to be raised. Under the ordinance the Volunteer Defence Corps was to consist only of Europeans. Against that too the Indians protested. We hope that the Government of India will be able to impress on the Government of Kenya that these racial distinctions should not be perpetuated but that Indians in Kenya should be treated as equal citizens of the British Empire. It is true that for



**Indians Overseas.** the purpose of perorations, for the purpose of making appeal not only to us but to outsiders, the politicians of the British Empire are never tired of referring to India as the brightest jewel in the Crown of the King-Emperor. But so far as the question of rights and privileges is concerned, Indians are treated alike within the Empire, in India and outside India as slaves. British politicians like all white men are ever fond of talking of their moral duties as trustees, but when it comes to practice to give effect to their promises they translate duties not into duties but into a word of six letters known as 'Rights', ever grabbing as much land to themselves as possible. So long as, therefore, we Indians continue to occupy a subordinate place in our own land it is not possible for us to successfully get the grievances of our countrymen domiciled in other parts of the Empire redressed. But although we may not be able to give them any material help and support by making these annual protests, we at any rate make it clear that so far as we are concerned we are not parties to the inequities that are being perpetrated against our countrymen. With these words, gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause).

**Mr. V. N. Deshpande.** In seconding the resolution in Marathi Mr. V. N. Deshpande (Satara) said that owing to territorial considerations the resolution had to be divided into two parts, one relating to the hardships and injustice suffered by the Indians in South Africa and the other relating to their status in other colonies in the British Empire. There underlay only one principle in the two parts and the Liberal Federation protested against that principle. That principle was that no Indian, because he was an Indian, was entitled to the common rights which every human being could claim as his own. As the late Mr. Gokhale had once said, whenever a European talked of humanity what he meant was white-manity, and the problem of Indians outside India was a good illustration of that. Indians had therefore to assert their right in this matter and say that they were entitled to equal treatment at least as human beings, if not as subjects of the British Empire.

Referring to the deliberations of the Round Table Conference Mr. Deshpande said that an attempt was being made to extort some trade concessions for South Africa in exchange for good treatment to our brethren over there. But the rights which the Indians demanded were only common rights due to humanity and this sort of bargaining might eventually lead other colonies also to illtreat Indians with a view to extort similar concessions in trade from India. The speaker hoped that the members of the Indian deputation would take into consideration his aspect of the question before reaching any agreement with the Union Government.

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

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar (the President): I should like to inform the meeting that a telegram has been received from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, regretting his inability to attend the conference and wishing every success to the session of the Liberal Federation.

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ments  
Rao Bahadur R. R.  
Jayawant.

#### IV. Bengal Internments.

Rao Bahadur R. R. Jayawant. (Nagur): The resolution, which I have the honour to move runs as follows:

(a) The National Liberal Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal

under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges that they should be either set free or tried under the ordinary Criminal Law.

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(b) The Federation again urges the repeal of the said Act as well as of the Deportation Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827.

At our session last year at Calcutta I had had the honour of speaking on this resolution. I supported this resolution in a speech which was, I thought, fairly long. I will not, therefore, repeat those argument but will place before you a very short history of this legislation as to how it has been treated by the several legislatures of India and then it will be apparent to you what a sinister measure it is and that we are perfectly right in pressing for the repeal of this legislation from time to time. In 1924 or thereabouts it was that immediately after the Legislative Assembly had broken up the Governor-General issued what is known as the Bengal Ordinance. Without taking into confidence the Legislature he issued that Ordinance and it was complained and rightly complained that in fact the Ordinance itself showed that the Government of India, the Government of Bengal and also the Government in England were in correspondence from a very long time and no excuse has been offered even now as to why the Legislature was not taken into confidence when it was actually sitting. It was therefore rightly resented by the Indian Legislatures and by the people of India that such important legislation should be enacted in the form of an Ordinance issued by the Governor-General without even consulting the Indian Legislature which was, as a matter of fact, actually in meeting at that time. Then you will find that later on, immediately after this, our Federation met at Lucknow in the year 1924 and we passed a resolution protesting against the Ordinance. After that it was placed before the Bengal Legislative Council in the form of a law. There also it was rejected and one of our members, Sir P. C. Mitter, very strongly opposed that legislation. He was a party to the Rowlat Report and therefore, he was in possession of the facts that disclosed whatever information the Government of India possessed about secret conspiracies in India. And even then, in spite of that knowledge he said that this measure was uncalled-for and he opposed this measure as strongly as he could. The measure was opposed by him and eventually thrown out by the Bengal Legislative Council.

Then in the Assembly this question was raised by way of an adjournment motion by Mr. Doraiswami Iyer and there was a full dress debate for one day. There again the Government arguments, as they were presented were examined and exposed. Sir Alexander Muddiman promised that some day it would be placed before the Legislative Assembly. In the March session it came up again in the form of a law and after the fullest discussion lasting for several days, the Government arguments were placed before the Assembly by the Home Member and the Legislative Assembly rejected that measure by a large majority. The Viceroy certified it and with his certificate it was placed before the Council of State. The people's representatives opposed that measures and the weightiest speech delivered on that occasion was that of Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari, who clearly examined again all the arguments of the Government. Sir Alexander Muddiman rose to speak in favour of the legislation, but there was no satisfactory reply from the Government benches. On account of the constitution of the Council of State it was bound to be passed. And therefore several members of the Council of State walked out and it was then passed by an overwhelming majority by Government men voting for it.

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ments  
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Jayawant

That is the course of the legislation and it would show you how very strongly this inequitable measure has been opposed since it came into being in the shape of an Ordinance issued by the Governor-General. The people of India as well as their representatives in the several Legislatures have very strongly opposed this measure. It has been opposed by our Federation in 1924 and last year again we passed a resolution to the same effect. It is not, therefore, proper for me to labour the point over again.

The second part of this resolution calls upon the Government to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 as well as the previous Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827. One point about the Regulations of 1818, 1819, and 1827 is this. They were passed at a time when in India we had not even a regular government. It was in the old Company days that they were passed, before the Act of 1833 which was the first charter which declared that Indians were fit for employment under the Government. Before the first recognition by Parliament of the most natural rights of the people of India towards association with Government or any thing like that these Regulations were enacted. Those are ancient things and it was expected that they would be regarded as dead letters. But we found that the Regulation of 1818 was still alive when in the year 1898 the Natu brothers were deported in Bombay. Our agitation as regards these is also very long standing and we have complained against these Regulations ever since. But they are still on the Statute Book. The Repressive Laws Committee appointed by Government in 1923 also recommended that these laws should be repealed. But they have not been repealed when other laws of a similar character have been modified. These three Regulations are still on the Statute Book and they are a disgrace to the statutes of India or any other civilised country and they ought to be repealed as early as possible. We must now urge upon the Government to repeal them at least immediately as soon as it is possible to do so.

That is one part of the resolution. The other part of the resolution deals with the internees. There are about 100 of them. These men have been interned without any trial. What we complain of is this. Sir P. C. Mitter and Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari admitted the existence of conspiracies, but this is not required for the purpose of putting down conspiracies. There have been cases in which conspirators have been dragged before courts and tried. We do not claim that they should be set free without trial. If Government have any evidence in its possession, let that evidence be placed before the proper tribunals, let them be tried and sent to jail if they are guilty. In these days of civilisation it is against the principles of liberty, against the natural rights of citizenship for these men to be interned like that without even being told what the charges are against them. This Criminal Law Amendment Act makes some provision for telling these men as to what the charges against them are. I understand that the procedure which is laid down by the Criminal Law Amendment Act is reduced to a farce, though there is provision made for appeals in certain cases. But these men cannot take advantage of even those appeals and their cases cannot go before two judges of the High Court. In that way even those rights that are conceded by this Act have not been given to them. These men now are in jail for nearly two years. No body knows as to what they are in for. They themselves do not know. The public do not know and the Government of India refuses to give any information as regards the nature of the offence they are supposed to have committed except the bald fact that they are concerned

in conspiracies of an anarchic character and that their existence as free citizens is against the interest of the public at large. But that does not satisfy us, that cannot satisfy any people, and therefore it is we say, and our prayer is, that these men should either be set free or tried under the Criminal Law.

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We do not claim amnesty for them, we do not claim that their existence should be tolerated. We say, if they are guilty, let them be tried. It is a very valuable right and we claim that they should be tried as free citizens, and should not be interned without being tried or without being told as to what their guilt is. We have passed this resolution over and over again and it is our first duty that so long as these people are in jail and they are not set free or are not tried, this resolution should be passed over and over again. (Hear, hear)

One word more. It has been said in the Moral and Material Report which is commonly known as the report of Professor Rushbrook Williams and which is presented to the Parliament, that the agitation as regards this matter has died out. So far as we Liberals are concerned the agitation has not died out. (Hear, hear.) If it has died out elsewhere it is not our fault. It is the business of those who are responsible for agitations elsewhere to see that the agitation about this matter does not die out and that it is carried out until these men are set free. I would, therefore, commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause.)

Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the British claim to be one of the most advanced and one of the most democratic peoples of the world. They also claim to have a high sense of justice. Our connection with Britain has now lasted for a little over 150 years. The British administrative system in India is one of the most highly efficient systems of administration and it has also been claimed on behalf of Britain that we have been given a system of justice far ahead of anything that we had before the British came and on a line with the judicial systems in the civilised countries of this world. But looking at these legislative enactments it seems as if, instead of proceeding onwards from the point of time that the British connection commenced, we have been receding backwards. With a strong and well-organized army, with a system of well-organized justice and police administration, widespread and kept well in control, we still see the sight amongst us of the promulgation of measures for the arrest and detention of people without trial for an indefinite period. As has been pointed out by Mr. Jayawant, there have been cases of revolutionary conspiracies in this country before the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance or the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The conspiracy trials, so far as Bengal is concerned, commenced in 1908 and there have been several such trials. They were regular judicial trials where the accused were given every opportunity to test the evidence on which charges were framed against them and there were convictions resulting from several of those trials. The public did not complain. But the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act provides that by an executive order people may be arrested and kept in detention. The accused are not afforded an opportunity of knowing what the evidence is on which they are charged, nor of testing that evidence, nor of placing any evidence on their own behalf. That is a system which is repugnant to all civilised ideals of judicial administration. It was in October 1924 that those men in Bengal who came from every walk of life, were taken away from their homes and from their people and from the spheres of their work.

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ment  
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Basu

Many of them were bread-winners for their families, and they have been kept in detention all this time. From time to time a few of them have been released on undertakings not to take part in political work, but the bulk of them still continue to be in detention, some of them far away from their province in Burma and in Madras and in other provinces. As I have already said the British Government is strong. It knows and we, the people of this country, know that these revolutionary movements are confined to a very few people. We cannot deny that they exist. But they are not widespread and they did not show during the last quarter of a century any signs that they have been in evidence and that there is any tendency of their spreading. If the British Government in India gave to the real amelioration of the people a hundredth part of the attention that they have given to the eradication of revolutionary movements, the movements probably would not have existed. I come from a province which consists of swampy tracts of rice and jute, where nearly a third of the population of the province is physically unfit owing to feebleness and other causes of ill-health that prevail, and owing to our climatic conditions, are unfit for nearly a third of the year. The British government is the government responsible for the welfare of the people. If during the 150 years of British connection with India it had given to the public health of my province a hundredth part of the attention that they have given to meeting revolutionary movements, there would have been no occasion for these revolutionary movements to come into existence at all. We the people of this country, have to put up with malaria, have to put up with cholera, have to put up with famine and a hundred other evils which are more potent and destructive factors than these sporadic revolutionary crimes that crop up once or twice in three or four years. Instead of trampling under foot those ideals of justice which are so dear to every man, I think it is more reasonable to expect that Government should put up with lesser evils of a few revolutionary crimes than to pass measures like these under which men are detained without being told what they are being detained for and without being given an opportunity to clear themselves. We can very well imagine as to how they came to be arrested. In many cases it is the reports of the subordinate police officers and we know in this country what reliance ought to be placed on these reports—and then the confessions of some so called accomplices, we know how sometimes they are procured and then these reports are sent up to headquarters and to the Secretariat, and ultimately to the Member of the Council. Unfortunately in many provinces these higher offices are in the hands of men who are aliens to the country. They do not know as to how to judge a particular individual. If one of our own countrymen were in these responsible positions, on a charge against a man being brought up before him, he would have known as to who the man was, what were his surroundings, what were his precedents and he would have been in a better position to judge as to the criminality of the man than a foreigner who realises his position from the police reports that are placed before him. The measures that have been taken in Bengal are felt keenly not only as a travesty of justice, but as measures of gross oppression to the people. And you know the results of the last elections in Bengal. The elections to a great extent turned upon the circumstance that so many Bengalis are in detention without trial and if the Government continues its attitude which it has shown during the last three years, the animosity against it will grow in volume and the movements which are now confined within a small

compass and the manifestations of which are merely sporadic, are likely to be more widespread and to become more deepseated. I think there will be greater statesmanship shown by those who are in power and that they will face the situation in the only way in which it ought to be faced and would not persist in an attitude of perverse exercise of authority. With these words, I second the resolution that has been so ably placed before this house. (Applause.)

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ments.  
Mr. T. S. Dighe.

Mr. T. S. Dighe, (Akola), in supporting the resolution in Marathi said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, what is demanded by this resolution is that the elementary right of a citizen, that he should not be thrown into prison without proper trial, be conceded to us. This right is recognized by all the civilized nations of the world but denied to us by the Government of India. This right is denied by the statutes of 1818, 1819 and 1827 and also by the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925. The British people fought for this against their own King, I mean Charles II. This right they wrested from their King about 250 years ago and embodied it in a statute of England known as the Habeus Corpus Act. We are taught in our schools the history of the British people. It is in this history that the British people taught us that it is the birthright of every citizen not to be thrown into prison without a proper trial and it is for this elementary right that we are requesting the Government to-day for the repeal of the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 and the above-mentioned Act of 1925 which I call the Black Acts which are disfiguring our Statute book. The English people taught us that the right embodied in the Habeus Corpus Act is a valuable right and we thought that they would never pass any law or act by which this right would be taken away. But the Englishman throws to the wind the very principles for which he fought for years when he comes over to India as a ruler. He considers that an Englishman is absolutely different from an Indian and is ready to forge weapons in his hand in the form of Acts mentioned above. The question before us is whether we should allow such dangerous weapons in the hands of Government. We have been protesting against the continuance of these black Acts since 1925. Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru moved a resolution in the Lucknow session of the Liberal Federation demanding a repeal of these Acts. A similar resolution was moved in the Calcutta session last year, be it remembered, by a person whose father was murdered by the conspirators. Ladies and gentlemen, the sentiments expressed by this gentleman, I mean Mr. Biswas, will carry greater weight because he had suffered the terrible loss of his revered father who was Mr. Biswas, the public prosecutor that was shot near the High Court at Calcutta by the conspirators of the Partition agitation. Mr. Biswas described in his speech at Calcutta that it was inhuman to throw a person into prison without trial and without letting him know the charges against him. You will agree with me when I say that the Government of India which allows such black Acts to remain in the Statute book has no claim to call itself civilized. Brother delegates, it is therefore our duty to agitate for the repeal of these repressive Acts and I therefore request you to pass this resolution which has been ably moved by Mr. Jayavant of Nagpur and seconded by Mr. Basu from Bengal.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the second part of this resolution we protest and protest very strongly against the continued detention of as many as 100 persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 and we request the Government either to set them

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free or try them under the ordinary law of the land. Ladies and gentlemen, you know that great leaders of Bengal like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. Satyendra Mitra are rotting in jail since 1924. It was said by Government that it was dangerous to set these people free. The Government say that by their release public safety and tranquility would be jeopardized. I say from this platform that the people who would suffer from their release have expressed their opinion in the matter by returning to the Bengal Council Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation, by an overwhelming majority. The people of Bengal have so much confidence in his innocence that they returned him to the Council, rejecting our friend Mr. Basu who has spoken on this resolution. The case of Mr. Satyendra Mitra is similar. He was arrested while he was a member of the Bengal Council and he is so very popular and the people have so much confidence in him, in his integrity, honesty and law-abiding character that he has been returned unopposed to the Legislative Assembly by his constituency this year. Is it fair, is it just, I ask, to keep such eminent Bengal leaders in jail without trial?

I believe that the Government have no evidence against the detenus in Bengal and against these two gentlemen in particular. If they have, they should produce it in a court of law. I think that it would not stand in a court of law and therefore, Government refuse to bring up these persons for trial though there has been consistent and continuous demand for it from the press and platform. This demand is made by the Bengalis and in order that the opinion of other Provinces should also be expressed, Mr. R. R. Jayawant from Nagpur and I from Benar were selected by the Subjects Committee to speak on this resolution. I inform my Bengali friends that the depth of feeling in my province is as keen and vehement as theirs.

Ladies and gentlemen, the depth of feeling over these repressive Acts and the Bengal Detenus is so great that the late lamented Deshbandhu Das in his Faridpur speech declared that we are ready to cooperate with Government, provided the repressive laws are repealed and the political prisoners are set free. The cause of Responsive Cooperation which is so very necessary to work the Reforms in Bengal could not become successful because of the Bengal internments. Eminent leaders in Bengal have recently expressed their opinion that the Responsive Cooperation movement in their province would make good progress and that Dyarchy would be worked if the internees were set free. The President of the Indian National Congress this year has declared in his Presidential address that no settlement is possible with us unless and until the political prisoners now rotting in jail are set free.

If Government desires that Dyarchy should work in Bengal and in other provinces, I think it cannot afford to ignore the sentiments of the people in this regard. I declare from this platform that we feel and feel strongly that Government is doing great injustice in not releasing these prisoners, or bringing them up for trial before a court of justice. I hope that Government would seriously take into consideration the demand, a modest demand made in this resolution. This demand is made not by Swarajists, not by non-cooperators, but by a body of persons who are known for their level-headedness and for their commonsense, I mean the Liberals, who have attended this session from all parts of India.

With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause.)

Judicial Reform.  
Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

The resolution was then put to the house and declared carried *sem con.*

### V Judicial Reform.

**D. G. Dalvi, (Bombay):**—Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution with which I am entrusted runs as follows: 'The Federation once more urges the immediate and complete separation of the Judicial and Executive functions and services.'

This subject has been the hardy annual of the old Congress and the expression 'once more' mentioned in the resolution shows that we of the old Congress and now of the Liberal Federation are not prepared to take leave of this subject until a proper solution has been arrived at by the Government in regard to this question. When we left the Congress, in the first three years of the Reformed Council, the majority of our members went into the Councils and I find from the records that in almost every one of the provincial Councils the stalwarts of our party took up the question and tried to bring Government to some reasonable state of mind with a view to offer a ready solution of the question. For instance, in the U. P. Council, a resolution was moved and if I remember aright, it fell to the lot of our friend Mr. Chintamani, though a Minister, to accept the resolution on behalf of Government and I think a committee was appointed and proper recommendations, were made. Similarly in the C. P. Council a resolution was moved by Mr. Jayawant, a committee was appointed, a report was made and the thing is hanging fire. But in the Bombay Council when Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale moved a resolution, we had the unique spectacle of one Member of the Executive Council supporting the measure and another Member opposing it. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad made one of the finest speeches that I have heard him make in the Council in direct opposition to the gentleman sitting opposite to him, Sir Maurice Hayward, with the result that our party succeeded and we got a majority of votes. I need not recount the history of this question in all the several Councils, but I think I am correct in stating that the majority of the Councils did pass the resolution and I believe that the matter is now lying with the Government of India ready for solution. However in the year 1923 a change occurred in the political horizon, the Liberals were out of the Councils and the Swarajists took possession thereof and you know, ladies and gentlemen, according to the Swarajists' mentality, in 1920 they became non-co-operators, they wanted the whole hog, they called the Government Satanic, they wanted Swaraj within one year, therefore these small measures of the separation of the executive and judicial functions were of no account to them. And consequently for the last three years both in the Congress as well as in the several provincial Councils and in the Assembly, leave was taken of this subject. Unfortunately when the Swarajist obstructionists came into power, this question which was lying with the Government of India during that period was completely lost sight of, with the result that it is now one of the forgotten questions, and it will now be the duty of those of our members who have been returned to Councils to take up the question where it was left in the year 1923 and therefore the expression 'once more' is justified.



Judicial Reform  
Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

Now ladies and gentlemen, this is the history of the question. And as regards the merits of it, it is not necessary for me to dilate at any full length. Most of you are familiar with the arguments on the subject and the difficulties raised by Government in the way of giving us the proper solution. So long as the British administration was in its earlier stages, perhaps the combination of these functions was justified in the interests of revenue and of smooth administration. But as the administration grew and we got more complex departments, I think this combination of functions is no more now justified and consequently, this judicial reform may be said to be overdue. For instance, when you find administrators who have to administer departments in the interests of revenue and as judicial officers in the interest of revenue, you can very well understand how the course of justice must be often deflected by the revenue notions of law getting predominance over the judicial notions of law. Those of us who have to practise in law courts every day find that especially in the matter of the administration of special laws like Forest laws, Abkari laws and such like laws, we find that justice is often denied where we have to deal with civilian magistrates and when we go to the High Court, the punishments are so low that we have to go more in revision than in appeal and questions of law intervene. And consequently justice is often denied, because of the jurisdiction under which we have to appear. Consequently we find that unless this system is radically altered and the necessary reforms made, the administration of justice is not as pure as it should be and the way to the bureaucracy on that account not made as tolerable as it need be if this reform is granted. Now the main difficulty raised by the Government on this question is the increase of expenditure. On this subject as a member in the earlier years, Sir Pherozshah Mehta had drafted a scheme and presented it to the Bombay Government. He relied upon the experience gained when criminal work was placed in charge of subordinate judges and many of them were made to serve as resident magistrates, and it was seen that they did the work as well as any of the civilian magistrates and I do not know why, if we only carry the idea to its logical conclusion, this separation cannot be expected without increase of much expenditure on this behalf. Ladies and gentlemen, you will see that when there is a bogey of enhanced expenditure they have not yet come forward to meet us on the details in order that we might satisfy them that their supposed bogey of increased expenditure is not so great as to deter us from pressing on this necessary reform.

Now I do not think it necessary to say anything further, but I shall close by mentioning a story I have heard. One high civilian officer of Government had to start criminal proceedings against a great political leader. Ultimately he was convicted and in appeal the sentence was upheld. In the High Court there was a civilian judge who upset the conviction. When these two English civilians met in one place, the executive civilian said to the judicial civilian: 'Well, what have you done? You have upset all my plans.' And the reply which the judicial civilian gave was; 'Oh, if you were in my place you would have done what I did and if I were in your place I would have done what you did.' Therefore, these two European civilians examined the question from different standpoints and came to opposite conclusions, because one of them was a judicial civilian and the other was an executive civilian. That will illustrate to you how the same individual placed in one position looks at the question from one standpoint and placed in

another, looks at it from another standpoint. I hope it is not necessary for me to add further to what I have said on the subject and I trust those Liberal members who are returned to the several Councils and to the Assembly will take up the question where we left it in 1923. (Applause.)

Judicial Reform.  
Mr. Surendra Nath  
Varma.

**Mr. Surendra Nath Varma (Allahabad):** Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Dalvi has so ably argued the case for the separation and complete separation of the judicial and executive departments that very little is required to be said further. But, however, as this is an important subject which has been debated in the country for the last several decades, it is necessary that something more should be said. Yes, the Congress has been agitating this question right up to the time before it thought of climbing up the top, before it thought of reaching the mountain itself. They have abandoned it but we should not do so. You will remember that the Government of India in 1921 through its then Home Member Sir William Vincent, promised to bring into practice this reform. Since then, I understand several provinces have sent schemes to the Government of India but they have not sanctioned it, including the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It is a matter of great regret. It is a very important reform and the sooner it is brought about, the better. They might be feeling justified that they are doing all that they could for the administration of justice, but it should be remembered that it is not enough that they should be satisfied. I would say further that it is not even enough that justice should be done in practice. What we need further is that those who are judged should have confidence that justice has been done to them. For this reason, if not for any other reason, it is necessary that judicial and executive departments should be separated. There is dissatisfaction, there is suspicion all round and to those who have anything to do with criminal courts, these courts are a despair. When you once admit the necessity of separating the functions, it is a necessary corollary that the services should be separated because it is well known that there would be temptations to the members of the services if there is no separation of them. Their emoluments, their promotions would depend upon the good will of the executive. As long as this would continue there would again be dissatisfaction. Therefore, it is necessary that there should be a separation of services as well. We all know the degree of confidence that people have in the executive and in the various High Courts of Judicature. In view of our experience and for the satisfaction of all concerned it is necessary that immediately without any delay—for, there is no justification for any delay—both the functions and the services should be separated. With these words I second this resolution. (Applause).

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

#### IV The Hindu-Muslim Relations.

**Sir Chimanlal Setalvad:** Mr. President, Brother-Delegates Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to move the following resolution: 'The National Federation of India deploras the estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations and exhorts both communities to make earnest and sustained efforts to bring about a better understanding, and urges the Government to see that the law is enforced with firmness and strict impartiality in all matters likely to engender communal friction.'

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Sir Chimanlal  
Setalvad.

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Relations.  
By Chhimsal  
Sethi.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the subject-matter of this resolution is, I venture to think, the most important of all matters that all public men and all public institutions have to deal with at the moment, because it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that unless by some method or another, the present undesirable tension between the two communities is removed, all our hopes of further political advancement of this country, all our hopes to place India in a proper position among the nations are doomed, to my mind, to failure for a considerable time and because it is so patent to any thinking man that it is next to impossible for a country, divided as these two communities appear to be for the moment, with two big communities like Hindus and Muslims full of distrust of each other. How is it possible under those conditions to have a self-governing India, with all democratic institutions of the character we are aspiring to? I quite agree, ladies and gentlemen, that the Hindu-Muslim tension and the importance of it has no doubt been very much exaggerated by our enemies, and is very much exploited by them to keep us back. But at the same time it is no use our minimising its importance. We must look at it in its proper perspective and devise measures to deal with the situation such as we find it. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, it becomes at first necessary to analyse the situation and to find out what the reasons are which have led to the present undesirable state of things and then try to find means to remedy that situation. Whoever may be at fault, whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that to-day the two communities are looking at each other with considerable distrust which can't be good for either community and can't certainly be good for the general advancement of the country. It is to my mind, indeed, a very deplorable spectacle that in all our political gatherings for some time we see our Muslim brothers conspicuously absent. At this conference, the Liberal conference, in this place at Akola, where are our Mahomedan delegates that used to be there in our previous Liberal Conferences, in the previous National Congress meetings and political gatherings of that character? It is the same with regard to the Indian National Congress. Where is the Mahomedan element in the Indian National Congress in the manner it used to be in days of old? Where do you find there now people like Budruddin Tyabjee and the rest of the men who adorned the platform of the Indian National Congress in the old days? It is no use apportioning blame on the Hindus or the Mahomedans. The fact remains that Mahomedans are looking askance at your political meetings. They think, they have been led to believe, they have come to regard the situation to be this, that their interests required to be separately safeguarded, that they can't coalesce in the general political movement and institutions of the country but they must have their own separate political organizations. True, in these organizations they do nothing different, they do nothing else than what we do in our political gatherings. They make the same demands for the political advancement of the country, they make the same demands for the improvement of the administration of the country. But somehow they won't join us, they would have the same thing done over again, if necessary, in their own special organizations for the purpose. It does emphasise the fact that the two communities are looking at each other with an eye of distrust. And so long as you have that state of things, as I have said, we must be sure of this, that our political advancement is, to say the least, going to be very much retarded. As I said it becomes necessary for the moment to analyse the situation and see what is behind this distrust of each other between these two great communities

in the country. To my mind the differences that divide the two communities and the reasons that have engendered distrust between them are more political than religious. Perfectly true that we get manifestations in religious tracks of this feeling of distrust. I for one think that at the bottom there are more political differences than religious ones. When I say that I do not mean that these political differences are real. Possibly, in all probability, to my mind they are not real as I shall tell you presently. But the differences are to my mind political. Gauging the situation as I am able to do, I find that the Mahomedans on the one hand feel that in any representative self-governing India, they, being a numerical minority, may be swamped in the administration of the country. I do not say again that that feeling is well-founded. The fact remains that they are having the feeling that in any extension of representative institutions in any self-governing India it is possible, they fear it is likely, that the Mahomedans being in smaller numbers may be swamped. On the other hand the Hindus feel, there again I do not say that there is or there is not sufficient justification for it, that the Muslim population of India are not looking forward to a self-governing India, where Hindus and Mahomedans will be side by side and conduct that self-governing administration, but that their eyes are turned towards a Pan-Islamic development in which they may have the old glories of Mahomedan domination not only in India but in the world restored to them. Those are broadly the causes of distrust between the two communities.

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Sir Chittamahal  
Sethiward.

With regard to the Hindu feeling of distrust, with regard to the last cause that I have named as regards the attitude of the Moslem community, our Hindu leader, the great Mr. Gandhi, is primarily responsible. It was he who among his many Himalayan mistakes, committed this great mistake of mixing up religion and politics. It was he who dragged the Khilafat question into politics. It was he who encouraged the Mahomedans to look to the affairs of other countries and other places as matters interesting them more than the immediate interests of themselves as citizens of the Indian Empire. However, the fact remains that this has happened and that the Hindus are not sure that the Mahomedans are not looking forward to a Mahomedan domination, as I said, not only in India but elsewhere. That view, I venture to submit, that position which the Mahomedans as a class entertain is entirely mistaken. The interests of the Mahomedans in India are primarily, I submit, Indian and they have no interest really in the affairs of any other country. They suffer under the same disabilities as the Hindus do, they have the same privileges and the same disabilities as all other communities in India labour under and their interests as well as the interests of Hindus and of all other communities—Parsis and Christians as well—are absolutely identical. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, it behoves both communities to do all in their power to remove these feelings of distrust, such as I have described them to be, between the two communities.

In this respect the duty lies heavy, I submit, on the leaders of thought of both the communities because, after all, the masses, either Hindu or Mahomedan, rarely think for themselves. They are led, and rightly led, as in all other countries masses are led by what the leaders think and what the leaders point to them as the best way for them. Therefore, it behoves the leaders of both the communities, instead of emphasizing the differences between the two communities, to try and see how far the distrust of each

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Sethalvad.**

other can be removed and how they can be brought together to work for the common good of the Motherland in the manner they ought to do. In that view one cannot but regret speeches like that of Sir Abdur Rahim at Aligarh last year. Nothing is gained by emphasizing differences between the two communities, by creating embittered feelings and by a recitation of those differences. Real statesmanship lies in trying to bring them together, in trying to make them forget their differences, in trying to make them realise more the points of union than the points of difference. And in that view, as I said, I do regret the utterances of leaders which tend to emphasize differences more than to try to bring the two communities together. In the same way I do deplore any utterance of Hindu leaders that may tend to irritate the Mahomedans in what is called the Shuddhi and the Sanghathan movement. I do not enter, ladies and gentlemen, into the desirability of those movements—perfectly legitimate movements which the Hindu community for its own protection is entitled to undertake—but the leaders of those movements must, I submit, in their utterances and in their acts behave and speak in such a manner as not to create feelings of distrust and animosity in the other community. Therefore, we come back, ladies and gentlemen, to this, that it behoves the leaders of both the communities, Hindus and Mahomedans as well as all of us who can in our own humble manner help in the matter to try to bring a common understanding between the two communities with regard to matters about which distrust, as I have pointed out, has been created and I submit it should not be beyond the genius of the leaders of these two communities to bring about such an understanding.

Take first the apprehension of the Mahomedans as regards their being swamped in any political arrangement about the administration of this country that can be made. Surely, that can be settled very easily with a good spirit of give and take. With a spirit of proper adjustment between the two communities. I submit it should not be difficult to devise methods by which it could be settled with the Mahammedans that they will get their proper share in the administration. Similarly if the Mahammedan leaders do their duty, it should not be difficult for them to wean away the Mahomedans if they are going in the wrong path and to make them realise that their interests are really bound up with the interests of the other communities in this country, that their interests in this country are the only interests that they should look up to and that they are the only interests for which they should work shoulder to shoulder with the other communities. If the leaders of the Mahomedans realise themselves and impress that upon their community it should not be difficult for the Mahomedan community to remove from the mind of the Hindu community the distrust to which I have alluded, if such an effort is made on the part of both the communities and their leaders, then I hope and trust that in a very short time you will be able to restore that complete understanding and confidence which are essential, I submit, to the further progress of this country.

Mr. President, I was in England latterly, only a little while ago, and I have tried to ascertain as far as possible the situation there with regard to this country and I may tell you that I feel convinced that there is among all parties there a general feeling of friendliness and good-will towards India, if India will only play her part in the right manner; if instead of having tall-talk of obstruction and making Government impossible and of paralysing the Government and thereby forcing their hands, such idle talk is done away with. By this futile

attempt only the country has been made to waste six valuable years of good work that could have been put forward. If we work the Reforms for all that they are worth and if we Hindus, Mahomedans and other communities clear our misunderstandings and work together shoulder to shoulder, there is no power on earth, Mr. President, that can prevent the further and immediate advance of this country (Hear, hear) and ladies and gentlemen, I would also say this, that nothing impressed me more in England than what every one that goes there can't help observing, the spirit of order, discipline and sense of duty that that nation displays. No nation can become great unless it is self-disciplined, unless every citizen has a proper sense of duty, unless there is method and order in all that we do. And these are the essentials, ladies and gentlemen, that make nations great and unless we discipline ourselves in the same manner, unless we learn to forget our differences, small differences very often, unless we know how to work together for the public good of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians, till then, make up your mind, you are not going to get what you are entitled to and what you ought to get if you work together in the manner I have suggested.

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Mr C. Y. Chintamani.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you further, but I now move the resolution that I read in the beginning. (Loud applause.)

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :** Mr. President, Fellow-Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen, the masterly treatment of this subject in the address of our honoured President yesterday and the speech made just now by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have made my task in seconding this resolution considerably easier. It would be a waste of time if I were to detain you with observations on the desirability and necessity of promoting good understanding between the Hindus and Muslims, or between any other two communities in the country, just as it would be no more than a platitude if I were to enlarge upon the opinion embodied in the first part of the resolution, that we deplore the estrangement of relations between the two communities. Two years ago a conference held in Delhi on the initiative of the then President of the Congress and the late lamented Swami Shradhanand whose death in the tragic circumstances in which it occurred we so deeply deplore, and that conference which was attended by prominent representatives of the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities as well as by representatives of Christianity and Zoroastrianism, including among them no less a man than the Metropolitan of India, deliberated for nearly a week and in ample detail over the various points of disagreement between the two communities and reached agreed conclusions as a result of such deliberations. The conference left out the purely political questions of communal representation in public bodies and in the public services and I too would leave out that aspect of the problem as it would more fittingly come into a resolution on constitutional reform. In the beginning the proceedings of the conference at Delhi threatened to prove infructuous but by dint of hard labour and the will to achieve result, by the exhibition of a commendable spirit of give and take, both the Hindu and Moslem leaders were able to formulate conclusions without any dissent whatsoever. If, since then, an earnest and sustained effort had been made by both the Communities to give effect to those resolutions in the letter and the spirit, I am persuaded that there would not have been those deplorable communal riots which have become such a painful feature of life in more provinces than one

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The conclusions of that conference were so reasonable that meeting in our annual session two years ago at Lucknow, we had no difficulty as the Liberal Federation in giving our assent to them and we tried to work in our own humble way to popularise the recommendations of the Delhi conference. It is a thousand pities that no success has attended those efforts. The position in which we now find ourselves is peculiar and in respect of at least one question, almost unprecedented. In Northern India including Bengal the question which more than any other has agitated the public mind during the last year or more is the question of music before mosques, and if to-day the relations between the two communities are to all appearances more unfortunate than they were in the recent past, I am inclined to believe that the reason for this situation is the manner in which this new-fangled demand of the Muslim community that music shall be stopped before mosques either at all times or at certain stated hours has been dealt with by those in authority. The last part of the resolution which is now before you urges the Government to see that the law is enforced with firmness and with strict impartiality in all matters which threaten to engender communal friction. Do not think that this clause has been inserted in the resolution for no good and sufficient reason. Our friends from Calcutta will be able to tell you and coming as I do from the United Provinces and the city of Allahabad, I am able to tell you that the attitude and the action of the authorities in dealing with such questions have left a great deal to be desired. (Hear, hear.) I will begin with the United Provinces as I know more about the situation there than of the situation in the neighbouring provinces. The city of Allahabad has long been famous for its annual Ramlila celebration. I have been in the United Provinces with a brief exception for over 23 years now and I cannot recall any occasion before the year 1925 with the solitary exception of the year 1917 when Dusehra and Mohurrum coincided, when the magistrate sought to impose any prohibition or any unacceptable restriction upon the liberty of the Hindu community to take out their Ramlila procession. But last year the district magistrate gave the Ramlila committees to understand that he would not allow the procession to be taken out unless the committee agreed to take it out at hours which did not conflict with what were said to be the hours of prayer in mosques situated on the public thoroughfares or the procession agreed to stop music when it was before those mosques. It was pointed out to the district magistrate that this was an unprecedented restriction and a restriction which could not be accepted. Assume for argument's sake that the Hindus put so much restraint upon themselves as to have accepted the conditions sought to be imposed on them. Even if a number of men cried out *Jai* just as the procession was in the vicinity of a mosque, it could be held that the condition had not been observed and if there had been a breach of the peace, the responsibility for that would have been fastened upon the devoted heads of the Hindus responsible for the procession. When it was pointed out that the judicial committee of the Privy Council had laid down that it was the civil right of citizens to take out such processions, subject only to the duty of a magistrate to make such regulations as in his judgment were necessary for the preservation of the public peace, and that it would not be an observance of this judicial recognition of the civil right of the Hindus for the magistrate to promulgate orders under that all-embracing section 144 without making just and adequate efforts to help the Hindus observe their

rights, the only reply that was forthcoming was that the magistrate had conferred with representatives of the Muslim community, that the Muslims were most generous and magnanimous, that they had agreed to allow the Hindus to come with music before all mosques but two and that the Hindus, on the other hand, would make no manner of concession to the Muslims. Suppose, Mr. President, a number of burglars made their way to the house of the district magistrate and told him: 'Either you voluntarily surrender one half of your property, or we shall by force relieve you of the whole.' (Laughter.) Suppose the district magistrate did not see his way to ease himself (renewed laughter) of his superfluous belongings in compliance with that polite request and suppose then that the burglars threatened that they would use superior force and prevent him from retaining any part of that property. What would have been the reply of the district magistrate? I would put it in another way. Supposing the Muslims instead of objecting to Hindu music before mosques objected to music in Christian churches adjoining Muslim mosques. How could the magistrate have met that objection? This has been carried so far, it has been carried so intolerably far that in the city of Lucknow Muslims having recently taken to the use of a public park for some of them to say their evening prayers on their way home from their work-places, objected to the blowing of conch or the ringing of a bell in a Hindu temple that had been there for very many years at evening time, and because the Hindus did not agree either that the park was a mosque or that because some Muslims used it as a place of convenience, therefore their customary observances should be prohibited, there was a big riot. In Aligarh the district magistrate who had previously made himself famous by prosecuting Babu Bhagwan Das in Benares under section 107 because there would have been a breach of the peace when the Prince of Wales had visited the place and gone away peacefully—that magistrate sitting in his office or at home drew up a statement and presented it for the signature of the Hindu leaders of the Ramilla committee stipulating either that they would not carry their procession before a mosque during the hours of prayer or that they would only do so by the stoppage of music. And when these gentlemen did not see their way to affix their signatures to that document, he refused them permission to carry out any procession at all. At Etawah a gentleman in his own house—I suppose the English saying that every man's home is his own castle applies only to an Englishman's home (laughter)—Hindu gentleman in his own house was served with an order under section 144 not to have any music inside his house at a certain hour in the night on the Janmashtami day because Mahomedans in the neighbourhood had represented to the magistrate that there was some music somewhere nearby and that their prayers would be disturbed if this music was allowed. I have read in the papers of another case—I do not remember at the moment whether that occurred in my province—where music in a private house during a Hindu marriage was stopped by order under the same section because of the objections of Mahomedans in the vicinity. And we have read of another case where music was not allowed to accompany a funeral procession for identical reasons. I like to know whether it is worthy of a Government which prides itself upon the establishment of the reign of law in this country, which puts forward as its main justification for its continued existence here as the dominant party on the ground that an impartial arbiter to keep the peace between warring Hindus and Mahomedans was required. I put it to them to say whether, after the manner in which they

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have dealt with the Hindu-Muslim differences on this question, after their failure to prevent the occurrence of riots when they could easily have done so and further, after their failure to minimise or localise disturbances as they needlessly failed to do in Calcutta in the month of April, it stands to reason that they should put this forward as one of the main grounds of refusal to us of any opportunity for the exercise of political power. In a speech made by Lord Birkenhead in England in the course of this year he quoted a passage from the Queen's proclamation of 1858 and stated that now, as then, the policy of England in India was the equal and impartial treatment of the law to all the peoples of the land. We have not asked for anything more than equity and impartiality (hear, hear), but we will be unworthy of ourselves and untrue to ourselves if we were content with anything less. His Excellency the Viceroy in a memorable speech delivered to the Chelmsford Club in Simla some months ago, a speech which has justly earned for him the respect and confidence of members of every community in the country, a speech which was on a lofty plane and inspired us with noble thoughts, assured us that there was no blame attaching to the Government and their officers, that the officers in circumstances of exceptional difficulty had tried their best and tried successfully to act with impartiality and to prevent or to minimise disturbances. I do not blame Lord Irwin, a Viceroy still in his first year in this country, for having spoken to his brief and for having believed what he was told. (Laughter.) Since then, attempts have been made to impress his Excellency with the truth of the Hindu grievances, that it is just what he assured us his officers were doing which some of them, at any rate had failed to do. And with every confidence in his Excellency's sense of justice and impartiality we appeal to him no longer to be content with an uncritical acceptance of everything that provincial Governments or his own Secretariat might tell him, but to believe that it was at least possible that there was some substance in the complaints of non-officials that the officers in all cases did not behave in the manner that they ought to have done and to make impartial and independent enquiries and to arrive at the truth. In this resolution we have asked Governments to see that the law is strictly enforced, or enforced with strict impartiality. It has been a debatable question whether even by implication this Federation in this resolution should accuse any of the governments themselves as distinguished from the officers of the government, with any lack of impartiality or fairness. Here I personally am of opinion that we are on strong ground in definitely making this accusation against at least some of the local Governments. In Bengal there was a communication on the subject of music before mosques promulgated after the April riots which practically took away the right of the Hindus to take out their religious processions with music. You are doubtless familiar with the very recent history of the Raj Rajeshwari processions in Calcutta. The order was so one sided, was so manifestly unfair to the Hindus that Hindu leaders, though men who studiously kept aloof from public affairs such as Mr. N. M. Sarkar, one of the leaders of the bar, men like my respected friend Mr. Jatindranath Basu who, I know, is trusted and respected in Calcutta as few public men are (applause), that even they with all their reluctance to figure prominently on public platform in matters of communal controversy deemed it necessary to come forward and protest against the Government's one-sided and anti-Hindu attitude and take steps for the safeguarding of Hindu rights. In the United Provinces our local Government has been simply immoveable, deaf to every appeal to

reason and justice and the necessity for action. Appeals were sent from Allahabad. The Hindus of Allahabad asked the local Government not to give an ex-parte judgment in their own favour but to institute an enquiry by a committee consisting of no single Hindu and no single non-official. They said—'we want three of your non-Hindu, non-Muslim English officers of the status of Commissioner of a division to make an enquiry, to take evidence and to submit a report.' The Hindus who passed this resolution at a meeting attended by nearly 10,000 persons by implication consented to accept whatever might be the result of such an enquiry by such a committee. What was the reply of the Government? The Government said no such enquiry is wanted. As long ago as 1912, when none of you was thinking of this question, our then Commissioner of Allahabad made an enquiry and reported to us that the Hindus had no such right of carrying processions with music before mosques.' Asked what was his report, where it was, who had asked him to report, and whether it would be published the Government only said: 'We do not think it necessary to answer any of these points.' I have since learnt on fairly reliable authority that that report of the Commissioner consisted of three or four lines, stating that an enquiry had found that the Hindus had no such right or that there was no such custom. The Government further said that last year, in the year 1925, the present Commissioner of Allahabad also reached the same conclusion. I have no doubt he might have reached the same conclusion. Although looking at the position of a Commissioner, I confess I do not understand why he should have been unable to spend a little more time upon this enquiry and make the enquiry at least a plausible one, because, as you know, Commissioners are not overburdened with work or responsibility. They are supernumerary officers, post offices in matters of executive policy. If Government are unwilling to do away with them it is because of the reluctance to reduce the number of high-paid posts available to members of the Indian Civil Service. (Hear, hear.) In the United Provinces a committee including three European I. C. S. Officers recommended the immediate reduction of the Commissioners from 10 to 5. The report has been pigeonholed. So the Commissioner could not say that he was so overburdened with work that time did not permit him to make a decent and more acceptable enquiry. Replying to communications from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, acting on behalf of the Hindus of Allahabad, the Government of the United Provinces went so far, only three months ago or less than three months ago, as to confirm categorically the decision of the district magistrate and the conclusions of the Commissioner that the Hindus by right of custom had no right to carry a procession before a mosque with music at certain hours. The 1,00,000 and odd inhabitants of Allahabad city who for ever so long were witnessing these processions at those hours, at those places were perhaps under some hypnotic influence and they did not know what they were seeing. A Commissioner in 1912, a Commissioner in 1925, a district magistrate in 1925 and 1926, and a government sitting at Naini Tal, a government that has fled away from Allahabad because it is a centre of public opinion—they knew that what we were witnessing year after year was all false.

Now contrast this with the conduct of the authorities in Delhi. In Delhi the Muslims wanted to carry a cow in procession for slaughter on Bakrid day on a public thoroughfare. The Hindus represented to the authorities that that quarter was inhabited mostly by Hindus, that no such procession had ever been allowed before and that there might be

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a breach of the peace if Hindu feeling was so wantonly offended and that, therefore, the executive authorities should intervene for the protection of the Hindus. What was the answer of that executive authority? The executive authority gave permission to the Muslims to carry the cow in procession for that purpose on that day and posted military, well-armed and well-equipped, and so the Hindus could do nothing. But if in Allahabad or in any other city the Hindus want to take out their age-long Kamlila procession, then the district magistrate says: 'How can I preserve peace? If the district magistrate and the district superintendent of police in a city which at least is the nominal capital of the province, in a city which is also a military station, are unable to enable the majority community of that city to perform a customary function without the apprehension of a breach of the peace, if the district magistrate pleads his impotence to preserve the peace unless he yielded to the demands of one community against another, the conclusion to be drawn is not that the Hindus' contention was wrong, the conclusion is that the district magistrate is hopelessly unfit for the position in which he has been placed. (Hear, hear.) A non-communal Hindu citizen like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a gentleman who takes no part even in a remote and indirect manner in whatever may be described as a communal controversy, looking at the question from a position of detachment and aloofness was constrained publicly to utter his protest against this manifest incompetence of executive and police officials who were unable to prevent riots which had become a matter of frequent occurrence.

I have been told by distinguished lawyers whom we see amidst us that there have been recent decisions by one or two High Court judges, stating that a magistrate had no right to prohibit a procession when he had received adequate notice and warning of it, on the ground that he could not allow it consistently with the maintenance of peace, and that it was his duty to take steps to maintain peace and enable loyal citizens who paid taxes and who were law-abiding to exercise their rights. A good example has been set in the province of Bihar and more than that, in the Central Provinces. (Hear, hear.) Here the government have told the Mahomedans that they could not stop the Hindus in the performance of their right, that if they had a grievance they must first go to a civil court and establish their right against the Hindus before approaching the executive government for any one-sided orders.

The facts that I have now placed before you justify in my opinion—and I am confident that you will also hold that they justify—the criticism which we utter by implication that either the government and their officers or the officers of the government in spite of the government in whichever way you choose to interpret the language of the resolution—do require this request, this warning, from this public body to see that the law is enforced, enforced promptly, enforced firmly and enforced impartially so as to prevent and wherever it is not possible to prevent, to minimise all risks of disturbance of the public peace. It is all very well for them to preach lay sermons to us that so long as Hindus and Mahomedans continue to break each other's heads it is idle talk of self-government or political power. After more than a century of their rule in this country they have failed to improve Hindu-Moslem relations, just as they have failed to make the people a body of literate citizens. For them now to seek to cast upon us the responsibility for the consequences of their own failure is all very well for those who can

speak as they choose because they enjoy might, but it is hardly consonant with the dictates of justice upon which they pride themselves.

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In conclusion, I wish to state, firstly that we should consider it our duty as a party, and individually, to do every thing in our power, so far as opportunities are open to us, of removing misunderstandings and promoting friendly relations. No word that I have uttered in criticism of the government was meant to exculpate us from the performance of our duty or from our share of the responsibility. It is also a complement of that duty that we should not hesitate to tell the government plainly what we think of the manner in which they have been performing their part of the duty. For these reasons I would ask you to accept this resolution. (Loud and prolonged applause).

Mr. N. M. Joshi.

The resolution was supported by Mr. V. K. Mainker (Sangli) in Marathi and was passed unanimously.

## VII. Improvement of the Condition of the People.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Mr. President, Fellow-Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to propose reads thus: The Federation again emphasizes the urgency of the amelioration of the condition of the people by measures for the better organization of the cooperative movement, free and universal elementary education, extended medical relief, improvement of the rural sanitation, development of communications, agricultural education, the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the backward classes.'

This resolution in my judgment defines the policy of the Liberal party. All the people in India and the political parties in our country have defined Swaraj or self-government as their goal. But ladies and gentlemen, you will admit that, after all, Swaraj is only a means to an end and that end is the happiness of the people of this country. The aim of self-government, the aim of Swaraj must be that people in this country will be physically healthy, economically prosperous and in good moral condition. If Swaraj cannot do this, Swaraj is of no use to the people of this country. Remembering this, we must consider that the measures proposed in this resolution are very important for us. Our country is proverbially poor. In our country the physique of the people is also considered to be very poor. If you compare even our richest people, they will be considered as poor in some other countries. If you take into consideration the economic condition of our middle classes, they will certainly be counted amongst the poor people of many countries. You cannot therefore, compare the poverty of the poorest classes of our people. In the same way the infant mortality figures show that we lose at least 400 out of every 1,000 children born in this country in the first year of their birth. This death-rate of the children is the highest perhaps in all the civilised countries. If you take our educational condition you will find that not more than seven persons out of 100 can read and write their names.

Now remembering this condition of the people economically, educationally and physically, it is our duty to see that we use all our political power, although it may be very little to-day, it is our duty to see that we use all voluntary effort to promote such measures which will improve our intellectual condition as well as better our physique. Gentlemen, the measures which have been proposed are many, but I shall group them in three groups, measures for improving our education-

*Improvement of the Condition of the People.* al position, measures for improving our economic condition and measures for keeping the people of this country in sound health.

*Mr W. W. Joshi.*

I shall take the question of education first because education is the basic measure on which our progress in other aspects of life will depend. If there is no education your economic condition cannot be improved beyond a certain limit. If there is no education, even your physical progress will be limited. Unfortunately although the British Government calls itself the trustee of the people of this country, the trustee has failed to educate its ward. I have already stated that so far not more than 7 per cent. of the population of this country can read and write. Now if this condition is to be altered, it is our duty to see that every effort will be made that every child in the country, whether rich or poor, will get at least free elementary education. We have been talking of free elementary education for a long time and up to the year 1920, we could throw the blame on the Government—I do not say that the Government did not deserve it. But after the introduction of the Reforms, Education has become a transferred subject and it is under the control of the Ministers who are responsible to our Legislatures. It is therefore our duty as Liberals or as politicians to see that those people who go to the Legislatures will exercise their influence upon the Ministers to see that every child gets free elementary education. We cannot postpone this reform on the ground of want of funds. I know that there are people who always say that although elementary education is very good and compulsory education is necessary, we cannot have compulsory free education in a short time because we cannot afford to pay for it. Gentlemen, there are also people who feel that if Government or Ministers want money, they should persuade government to make economy in other directions and departments. I am not against economy. I do not want Government to spend money lavishly. But at the same time, if we are going to wait for the education of the children till Government practises economy which we want them to do and till retrenchment is made to our satisfaction, then I feel sure we shall have to wait for giving education to the children of this country for a very long time. If, therefore, we are earnest in our desire to see that the children of this country are educated at an early date, we must be ready, if necessary, to impose fresh taxation for the education of the children of this country. I do not say that fresh taxation may be necessary in all provinces. But if economy cannot be practised, if retrenchment cannot be effected in other departments as we desire, then it is always better, it is always economical to give education to the children of this country even by imposing fresh taxation. If we do not do that, then not only our progress in education will be hampered but our progress in other matters will also be hampered. I therefore hope that every Liberal in this country, if not all the politicians in this country, will insist that the children of the people in this country will receive free, universal and compulsory education at an early date. And the people of this country should be asked to be ready to pay for the expenditure of that education.

Gentlemen, the next point to which I want to turn my attention is the improvement of the economic condition of the people. I have already stated that our country is proverbially poor. Therefore, it is necessary that we should make every effort to see that that poverty is reduced. Our country is an agricultural country mainly. We must therefore put forward efforts to improve our agriculture, we must

adopt measures by which our agriculturists will be educated in the art of agriculture. We must also see that the country does not depend solely on agriculture. We shall have to develop our industries. It is then only that our agricultural wealth and industrial wealth will be increased. Now if agricultural and industrial wealth is to be increased, then it is necessary that the methods of our production of agricultural wealth and the methods of production of industrial wealth are made sound. The whole world has suffered on account of the conflicts of capital and labour, both in agriculture as well as in industries. We must devise such methods of production as will remove conflicts between the two elements which are absolutely necessary for any industry, including agriculture.

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I am therefore very glad that this resolution recommends that we should develop the co-operative movement in our country because co-operative movement is a movement which is based upon such principles as will remove the conflict between one class and another. The co-operative movement seeks to remove the conflict between capital and labour, between master and servant, between the landlord and the tenant. The co-operative movement, therefore, must be very much improved and strengthened if production, agricultural, as well as industrial, is to be fostered. This is a movement which makes people self-reliant and which brings peace into the country. We should, therefore, make every effort to see that the co-operative movement is promoted in all parts of the country, in all industries and in all sections of the people. Unfortunately as Government in our country has taken the initiative in promoting the co-operative movement, there are some people who look at this movement askance. Gentlemen, it may be unfortunate that it is the Government that has taken the initiative in starting this movement, but you cannot blame the Government because we ourselves failed to start and establish this movement in our country. If we non-officials desire that Government should not control this movement, it is our duty to see that we promote this movement and we take charge of this movement by our efforts. I, therefore, hope that non-officials in our country will pay sufficient attention to the promotion of the co-operative movement in all its aspects. At present we have developed the co-operative movement on its credit side. There are many co-operative credit societies started and they have done much good. But we must see that the co-operative movement is developed in all the other aspects of life and work. We must see that our agriculture is based upon the co-operative movement, that our agricultural production is made co-operative and that our agricultural distribution is made co-operative. Not only I would introduce co-operation principally in agriculture, but I would introduce it in other industries as well. I, therefore, think that this conference has done very well in including the development of the co-operative movement amongst the measures which are necessary for the amelioration of the condition of the people of this country.

The resolution also recommends that measures should be taken to promote sanitation in rural areas. You know that not only in rural areas but even in cities the conditions are extremely unsatisfactory and our people have suffered on account of the insanitation that exists in cities as well as in rural areas. We must, therefore, make every effort to see that sanitation is promoted in all parts of the country. Then the resolution also recommends that we should take measures to see that everyone in the country gets medical relief. India is

perhaps one of the few civilised countries in which proper medical relief does not reach all the sections and all the parts of the country. We must, therefore, make every effort to see that proper medical relief reaches our villages.

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Now, gentlemen, this resolution has enumerated certain measures. These are not all the measures that are necessary for our intellectual, economic and physical progress. There may be many others. But all these measures can be promoted by all kinds of effort. One kind of effort is the legislative effort. Most of the departments which are concerned with the measures mentioned in this resolution are now transferred departments in charge of responsible Ministers. We must, therefore, as political units, see that our Ministers use their influence, use their power to see that these measures are promoted as early as possible. Unless Government move there cannot be much improvement in our economic, intellectual and physical condition. I do not say that voluntary effort is not necessary but there is a limit to what can be achieved by voluntary efforts. Voluntary effort, therefore, can only be useful in starting a movement. Where any measure is in a stage of experiment voluntary effort should certainly be exerted, and I hope that people in this country will not be found wanting in putting forward voluntary effort in promoting the measures mentioned in this resolution. But, gentlemen, I want you to remember that voluntary effort will not be sufficient. We must, therefore, see that our political power is exercised in such a way that all the measures mentioned in this resolution will be promoted and an improvement in our economic, intellectual and physical condition secured at an early date. With these words I put forward the resolution for your approval. (applause.)

Mr. M. K. Parthasarathi Iyengar (Madras) :—Mr. President Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Joshi in moving this resolution has described it as indicating the policy of the Liberals. I should like to point out also that it is a resolution which indicates how for the amelioration of the condition of the people of this country it is necessary to remove the depressed condition in which certain backward classes live amidst us and how it is for that purpose necessary to remove the stain of untouchability that we attach to them. And the other part of the resolution is indicative of the various steps that have to be adopted for this end. The organisation of co-operative movement, free and universal elementary education, extended medical relief, improvement of rural sanitation, agricultural education—all these are necessary for the uplift of the backward classes. Well, the condition of the backward classes amongst us, I consider, is a stain, I won't say upon our civilisation, but certainly upon the present generation of educated classes. I don't deny that it has come to us through historical reasons and it cannot be wiped out in a moment even if all of us should make spontaneous efforts. But there is the fact that apart from the little small movements in local areas the social service organisations and the social reform associations have been carrying on their activities, but there has been no concerted effort on the part of educated classes to seriously tackle with this no doubt thorny and difficult problem. This is a thorny and difficult question beset with various difficulties—social, economic and religious. That is all the more reason why I would say that all of us should feel that this is a stain upon us and we must make an effort to remove it. It is a complicated problem. The raising of the backward classes to a status equal to that of the other peoples, requires a better sanitary life among them. It is one of the arguments that is very often

adduced and perhaps with some justification, that these depressed classes are living a condition of life in which there could be very little social intercourse between the higher classes and them. True, but what is the effort that we are making to improve their sanitation? Again the question is, if they have to live a better standard of life, their economic condition has to be improved. That means, their wages have to be raised, their income has to be increased—even their agricultural sources. Perhaps that raises large economic questions. But this is a problem that we all have to think and tackle, as suited to the particular conditions of our own provinces. Of course, I do not mean that at one jump we can solve the problem either by admitting them freely into our temples and doing such other things. There are large difficulties, both economic and moral. Such efforts are revolutionary. Such efforts only tend to set back the movement, they only tend to put up the back of the orthodox people who have to be educated before we can tackle the problem. Therefore, the real way in which we have to attack the evil is by educating the orthodox people and also by trying to improve the standard of life of the depressed classes.

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Well, gentlemen, this resolution commends itself to me for the demand it makes upon all of us to make this effort in a serious way. There are two other points which I just wish to touch before I leave the subject. One is with regard to the improvement of the economic condition of our people. Both the agriculture and the industries of our country are bound up with the improvement of the means of communication. Still it is a fact that very little has been done towards this either by the Government or by the district boards. Large tracts of country are still left undeveloped and there are neither roads nor railways. It has been pointed out when the recent Kalahasti-Kambam line was sanctioned by one of the high authorities of the Railway Board, that it was a wonder to him why such a large and rich tract of country was not opened up by communications earlier. The people of the district have not made any large efforts towards demanding that line opened earlier. There are large tracts of the country in the various provinces which are left without any means of communication at all, and without development of communications it is impossible either to round off the angularities of our provincial feelings or to improve the economic condition of the people.

The other point which I wish to touch upon is with regard to the co-operative department. I am of opinion that Government having started the co-operative department are unwilling that the non-officials should have any hand or part in it. As far as possible they wish to keep the movement in their own hands. That is the impression that I have got and that is the inference that I am able to draw from the attitude of the Government in certain matters. It is a democratic movement and so long as Government has its hands tight upon it it is impossible to expand it. In fact, that is the complaint that the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union had to make before the Royal Commission recently, and I understand that is also the complaint in the Punjab that the movement is entirely in the hands of the Government and that the Government is unwilling to let non-officials organize the movement and therefore it is becoming more and more an inelastic movement and it is not able to touch the life of the people on all sides.

This is a comprehensive resolution and it has been ably proposed to you. I heartily second the resolution and pray it may be carried unanimously.



Improvement of the Condition of the People. Mr. Dalip Man Singh (United Provinces) Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, this resolution has been very ably moved by Mr. Joshi and seconded by Mr. Iyengar and they have not left much for me to say. But as this subject is a very important one, I deem it my duty to touch upon a few points. It is my firm conviction that the salvation of India lies in co-operation and not in non-co-operation. (Hear, hear). Co-operation is the only means by which we can improve ourselves. If we study the history of Germany, Denmark and Ireland, we can see what wonders have been achieved by co-operation in those countries and if we deem it our duty to follow them take an example from them. It is not at all difficult for us to derive the same advantages from the movement which those countries have derived. This resolution is a bit different from those moved before this Federation to-day, as in those resolutions we seek the help of the government and the permission of the government is needed for carrying out those reforms. But in co-operation and in the different subjects dealt with in this resolution, the position is a bit different because if we take it upon ourselves we can do a lot to bring about a marked improvement in these things. By means of co-operation not only can we improve our economic condition but also the various other features of our society can be improved by it, which need a great reform. For example in co-operative societies we have Panchayats and in my province, we have got members of all the communities working in those Panchayats and you will see a Brahmin sitting with a Chamar in the same Panchayat and when applications for loans are put before a Panchayat, a Brahmin does not have the slightest hesitation in speaking to a Chamar that this loan should be granted. By means of co-operation a lot of good can be done. All of us agree that India is a poor country and one of the causes of her poverty is litigation. I also belong to the legal profession (laughter) and we see that a very large amount of the money of the public is wasted in litigation. Many of these small quarrels can be very easily settled in co-operative societies. I belong to the small district of Fatehpur where we have a large number of co-operative societies. If the Panchayat is not able to settle the dispute, then and then only they go to the law court. Thus we see we can bring about a lot of good by means of co-operative societies. It rests a great deal with us to improve our co-operative societies. But these societies cannot make any marked improvement so long as our general education does not improve and for that reason, it is very necessary that universal, elementary, compulsory education should be introduced and it is only by that means that we can educate the public and then they can better follow the advantages of co-operation.

Similarly in this resolution there has been made a request about the extension of medical relief and I think this medical relief may also be extended a little further to the relief of the animals. In India we have a very inadequate provision for the treatment of the cattle. In every district the number of cattle is at least four times that of men and you will see that there is a very very inadequate provision for the treatment of cattle. Whenever any epidemic breaks out, thousands and thousands of cattle die. There is no remedy and there is no relief for them. The uneducated villagers think it is a curse of God and they don't know that by medical relief, by means of inoculation thousands can be saved. So it is very highly necessary that we must have also provision for the improvement of the veterinary service.

This resolution also deals with the development of communications and my predecessor has dealt with the subject at considerable length and I don't wish to waste any more time of yours. I request all of you, gentlemen, to take up this work because it is by you that an improvement can be brought about in these matters and we need not rely upon Government. My predecessor has complained that government officials do not want non-officials to take any forward step. In my province it is also the case. But we can fight with the Co-operative Registrar not to interfere with us. At our place we have got the compulsory deposit system. My father was the chairman of the district bank and several Registrars asked him to bring it into uniformity with the other district banks. But he completely refused to change it and said: 'so long as I act within the Co-operative Societies Act you have no business to interfere with us.' We can try to stop the Registrar and other officials from interfering with us so long as we go within the limits of the Act. With these few words I place this resolution before the house and hope it will be carried. (Applause.)

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the People.

Mr. R. S. Satarkar.

Mr. R. S. Satarkar (Akola), speaking in Marathi in supporting the resolution, said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution is as comprehensive as it is important. It is very comprehensive inasmuch as it enumerates so many items of improvement and it is very important as it relates to the improvement of the condition of the people. The various items for improvement enumerated in the resolution can conveniently be grouped into three main headings: viz, the economic condition, education and sanitation.

Education being the foundation of every kind of improvement, the speaker took up that first and pointed out that only 7 out of 100 could read and write. Pointing to a chart hung near by on a pillar the speaker showed that a very small percentage of the area was occupied by the literate persons, and a very very big percentage was occupied by the illiterate persons. He further said that there could be no two opinions in regard to the proposition that elementary education must be free and universal. But it was not as easy to make elementary education free and universal as it was to say so. Mr. Satarkar went on to show that the work of making education free and universal was beyond the capacity of individual workers and beyond the limited resources and incomes of institutions like Local Boards and District Councils and he urged that the Government in every province must earnestly come forward and spend much more for the education of the people than at present. The Government spent much more than necessary on the Military. The expenses on Military and Police could be greatly curtailed and an increase could be effected in the expenditure on education.

Turning to the economic condition of the people, Mr. Satarkar spoke at length on the co-operative movement in India. He said this movement needed some better organization and the people generally thought that it was a Governmental institution, kept strictly under their thumb. Whether right or wrong, it was essential that this impression of the people should be removed by the leaders of the movement as early as possible. The leaders and workers in the co-operative movement should move from village to village and assure the villagers by means of films and lectures that the co-operative movement was really conducive to the welfare of the agriculturists and for the convenience of the townspeople for depositing their cash with a view to earn interest thereon.

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Mr. R. S. Satarkar.

Coming to sanitation the speaker said that they could very well imagine the state of sanitation in villages when even in cities it was bad. They could hardly say that there were any real and satisfactory arrangements made for rural sanitation. He requested the government to spend something more on sanitation.

Medical relief, the speaker proceeded, needed a great improvement in rural areas people had to suffer most because of the absence of medical relief. Even minor accidents in rural areas generally proved fatal because no medical aid was available. Hence it was absolutely necessary that dispensaries should be opened on a very large scale in rural areas. In this matter also, the speaker pointed out, the Local Bodies such as District Councils could not do much as their income was very much limited. Therefore, the Government should come and help their resources a great deal.

Speaking on the necessity of improving the means of communication, Mr. Satarkar described the difficulties of village people. The work of improving the kacha tracks and laying pucca roads throughout the rural areas was undoubtedly beyond the poor resources of District Councils and if left to them, it would take several years before even small progress could be made in that direction. As the Government derived a very large share of its income from the agriculturists, it was incumbent on them to spend much for their convenience and comfort.

Dealing with the uplift of the depressed classes and the removal of untouchability, the speaker reminded the audience of the present relations between Hindus and Muslims and of the tragic and cowardly murder of the most lamented and revered SWAMI SHRADDAHNAND, and exhorted the audience that they should think it their pious duty to do their utmost for the uplift of the depressed classes in all ways and to at once banish untouchability. If they really desired that Hinduism should not vanish in years to come under the double propaganda of the Christians and Muslims, they should work for the uplift of the depressed classes and the banishment of all untouchability with a view to prevent any conversions from Hinduism into other religions. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the House and carried unanimously

Military Policy  
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Pandit Hirday Nath  
Kunzru.

### VIII. Military Policy and Expenditure.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. (Allahabad): Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to move runs as follows: (a) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that the Government should make an explicit declaration defining the goal of British policy to be the making of India self-sufficient in the matter of defence within a reasonably short period and that the Government should take effective steps towards the Indianization of the Army as regards both officers and ranks in all arms of defence in accordance with such policy: (b) The Federation reiterates its demands that steps should be taken immediately for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and that no further time should be lost by the Government in carrying into effect the recommendations of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Committee: (c) The strength of the Army should be determined by reference to India's requirements and not by any consideration of the needs of the British Empire in Asia and military expenditure should be substantially reduced.

No nation aspiring to achieve self-government can possibly be indifferent to the question of acquiring full control over its Army and a national conference like the present one which means to voice the demands of the people of this country for full self-government cannot but give the foremost place to such a question in its programme. For, looked at rightly, what does self-government depend on? What is the sanction behind it? The basis of all self-government is the possession of martial spirit by the people at large and an army properly trained and adequately equipped to defend India from all danger; whether from within or without. Now this resolution, the object of which is to place in our hands that which makes self-government a reality, asks in the first place for an explicit declaration of military policy. Now the famous declaration of August, 24, 1917, which lays down that responsible Government in India is the goal of the British policy, speaks of the association of Indians with every branch of the administration. It is clear, therefore, that Indians must be associated in an increasing degree not only with every department of the civil administration but also with the military department. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself refers, though briefly, to the future position of Indians in our own army. Apart from that in the speech which Mr. Montagu made on the third reading of the India Bill, he spoke of the importance of giving proper military training to Indians. 'Do not deny military training to India' he said, 'and then make that a ground for withholding self-government from it.' It is obvious from these things that the promise of military reforms is implicit in the declaration of August, 1917, and that the declaration was so construed by the authors of the Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms and by Mr. Montagu whose love for India and whose driving power were in the main responsible for the passing of the Government of India Act. We are not, however, satisfied that the implicit promise made to us in the declaration of 1917 has been carried out. In a sense we were promised complete equality in our country by Queen Victoria's Proclamation. But that declaration not having been carried out, it became necessary about 60 years later for the British Government to make another declaration assuring the people of India of its sincerity and of its determination to lead it to full responsible government. In the same way, although it is clear that full responsible government cannot but be a mockery without our having the power to defend ourselves, in view of the attitude, the highly-unsatisfactory, the reactionary attitude of Government, in regard to military matters in the past, it has become necessary that a new declaration should be issued, committing the government in clear and unequivocal terms towards a policy of speedy military reform. Now what is the essence of this military reform to be? We ask that India should be made self-sufficient in all matters of defence. What does this mean? It means in the first place that the army whose task it is to defend India from all dangers should be composed of Indians and in the second place, that this army should be trained and led by our own countrymen. Howsoever highly trained and well-equipped our army might be, it cannot be called Indian so long as its officers continue to be men from whom, human nature being what it is, it is idle to expect that they would look at all political matters from the same point of view as we ourselves. The army, although provided by and paid for by India, must be regarded as essentially foreign so long as the commissioned ranks are occupied by men belonging not to this country but to another country thousands of miles distant from it. Now you will ask. Is it not a fact that the men composing the rank

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and file of the army are Indians? This is true, to a large extent, say of the infantry and the cavalry. But in the air force we have neither Indian officers nor Indian ranks. In the artillery we have even no Indian branch. We cannot, therefore, say that even with regard to the subordinate personnel the Indian army is composed of Indians. Admission to the lower ranks, too, is at present to be sought for as a privilege. It is to be demanded as a major right.

This being the case with regard to the ranks, I need say nothing with regard to the officering of the army. The reply of Government to our long-standing and insistent agitation to be allowed to lead our own army is a tardy recognition of our claims by allowing the admission of 10 Indians into commissioned ranks every year. And this too was granted in the year 1918 by England in the hour of its desperate need. I am sure you remember that in the early part of 1918 England, threatened by the advance of German armies, made an urgent appeal through its Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George to all the constituent elements of the British Empire asking for full and immediate help to protect the Empire from the danger that immediately threatened it. Lord Chelmsford who was Governor-General at the time convened a conference known, I believe, as the Imperial War Conference to consider how the Prime Minister's appeal should be responded to. That conference resolved among other things that a substantial number of King's Commissions should be granted to Indians and the resolution dealing with the subject was moved by the Maharaja of Kashmir and supported by the Maharao of Cutch, Maharaja of Dholpur, Maharaja of Alwar and several others. It was at such a time that our claim to enter the commissioned ranks of our own army was grudgingly recognised and it was laid down that 10 Indians would be annually made officers in the army. Now the Indian army, I understand, contains a little more than 3,500 officers and according to the ordinary rate of recruitment, about 150 officers should be recruited every year. This will show you how inadequate is the proportion of the early recruitment that has even now been granted. And not only that these officers will be employed only in 8 units of the Indian army. There will be no officers, so long as this policy continues, either in the air force, or in the artillery, or in the signal corps, or in the supply and transport corps, or in the veterinary corps, or in any of the other technical and special departments attached to the regular army. In 1921 the Legislative Assembly adopted a series of resolutions which were moved by our President, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, and accepted with the concurrence of the Government of India, one of which dealt with the appointment of Indians as commissioned officers. That resolution asked that not less than 25 per cent, of the King's Commissions should be granted annually to Indians to start with. Now this resolution, as I have said, was a resolution to which the Government of India themselves were a party. It was, therefore, hoped not only that it would be speedily given effect to but that the proportion would be raised speedily. But so far from our hopes being fully realised we find that even the initial percentage promised to us by the Government of India has so far not been a promise. The importance of the army, ladies and gentlemen, being what it is, it should be a matter for no surprise that Government have so far shown an extreme unwillingness to advance in military matters. But it makes all the more incumbent on us that we should devote serious attention to our position in our army and carry on an agitation for winning our rights commensurate with the importance of the

problem before us. In my opinion, for I don't know how others feel, we shall not be able to say that India is self-sufficient in all matters pertaining to defence not merely so long as our army is not officered by Indians and Indians are not allowed admission into the subordinate ranks of the air force and the artillery, but also so long as the entire army maintained in India by the Indian taxpayer is not Indian. We know that at present a part of the army in India consists of the British army which is maintained, I believe, in the proportion of 1 to 2, that is, in the proportion of one European soldier for every 2 or 2.5 (two decimal five) Indian soldier. Our self-government will obviously be far from complete if we have in our midst a foreign garrison of whose duty it can, to put it mildly, be no part to safeguard the rights and liberties of our country. I should think, therefore, that it would be entirely in accordance with the spirit of this resolution if we ask not merely for the Indianization, the complete Indianization, of the Indian part of the army but for the removal of the European garrison and the substitution in its place, if need be, of an army which is wholly indigenous both in regard to its subordinate and higher ranks.

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The second part of this resolution asks for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. If our army is to be officered by Indians, it is obvious that we should have in our own country an institution capable of giving them the highest military training available at the present time. The question of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst was also one which had been accepted by the Government of India in 1924. At any rate, we were all under that impression till last year when the Military Secretary to the Government of India said that the people were under a great deal of misapprehension with regard to the attitude of the Government in regard to the resolution relating to the Indian Sandhurst passed by the Assembly in the year 1921. It was said that the Government was no party to it, that for some accidental reason the Commander-in-Chief failed to make his position clear and that Government were not at all convinced that there was sufficient material in India for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. It was with no little difficulty that they agreed to appoint a committee which would consider whether an Indian Sandhurst should be established in this country. This committee known as the Skeen Committee which was appointed lately has not submitted its report. (The President: It has. It is unanimous.) I understand that the committee has submitted its report to the Government of India but its recommendations have not been published, so that so far as we are concerned the statement that I originally made represents the correct situation. We do not know the recommendations of that committee. I hope that its report would be such as would do justice to Indian claims. But whatever the report of that committee might be, the strength and justice of our demands does not depend on the recommendations of any committee appointed either by the Indian Government or by the Secretary of State.

Now we ask that these reforms should be carried out in a reasonably short period. I believe that in the year 1921 or 1922 the Government of India appointed a committee to consider the Indianization of the army. As its report in spite of repeated demands has not been published so far, we cannot say for certain what its contents were. But we understand from British newspapers who are generally well-informed and who even in regard to confidential Indian matters get information which is inaccessible to us, so far as we can learn from these papers that this committee which was presided by Lord Rawlinson, the then

**Military Policy and Expenditure.** **Pandit Hriday Nath Karmu.** Commander-in-Chief, recommended the Indianization of the army in a period of 35 to 40 years. Now if this is so, if we may rely on the reports that appeared in some British papers, it would appear that the demands made by us for a speedy Indianization of the army are not in the least unreasonable. We do not ask that the reform of the army should be unduly speeded up, we do not ask for any concession in these matters. We are emphatically against the adoption of lower standards of training. We ask that our men should be fully up to the standard of army officers throughout the world. But even taking that into consideration there is a limit to the delay allowable in the Indianization of the army. Now as I said before, the Indianization of the army is not sufficient from our points of view if we wish our country to be strong in matters of defence. It is necessary that people also should possess the proper material spirit and for that reason, we ask that the recommendations of the Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Committee should be given effect to because we think that it would lead to a larger voluntary enlistment of Indians in the Indian Territorial Force. I believe that this committee made three important recommendations. It asked for the elimination of all racial distinctions between the Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force. Then it asked that an urban branch of the Indian Territorial Force should be established which would enable educated Indians living in Towns to have the same facility of joining the army as is possessed by Europeans at present. Lastly it recommended that the University Training Corps should be regarded as the principal ground for the recruitment of the officers for the Indian Territorial Force and should be expanded to the fullest possible extent so as to be ready to meet other needs as they arise.

The last point I have to deal with is the strength of the army and the reduction of military expenditure. Many of you here will remember that Mr. Gokhale complained in one of his budget speeches with reference to Lord Curzon's policy, that the view that he adopted of the responsibilities of the Indian army laid a new and heavy burden on a poverty-stricken country like ours. Now the opinion of Mr. Gokhale is not the only thing on which we rest our contention that the army in India is not maintained solely for Indian needs. In an introduction to a book called 'The Indian Corps in France', Lord Curzon writes: 'I have seen it frequently stated, even by high authority, in the course of the present war, that the Indian army is raised, trained and equipped for service in India alone or upon its frontiers, and that the call to external warfare was therefore both novel and disconcerting. Such a claim would not only be indignantly repudiated by the Indian army itself, but it finds no foundation in history.' He emphasizes this in another passage which too deserves to be quoted. 'The Indian army, in fact, has always possessed, and has been proud of possessing a triple function: The preservation of internal peace in India itself, the defence of the Indian frontiers and preparedness to embark at a moment's notice for Imperial service in other parts of the globe. In this third aspect India has for long been one of the most important units in the scheme of British Imperial defence, providing the British Government with a striking force, always ready, of admirable efficiency, and assured valour.' This confirms the belief, the belief so long entertained by the people of India, that their army is not manned solely for the defence of their country.

Now for the last point, namely, the expenditure of the Indian army, you will remember that the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee,

while reducing military expenditure, expressed the view that an attempt should be made to reduce it still further, I believe, to the level of 50 millions a year as prices went down. Now we have always been of the opinion, and that opinion has been strongly put forward by no less a personage than our chairman, that the expenditure in the army could be reduced even without any large reduction in prices. But now that prices are falling, let us at any rate share the benefit of a rising exchange in this respect. Whether we accept the views of our learned President in regard to currency and exchange matters or the views of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and those who agree with him, let us all demand that if we are to have the 1s. 6d. ratio we are entitled to the reduction of expenditure at least to the level recommended by the Inchcape Committee.

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Basu.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are my principal reasons for commending this resolution to your acceptance. Let me say once more that a country that aspires to be self-governing cannot afford to be indifferent to the question of having complete control over its army in all its branches. The policy of our Federation is to enable India to have full self-government within the borders of this country, and an equal participation with the other members of the Empire in regard to Imperial affairs. Neither of these objects will be realised so long as our army is in the hands of others. And apart from this, the position of the Dominions having been recently recognised as being one of perfect equality with Britain, our position would be correspondingly lowered if we did not insist day in and day out on having our army completely in our own hands. Every day that passes with foreign control over the most important instrument of Indian administration delays not merely the achievement of self-government but of one of complete equality with the other members of the British Empire. With this question is bound up our self-respect in this country, in the British Empire and throughout the world. I therefore strongly commend it to your acceptance and I am sure that you would never let this matter go out of your thoughts. (Loud applause.)

**Mr. Jitendranath Basu :** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, in the remarks made on this subject in his opening address our President stated that one of the hindrances to the attainment of responsible government in this country was that we have no control over the defence of the country. The defence of the country is in the hands of the country's army. Both as regards the numerical strength and the division into these different units and the equipment the army is in the hands of the War Office in England, and not in the hands of any authority in this country. It is rarely when we have a Viceroy, a Commander-in-Chief and a Finance Member who is sympathetic that we find that public opinion gains some amount of hearing from those who regulate the defence of India. Such a state of things cannot be permitted to continue. If the organization of the army in India is regulated not by people here but by people whose opinions and sympathies are wholly different from ours, it cannot but be that the organization that we shall have will not be what we want. The result is, as has been pointed out in his illuminating address by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, we have hardly any Indian officers in the army. In some of the most important divisions, according to modern ideas, like the flying force, like the important parts of the artillery, even the men are not Indians. Gentlemen, this state of things bespeaks a distrust of the people of this country on the part of those who are now responsible



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for the administration of India. We come across statements on behalf of government that people should accept their measures in a spirit of confidence and in a spirit of trust. But trust and confidence are matters which are reciprocal. If Government wants the people to trust it, Government must trust the people and one of the best methods of trusting the people is to place the responsibility of the work of the defence of this country in the hands of the people. That can only be done by manning the ranks of officers with suitable Indians. Gentlemen, as has been pointed out, about the end of the war Lord Chelmsford held that conference in which one of the resolutions laid down that a certain proportion of officers must be Indians. That recommendation has not been carried out. Since then the committee over which Lord Rawlinson presided ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Dehra Dun College. But what is the Dehra Dun College? It is only a training school. It has very little to do with teaching the art of fighting or of defence. It is only a preparatory school. What I should like to see is that a great many high schools in this country should be preparatory schools like that. The Dehra Dun School was, to use an expression which is probably strong, a hoax. Gentlemen, then what we want is that we should be trained to defend ourselves. Just at present we feel almost in a helpless position. We have not been trained in the art of fighting and self-defence. In civil administration from 1833 onwards we were given some positions of responsibility and now some of the highest positions in civil administration are at the disposal of Indians. But in military administration we have been completely ignored. The result is that if for some reason or other the British have to leave India, we will be somewhat in the position of Britons in the 4th century when the Romans had to vacate Britain and the Britons sent piteous appeals to Rome to the effect that the Picts and Scots who were then barbarians 'drive us to the sea and the sea drives us back to the barbarians.' It is a sad commentary on the British administration that after 150 years of their rule in India, they have so thoroughly emasculated the people as to leave them helpless like that. There is no reason why there should be such a large British contingent in this country. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru has pointed out that the proportion is 1 to 2. This is also an indication of the distrust of the British in us. The defence of India should be completely manned by Indians. There is one other thing, gentlemen. We complain that all our important departments of national construction are being starved. The reason for these departments being starved is that there are no funds. Where do all the funds go? A disproportionate amount of the public revenues goes to the maintenance of the army. And the army is maintained in India not for purposes of India, but as will appear from the remarks of Lord Curzon, which have been read out by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, in the interests of the whole Empire. We should insist that if Britain requires India to maintain an army not only necessary for the purposes of India but for the purposes of the Empire, she must pay for that army. Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution that has been so ably placed before you by Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru. (Applause.)

**Mr. M. B. Marathe.**

Mr. M. B. Marathe (Belgaum) supported the resolution in Marathi and it was put to the House and carried unanimously.

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.**

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani: The Conference stands adjourned till 1 p.m. tomorrow.

A group photograph of the President, the Delegates and the Members of the Reception Committee was taken immediately after the Conference adjourned. The Subjects Committee met at 6-15 p. m.

Land Revenue  
Settlement in  
Berar.

Rao Bahadur K. V.  
Brahma.

### THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

*Wednesday, December 28.*

The Liberal Federation again assembled in the afternoon under the presidency of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and proceeded straight away to discuss resolutions.

#### IX. Land Revenue Settlement in Berar.

**Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma:** The resolution to which I have the honour to move reads: That this Federation enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Central Provinces Government in giving effect to the proposals for the enhancement of Land Revenue assessment in some talukas of Berars, and in proposing the revision of assessment in some other talukas against the opinions and recommendations of the Berar Legislative Committee and even without obtaining the sanction of the Government of India to the principles of assessment as required by the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, and recommends to Government that the enhancement announced or proposed should be suspended at least till the necessary legislation has been passed with the approval of the representatives of the people of Berar on the Berar Legislative Committee.

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters, you are probably aware that the land revenue tenancy of Berar is what is known as the Ryotwari Tenancy, that is to say, a tenancy in which settlement is made with reference to each individual holding and with reference to each individual holder. The first settlement that we had in Berar after it was handed over to the British people for administrative purposes was in the year 1845 and it has since then been known as the Settlement Tenure. The first revision of this settlement came about the year 1895. Now to say the least of this settlement, in Berar as in the rest of India, it is absolutely empirical, that is, it is wanting in scientific examination and settlement principles, it is wanting in the fact that it has not got the consent of the people and it is wanting in those principles which govern and which underlie all systems of taxation known to the civilised world. It was for this reason that the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament when they framed their scheme for the constitutional reform of India, recommended to the Houses of Parliament that the first step necessary for the Executive Government to take is to embody the principles of assessment in a statute, after obtaining the sanction of the peoples concerned. Now this is a subject in which, as a matter of fact, you will find a fine stroke of British statesmanship. It consists of conceding in principle and taking away in detail. As you are all aware, the Joint Select Committee reported in the year 1919. The Reformed Councils came into operation and working in the year 1921 and so far as the Central Provinces are concerned, the Councils began to function all rights in the year 1921. Yet, till the year 1924, there was not even a proposal of embodying, or an attempt

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to embody, the principles of assessment, whatever they may be, in the form of a statute. You are probably, gentlemen, not aware that so far as legislation is concerned Berar occupies a peculiar position. It has not got a Council of its own, though administratively it is a separate unit and though it has been handed over to the Central Provinces Government for purposes of administration. Its laws are passed not by the Central Provinces Legislative Council on which certain representatives of the people from Berar sit, but its laws are made by the Governor-General through his foreign jurisdiction. It is not, therefore, up to the Central Provinces Government to say that an attempt was made by them to formulate the principles in a settlement bill which they placed before the C. P. Legislative Council for the Central Provinces land tenure. A bill, as I said to you, was attempted to be placed for C. P. land tenure in the Central Provinces Legislative Council in the early part of 1924. Unfortunately for us, the representatives of the people then thought that obstruction was a surer way to success. They naturally thought that they should not resort to obstruction in this particular matter and they asked Government to hold over this bill for a certain amount of time. But whatever the history of this piece of legislation may be in the Central Provinces, so far as Berar is concerned no attempt was made till 1925, when after the repeated demands of the representatives of Berar an attempt of forming a Berar Legislative Committee was made and an announcement was given that the members elected by the people of Berar for the Central Provinces Council with a few others nominated by Government should constitute the Legislative Committee. It was before this Committee in the year 1925 that legislation was tried to be put forward for this particular purpose along with other necessary measures for the improvement of Land Revenue administration. Now it is up to Government really when they proclaimed times out of number that they are the representatives of the dumb millions of India to obtain the approval of the people of Berar on this most essential and most important matter. As I just told you they slept over this matter from the year 1921 till the year 1925 for reasons best known to themselves and in the year 1925 when the Berar Legislative Committee recommended certain propositions for the acceptance of Government, the bill has been lying with the Government of India from then till now and I am not in a position to tell you whether the Government of India has taken any action on that measure. The important part of our resolution that I have the honour to commend for your acceptance, therefore, lies in this fact that this important matter of the announcement of the enhancement of Land Revenue assessment has been pushed through and carried on in spite of the strict command of the British Parliament to whom the Government of India owes allegiance that this should be done after ascertaining the wishes of the people. The Executive Government of Central Provinces thinks that it cannot stop its activities so far as the gathering of money is concerned and therefore told the members of the Central Provinces that they will go on with the enhancement of assessment but may possibly take into consideration if a proper case was made out for going back upon the ratio or the limit of assessment that may be fixed by the Berar Legislative Committee. Our resolution, therefore, is that this act of an executive nature overrides the command that the British Parliament gave to the Government of India and to all Provincial Governments in this most important matter, and it is therefore necessary for us, the people of Berar, to appeal to you, the representatives of India to come to our relief and tell the Government

of India that this action of our Provincial Government is really a backward move. To give you a correct idea of the situation that Government did not stand to lose by holding over the pronouncement of this enhanced assessment for a few brief days, I would like to tell you that the two taluks in respect of which this enhancement has been actually announced and is to be collected in the current year would not pay more than a maximum of Rs. 8 lakhs. Now a sum of Rs. 8 lakhs in a revenue of Rs. 5 crores is nothing at all. Economies could easily be effected to accommodate the provincial needs to this reduction by this want of collection for a few brief days. They went on not only with the pronouncement of this enhanced assessment but they are actually proceeding and notices have been served, I am told, upon two other taluks for enhancement of assessment. The Berar Legislative Committee has made certain recommendations which will have far-reaching effects and if the Government of India were really alive to their most important duty in this connection, it will not be really difficult for them to pass the necessary legislation. I do not know—perhaps the President or those people who live nearer Delhi will say—whether the wheels of Government in Simla or Delhi want more lubrication. (Laughter.) But if they do, let the wheels be lubricated and move a little bit faster. Let the principles of assessment be fixed with the consent of the people of Berar. The important steps that the people of Berar have recommended to the Government are these: they have recommended to the Government that the people should be associated in all proposals about the enhancement of revision in two stages, at any rate. As you all are probably aware, settlement operations start first with a report from the settlement officer to Government about the enhancement that he thinks is possible, taking into consideration the economic condition of the people. Now that, as I said, is the most empirical way of doing things. Taxation ought not to be based upon what is convenient. It must be based at best in all civilised countries upon what is just and equitable. But here the people of Berar say that after the settlement officer has for the first time made his proposal to Government for its approval, he has got to take the people of the country into his confidence and explain to them his recommendations and tell them as to how those recommendations fit in with the principles of assessment and with the actualities of the situation. That is the first step where representatives from rural areas, such as members of local and district boards as they are called in Bombay and Madras presidencies, or of district councils as they are called in this part of the country, are taken into confidence and they are given an opportunity of saying whether the proposals really stand the test of closer examination by those who know the situation firsthand. After this stage has been gone through an opportunity is afforded to the members of the Legislative Council to discuss and examine the whole situation and pass resolutions in the Council, recommending to the Government the action that Government should take in matters of enhancement of assessment. Now these two-essential principles which have been embodied in this legislation which, is lying before the Government of India for the last nearly a year, have not yet been announced by Government with their seal of approval. It is therefore our duty, and we beseech you, gentlemen, who have gathered here from all parts of India, to make the Government of India alive to the situation that they as the representatives of the dumb millions of India or at any rate, as the custodians of the trust of His Exalted Highness and the people of Berar should discharge their trust in this particular

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**Land Revenue Settlement in Berar.** respect by taking the people of Berar into their confidence and accepting their mild demand in the matter of laying down and fixing the principles of assessment. We, therefore, say that it is up to the Government in the first place not to have acted in the executive manner in which bureaucratic government was accustomed to do in pre-reform days. We, therefore, enter our most emphatic protest in that respect that even after the Reforms the Executive Government thinks of doing things in an executive manner, that is to say, in a most empirical way.

Our next proposition goes to making a very mild demand in saying: Let bygones be bygones and at any rate, hold back your hand till such time as you have examined the subject from the point of view of the people of Berar. We, therefore, request you, gentlemen, to join with us in saying that no harm will be done to Government if the proposals of enhancement are suspended till the time that the Government makes the necessary legislation after ascertaining the wishes of the people of Berar. I suppose I would be wasting your time if I were to detain you any longer. I don't feel the slightest doubt that the resolution which I have the honour to place before you will commend itself for your acceptance. (Applause.)

**Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani.**

**Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani:** Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which has been before you simply asks the Provincial Government to suspend the revised enhancement until the legislative measure which has been recommended by the Berar Legislative Committee to the Government of India is sanctioned. You will remember that the Joint Committee made a very nice suggestion—a wise suggestion, I should say—that the principles for enhancement should be embodied in legislation and that until such legislation is enacted, no revised enhancement should take place. But although this recommendation was made by the Joint Committee as far back as the year 1919 and although the Reforms came into force in December, 1920, this legislative measure was never brought by the Provincial Government or the Government of India before the members of the Berar Legislative Committee until the year 1925 and in the meantime proposals were made and measures were taken for revising the assessment because the 30 years' period was over. Unfortunately, Berar is occupying a very unenviable position. It is neither a British province nor a Province of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Every other province has got a Legislative Council of its own. But unfortunately the members of Berar, although they sit in the Council of the Central Provinces, have no authority whatsoever for effecting their own legislation. So far as their own legislation is concerned, their wishes are consulted and the Government of India issues legislation by an executive order. So although the Joint Parliamentary Committee had made a very wise suggestion that the principles for the enhancement of revised assessment should be embodied in a legislation, that advantage also is not going to be earned or enjoyed by Berar in so far as the Berar Legislative Committee does not occupy the position of a Council. But even apart from that there was ample time for Government to introduce this legislation in the first Reformed Council. But somehow or other the period of three years was allowed to go away and the proposals for enhanced assessment were put through with the result that in two of the taluks Jalgaum and Malkapur, revised assessment has been made on the old principles and although the Berar Legislative Committee has made very good proposals, they are not likely to be given effect for a considerable time. Of course when a question was put to the Government in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces, the

Government have simply given an assurance that after the new legislation comes into force Government may see their way to revise the revised assessment on the lines that may be adopted in the final legislation. But that is not sufficient. You know that these times are very hard, especially in Berar where we have got to pass through all seasons one after another. In view of this it is impossible for the ryot to bear any increased burden of land tax any longer. Of course, it is said that the Berar ryot is very fortunate as compared to the ryot in the sister presidency, I think the sister presidency of Bombay also enjoys the ryotwari system. To a certain extent the experience of the co-operators is that the agricultural indebtedness in Bombay is increasing year by year and it is really a question before them how the Bombay ryot will be able to support himself in the near future. So in view of this difficulty all that this proposition asks you to do is to recommend to the Government that they should suspend the revised assessment until the new legislation is accepted by the Government of India. I hope the resolution which we want you to adopt is only a reasonable one and Government should find really no difficulty to accept it. I hope that the resolution passed by the Federation will persuade the Government at least to suspend the revised assessment until the new legislation is sanctioned by the Government of India. (Applause.)

Land Revenue  
Settlement in  
Berar.

Mr. V. K. Rajwade.

Rao Sahab R. M. Khare and Mr. Namdeorao Patil, M. L. C., next supported the resolution in Marathi.

**Mr. V. K. Rajwade :** Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the preceding speakers have placed before you the reason why we want this resolution and the only reason for having so many speakers on this point is to impress on the delegates the importance of the subject and to assure them on the unanimous and keen feeling of the people of the province. We want the advantage of your support on this question. We are objecting to this enhanced assessment on principle. But there is also a different reason, though temporary. Berar is passing through critical years almost amounting to famine conditions during the last three years. The yield is poor and the cultivation expenses have gone so high latterly that the agriculturist is losing every year. Enhanced assessment at this moment will be a cruelty. The abnormal conditions and inflation at war time would be surely a misleading index. Our demand is really very modest. If you read to-day's papers you will find that the all-India non-Brahmin Congress which is holding its sitting at Madras at this moment have pressed for permanent settlement for the Madras Presidency. We only ask that the idea of enhanced assessment should be suspended at least for the time. I support this resolution and I hope you will unanimously give your unreserved support.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

#### X. Education of the Electorate.

Education of the  
Electorate.

**Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale (Satara) :** Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to place before you for your acceptance runs thus : 'The Federation emphasizes the urgent necessity of educating the electorate and hereby calls upon the various liberal associations to take up the work of organization in that behalf.' Mr. President, the importance of this resolution cannot be gainsaid. This resolution differs from many of its predecessors in this, that it deals with a subject-matter which is entirely in our own hands. Most of the resolutions either asked for something

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to be done by Government or by other extraneous bodies, but this resolution deals with a matter with which we can ourselves deal, and deal most effectively. Since the Government of India Act was introduced Reforms are said to have been an apple of discord, because you know by the experience of the last six years that there have been dissensions among our countrymen and parties have come into existence which had for their programme something which was either visionary or selfish. The programme of the Liberal Party, on the other hand, was one which steered clearly of either of these dangers. The principle of their programme was to work the Reforms for what they are worth, that is to say, co-operate with Government wherever possible and obstruct where it is necessary. That is the principle which now has been put forward in an abridged form and phraseology, namely, the programme of the Responsive party. Gentlemen, you are aware if from the beginning of the Reforms since the advent of the new constitution in 1921 the educated people of this country had realised that that was the true and correct principle on which the electorates should be asked to send their representatives to the local as well as the central Legislatures, I am sure the state of things would have been much different from what it is now. The exponents of the visionary programme now admit that they committed a mistake, as if they did not discover that the Government of India Act contained safeguards and provisions which would render entirely futile their methods either of non-co-operation, namely, boycott of Councils, or next, obstruction within the Councils. You have seen from what has happened in some of the local Councils as well as the central Legislature that 6 years have been wasted by representatives being sent to all these bodies on tickets which advocated something which was impracticable. The Liberal Party has been advocating the true and correct principles on which the electorate should be educated and I think the time has come when those principles have come to be recognised as the most sound and the only principles of practical politics. I submit, therefore, that here is an opportunity for the Liberal Party to organize what I may call the electors' councils or leagues all throughout the country. If each district town organizes a league the membership of which will be confined to the electors, that is to say, to those who enjoy the franchise of sending representatives to the Councils as well as to the Legislative Assembly, and if the correct principle on which they should act is expounded to them, I am sure they will meet with a very sound response. Judging from the experience which I gained during my three election campaigns, I can assure you that the elector is quite alive now to the need of choosing the best men and the most useful way of judging the representatives whom they have to send to the Council. As I said the first political parties created a belief among the people and when the educated people themselves disagreed, the illiterate voters were confused and they were not able to discern which is right and which is wrong. Secondly, the selfish parties, I may say, are those which are founded upon the principle of communalism. I call them selfish because they went out into the country and asked their electorates to vote not on any principles but on the question of community. A man came up and said, 'I am a Mehra, so every Mehra is expected to vote for me.' That was the slogan of the non-Brahmin policy so far as I am aware in parts of the Deccan, and I presume also in your province. People were misled and hopes were held out to them that if they elected a member of their own caste or community, he would see to the advancement of that caste or community and in that way they will be

able to achieve something very important. But as you know, a man who seeks a representative position to do something for his own community is not expected to look to the general welfare of the people, but his vision will always be narrow. He may for a time hold out hopes of acquiring here and there some loaves and fishes of office but the generality of the people, the masses, soon have come to realise that the real representative is he who will look to the welfare of the villagers, of the masses in general. And the result of the last election both in Madras and in the Bombay Presidencies has amply justified that this slogan of communalism has not been successful except for a very transitory period. That being so, as I remarked at the beginning, the time has now come—and it is the most opportune time—for us, Liberals, to organize central, district and taluka associations for doing this very important work. The electorate is the foundation on which the superstructure of democracy has to be erected. If, therefore, care is not taken to educate the electorate properly, the building, the superstructure of democracy is not likely to be a stable structure but will crumble down at any moment. The Liberal Party besides is the mature party for functioning in this matter since its principles are the principles of love all round, doing away with communalism, abolition of communal divisions, betterment of the condition of the women, betterment of the condition of the backward and depressed classes. In fact, the programme of the Liberal Party which had been its programme ever since the early '90s has now come to be recognized also as a necessary part of the education of the electorate. The difficulties that have been experienced in the elections have sufficiently brought home to the extremists the danger of advancing in one direction, namely, the political aggrandisement at the sacrifice of the awakening and in other directions they have come to realise now that in order to constitute a true democratic government, there must be an equalisation of society. Those of our brethren who have remained backward through want of education have to be brought up to the level of the educated classes. The fault for keeping them backward lies with the government because if the government of the country, the British Government, had realised years ago the need of making elementary education free and compulsory, the question which is now so much engaging the attention of the people would have been solved without much difficulty. What has happened is, at this moment our society is so constituted that only one class and that, the literate class of the high caste communities, enjoys the benefits of education and as a consequence it has come to occupy a prominent position in the administration of the country. Naturally the backward classes feel that this inequality must be removed, but they must wait. Patience and toleration are always to be kept before their eyes. And we have to appeal to our non-Brahmin friends that they ought not to be impatient. In course of time we wish and we require members of those communities to come on a level with the highest and the better advanced classes and to sit by their side and take a prominent part in the administration of this country. But they must remember that efficiency is the first thing that is necessary for a true and proper discharge of functions in all branches of administration. All this has to be brought to the notice of the electors and this work, I submit, is of far-reaching importance. Hence all attention must be concentrated on this subject and I am sure if a beginning is made in this direction by a party whose traditions and whose principles are most fitted for this purpose, our Liberal Party will, I am sure, gain in prominence, gain in popularity and gain in weight.

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Another question which I may just mention in this connection is the need of a propaganda by means of newspapers. It is essential for the purpose of educating the electorate that district and provincial newspapers should be started, which will give a correct and true idea of the way in which the electorate should and ought to proceed to exercise their franchise so as to send to the Council the most proper and the most fit representatives from their parts. In choosing a representative they must consider not only his educational status and qualifications but they must also consider his previous life. They must consider what sort of man he is, how he has behaved and conducted himself during the past several years that he has been amongst them. If he is a man who is likely to be swayed by communal considerations, I think it will be the duty of the electorate to reject him, because a representative is wanted who will be a representative not only of one caste or one community but of all castes and all communities which constitute the district. So these two tests have to be fulfilled and if there are any persons or any people who are fitted to fulfil these conditions, I think there can be no doubt that they are persons who have accepted and who have practised the principles of Liberalism in their public life. (Hear, hear.) This, therefore, the agency of newspapers, is, I think, a very important, essential which has to be brought into existence in order to educate the people by placing before them from time to time what the correct principles of representative government are, what is the work that proceeds in the Legislative Council from time to time, what the representatives whom they have sent up are doing—whether Swarajists, Liberals or any other party, the non-Brahmin party—what the results of their work are and so on. All this valuable information is quite unknown in the villages. As the Council sits questions come up for discussion, bills are placed before them—for instance, the question of the land revenue assessment about which the Berar people have placed a resolution before you. A similar question is likely to arise in several other Councils. If what is being done in the Councils is made known to the villagers, they will begin to take an active interest in the proceedings of the Council. They will watch the work of their representatives and at the next elections they will be in a position to know who has worked for them and who has worked against them. I therefore think that the establishment of these district councils—I mean, district leagues—should be undertaken by the Liberal Associations in various places. If there are no Liberal Associations in some districts I think it is high time that such associations should be started in every district and in every taluka town. They should begin to see who the voters are. There are a number of voters whose names do not appear in the list. The villagers are absolutely ignorant of their rights. The number of voters is really very small because they do not know even the necessary requisites for being placed on the list of voters. For instance, there is the Rs. 32 franchise. I find there are a number of cases in which tenants do not own any land but cultivate the lands of others which, if put together, certainly shows that they pay an assessment of more than Rs. 32. Such persons are entitled to be enlisted in the voters' lists. If members of our associations, properly attend to these matters, I certainly think that the Liberal Party will immensely gain in popularity and will be able to show sound work to its credit and will enhance its reputation. In this connection I have to say and say it with regret, that this lack of work on the part of Liberals is the reason of their not being either popular or effective at the time of

elections. (Hear, hear.) I think, therefore, that the leaders should take up this question in each presidency and they should give a lead to the district and mofussil workers to begin work on these lines. If this is done I am sure brilliant results will be shown before the next meeting of the Federation.

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I have only adumbrated, gentlemen, the lines on which work can be started immediately and if when we disperse and go back to our own towns or places we begin to work in right earnest, I think the Liberal party will have achieved a result which will be alike to their credit and which will increase its popularity and its prestige. I am only appealing to you that each of us has in his power to establish a district voters' league in his own district and if branches are established in taluka towns we can then proceed throughout the year to do the work of educating them. This is at least in our own hands. If we simply pass a resolution which is not in our hands, then we will say we have done our duty and the rest is in others' hands. I am sure each of you will realise the necessity of giving practical effect to the resolution which I have placed before you for your acceptance. With these few words I commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause.)

Mr. T. R. Gadre : next spoke in Marathi, seconding the resolution. Mr. T. R. Gadre.

Mr. V. N. Deshpande : in supporting the resolution in Marathi said that this was one of the most important resolutions before the Conference. He urged the Federation to act up to it. Referring to the unpopularity of the Liberal party, even though their principles were being accepted on all hands, the speaker laid the blame entirely upon the leaders of the party who never took the least trouble to propagate their principles and popularise them. For this lack of work the names and work of revered leaders like Naoroji, Ranade, and Gokhale were being forgotten by the present generation. The general acceptance of the Liberal principles was in Mr. Deshpande's opinion in no way due to any work of the party but due wholly to the invincibility of truth which those principles contained. Concluding, the speaker called upon the leaders of the party to discard their lethargy and do their best to carry on a vigorous propaganda among the electorate, not for the sake of the party itself but for the sake of the principles which had firmly stood the test of time as well as all malicious criticism.

Mr. V. N. Deshpande.

Mr. M. D. Altekhar : next supported the resolution in Marathi. In further supporting the resolution in Marathi Mr. M. B. Marathe announced amidst cheers a donation of Rs. 150 to the Liberal party for its propaganda work on the lines suggested in this resolution, which he had received from one who had all along been a Swarajist, Mr. Madholkar. (Loud cheers.) The speaker amidst renewed cheers handed over the amount to the President.

Mr. M. D. Altekhar.

The President, in putting the resolution to the vote, said : I may congratulate Rao Bahadur Kale upon the success which has attended his resolution so quickly after his moving it. I should like to thank Mr. Madholkar for his generous donation to the Liberal party. (Cheers.) I hope there would be many others following his excellent example, who will provide the Liberal party with all the funds that may be required for carrying on its educative propaganda. (Applause.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

The Civil Services. XI. The Civil Services.

Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani.

Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani moved: The National Liberal Federation is of opinion (1) that there should be a rapid Indianization of all the superior civil services; (2) that the principles and conditions of recruitment for all such services should vest in the Governments in India; (3) that the actual recruitment should be made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commissioners in England and (4) that direct recruitment should be by means of examination and not of nomination by the Government.

In moving the resolution Mr. Mahajani delivered a speech in Marathi.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Bangalore): Mr. President, Brother, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which has been so ably moved by Rao Bahadur Mahajani has now to be seconded by me and I am sorry I can't do it in Marathi. I shall tell you in a few broken words what my experience has been in regard to this resolution during my service. Six years ago, when I had the privilege of moving this resolution under the presidency of my friend Mr. Chintamani, when he presided at the Liberal Federation of 1921 when it met in Madras, I placed my experience of the Medical Service from which I had just then retired. My experience subsequent to that even has not been anything different. The woeful tale that I then disclosed has been more than confirmed by the events that have since transpired. You will pardon me if I narrate events which may have some personal bearing. It would come home better if instead of generalising I give certain particular incidents. 20 years ago there was a serious attempt made to improve the medical service of India. A representation was then made from the Congress platform by the late Dr. Bahadurji that the time had then come when the higher appointments in the medical service should be no longer a preserve of the Europeans and that the Indians should be allowed to enter it in larger numbers and that no obstacle should be placed in their way and so forth. This representation was not submitted to the Government of India, although it was presented not by the Madras Government alone but also by the medical officers under the various provincial governments throughout India—because it was an interested person that was at the head and no communication from the subordinates could pass to the highest powers that be except through the prescribed channels. What was the result? Dr. Bahadurji took up the subject and went all the way to England and placed this matter before his own professors in the University of London and asked one of them: 'Sir, you have been the professor of the University College of London. Would you not be surprised if you came to India you would be told that you are not competent to be the professor of an Indian Medical College?' He was shocked to hear that statement and said that the matter must be at once remedied and that if he should move a proposition before the annual meeting of the British Medical Association which was about to be held, the professor promised his cordial support and the proposition was duly moved and ably seconded by almost all the medical men of England and from other parts of the Empire except by a few grey-haired Anglo-Indians who had gone back after finishing their service in India and the president said that he thought that the proposition was a very necessary and wholesome one and that he did not see any reason why it should not be passed unanimously. Then a grey-haired gentleman, a retired officer from Bengal, stood up and cautioned the chairman not to be hasty, that he would be cutting

his own throat if he allowed the proposition to go through and that it was a serious question which involved a great many fundamental changes in the other administrations and that it would cut at the very root of the English policy in India and so forth. The president was taken back and was afraid to put it to the meeting. A compromise was entered into by which the question was referred back to the Indian branches of the British Medical Association. When it came back here I happened to be the Indian secretary of the British Medical Association. My colleague who was a European gentleman kept it away from me, called a private meeting of a few European members of the Madras branch at the English Club, drafted a resolution, got it printed, sent it round to all the medical officers in the districts and got their replies. Then and then alone I came to know of it and even then, indirectly. All this time I was kept in blissful ignorance and when I questioned as to why I was kept ignorant of it, he would not speak to me and there was nothing else to be done. They had got their votes from the mofussil members and the Indian members in the Madras city were a minority and so, they got the resolution thrown out in the Madras branch. I along with the other Indian members sent in a protest direct to the parent association in London and what became of it we do not know till this day. That is a brief history of the protest from the services and that is the result of an effort that was made seriously by all the Indian doctors in India 20 years ago. Many similar efforts have been since made and not one of them has proved a success for the simple reason that unlike other departments, the medical department is what they call the key service and they are so much interested in it that they would like to have the doctors of their own confidence and that nothing will move the India Government or the Secretary of State's government to allow the medical service to be manned chiefly by Indians. Even now I hear that an attempt is being made in spite of all the reforms that certain high appointments in the headquarters of districts and even in large cities are going to be made to preserve not only for the British members of the medical service, but also some of them are going to be given away to the military service called the Royal Army Medical Corps. There cannot be a greater injustice than this. Excuse my limiting my remarks to the Medical department because I can give my personal experiences. I may also mention on this occasion that in 1919 when the Government of India Bill was passed, a very vigorous attempt was made by all the medical men throughout India to send representations. Then I had the honour of retiring from the medical service and going in my private capacity to the then Secretary of State Mr. Montagu, and placing my grievances before him. He was very sympathetic, but he in an imploring tone asked me—What can I do? If I give effect to my wishes I will have to retire to-morrow and vacate this chair. Can you rather be content with a small concession than see me out of this chair? That was the reply that I got from the Secretary of State. The complexities of this departmental interest are so great that it is not possible for their being placed clearly in a short speech, such as the one permitted on such occasions as now.

The only solution for all this is that we should have more control over our own affairs. In other words, we must have self-government in which case our needs will be met by our own men. Of doctors and other men there is no dearth. The colleges in India are now turning out graduates by hundreds all over and there are hundreds and hundreds of our graduates who are in the unemployment list and there is no dearth of men. What is wanted is a readiness on the part of the

The Civil Services,  
Rao Bahadur Dr.  
C. R. Ram Rao.

**The Civil Services.** authorities to let in such men as are best qualified for offices under Government services. This method of nomination is another game. I know personal instances but it won't do to give names on a public occasion like this. When masters of arts and men with gold medals were applicants, they were ignored and a third class B. A. was preferred with regard to one very important department in the Madras service. In the recent nominations to the Indian Civil Service also I know one case where a mediocre was preferred to many highly distinguished graduates of our university.

There is another evil connected with this nomination system that leads to favouritism, that leads to communalism, that leads to selfishness. Our efforts should, therefore, be to strive to man all services by Indians. There is no reason why this should be the playground of the youth of England any longer. They have got a wide enough field in Australia and Canada and other sparsely populated countries which are dominions under the great British rule. Their young men might as well be sent there. They are not required here.

We are here, able and willing and in large numbers ready to do our work to the country's service. Therefore, I do not know if this resolution is strongly worded. But the strength is not the object. The object is to secure for our services Indians and Indians only. Europeans might be brought in when there are specialists and when there are technical experts, but for ordinary services no outsider is needed at present. Therefore, all appointments should be made by the local authorities, namely the India Government and since officers are swayed by personal motives and local prejudices such a thing as Civil Services Commission the members of which are likely to be above these drawbacks, ought to be the best authority for selecting officers of the highest grades and for lower services it should always be by a competitive examination and not by favouritism.

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

## XII. Self-Government.

**Self-Government.**

**Sir Moropant Joshi.**

**Sir Moropant Joshi (Amratti):** Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that I am asked to put before you has to be read by me. It is this:

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its conviction of the necessity of a revision of the present constitution of the Central and Provincial Governments on the following lines :—

- (1) India should be accorded the same status as the Dominions.
- (2) Except in respect of foreign and political affairs and of the defence of the country, for a transitory period, the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India should occupy a position analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions.
- (3) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
- (4) The superintendence, direction and control of the revenues and administration of British India should be vested in the Governor-General in Council.
- (5) While for a transitory period the Governor-General should remain responsible to his Majesty's Government and the British Parlia-

ment for the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and for the defence of the country, The Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration. Self-Government:  
Sir Moropant Joshi,

(6) Provincial Governments should be responsible to the legislative Councils and Governors should be constitutional Governors.

(7) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision should be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.

(8) The Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies with due provision for the protection of the rights of important minorities.

It will be observed that the manner in which this proposition is sought to be laid before you, the general principles which have been found to be capable of being worked properly have been put as the basis of a recommendation or of a request to Government. You are all aware that a Statutory Commission is soon to come to India, sooner than later. It ought to have come, it should have come perhaps long ago. But there are things which we regret by now as a result of experience and after six years of vain regrets and methods that were found unworkable and unfruitful, we have now come back to the same old methods which have been found to be containing the seeds of wisdom. I am proud to say this because we have to meet critics of all kind who do not belong to the liberal party. They, of course, have denounced our ways and in the desperation which the country felt on account of some mishaps and drawbacks of the British rule, this party, I am proud to say, was able to keep its old mental attitude free from any disturbing factor that upset the whole of the country practically, I am proud to belong to that party, I am proud to say this banner of truth and banner of Liberalism was kept flying. As you will see we do not claim credit for inspiring other people and other parties with our methods. But we do say this, that having kept this banner of truth and Liberalism and the principles which have found ready acceptance on account of the fact that they are the very quintessence of wisdom, we have found by experience that they are the only ones that can endure. Having done it we say we have done enough, we have kept up the ideal to which everybody finds after due experience necessary to conform. If we had not held up this ideal, if we had allowed in desperate times, ourselves to be entirely lost, we would have caused a very great loss to the nation. That is how I value Liberalism and its principles. (Hear, hear.)

From the very commencement we have asked for Dominion status. Our enemies, that is to say, those who do not agree with us—I call them enemies only in this technical sense—have reviled us for not asking for Swaraj, although we have repeatedly stated that our ideal can only be, and is, and has always been, Dominion status for India. They say—Oh, you have never asked for Swaraj, you are asking for *su-raj* or good government. We have denied it and I want to nail that lie to the counter by repeating this proposition which we have done from the very commencement. No doubt, we expressed joy when these Reforms were introduced. But joy for what? For a complete acceptance by the government of the country of a change from autocracy to democracy. They admitted the principle and we welcomed that great change. That was all that we welcomed. We said even then that this was by no means enough, that the aspirations of the

**Self-Government.** people of India have gone much further and with reason. And yet we have been reviled by people who say that we have never asked for Dominion status. I assure you, gentlemen, from the very commencement, so far as I remember the beginnings of the Congress, since that time our leaders—and most of the Liberals, there was no distinction at the time—had this idea of Dominion status and nothing else. All help up that as an ideal and after six years of experience, the Liberal party has done one eminent service which, I hope, will be remembered and it is this, that although saying to the Government of the country that the Reforms as given were by no means enough, that we were fit for more, we agreed to work them in the spirit in which they were given. We have worked them and our anticipations have come true. We said that this would not work and we have shown by experience that it cannot work and we have given them ample proofs. We have now thus reinforced our anticipations by the actual experience we have had of the working of the Reforms and herein lies the value of Liberalism. (Hear, hear.) It was the Liberal party members and those who were for constitutionalism—whatever their name—that went in, accepted the Reforms for what they were worth, worked them, found them not workable and have given ample reasons to Government to accept propositions as the one we suggest. We asked for Dominion status always. We have proved by experience and we have shown that the Reforms are not what the Indians wanted, that they would not meet our aspirations and that they would not bring in good government as it ought to be. That is why we demand Dominion status to-day, as we have always been doing ever before. We have another set of critics and those are in the field of Liberalism itself. I welcome that sort of criticism. Mahatma Gandhi has given us an example of self-searching and being able to say, if he has committed a mistake, that he has committed a Himalayan mistake. I think such candour is necessary even for Liberalism and I welcome that part of the criticism which passes a searchlight to be thrown on our own mental attitude and on our own working. But all the same, outside critics and inside critics agree that the value of Liberalism lay in the way in which the banner was kept aloft, in the way in which we did not lose our mental balance and the way in which we have proved, I hope, to the satisfaction of our rulers that the system they have given us has been insufficient, has been found by experience to be wanting and insufficient, and consequently that there is a case for further advance. (Hear, hear.) That is the value of Liberalism, gentlemen. Whether their principles are liked or not liked, I don't care. Nor do I care for taking any credit to the Liberal party. But if this ideal had not been held up before the nation, even a small part of the nation, as it has been done by the Liberals, I don't know what should have been the fate of the Country. It is possible to concede and Lord Birkenhead's statement bears me out, that unless there was a response and that unless a spirit of co-operation was shown, no advance was possible. That was the dictum of the rulers and our conditions were such that we were not able, are not able to-day, in spite of threats, in spite of methods that have been tried, to wrest power from the British Government. It is therefore only by methods of co-operation that this can be done. I say that the Secretary of State's speeches repeated even so lately as at the Imperial Conference, have shown that it is only by a spirit of co-operation shown by the people of India, at any rate, by those who are responsible, by the intelligentsia of the country, that there can be any advance on the present system.

**Mr. Moreparant Joshi,**

Now you see the result. There are already signs on the horizon which ~~Self-Governments~~ go to show that Lord Birkenhead or the authorities what may be con- ~~Sir Haropand Joshi~~ cerned, are taking more or less a favourable view of matters. The reformed system has succeeded, that is to say, the principles of Liberalism have succeeded. They were principles, they were doubted, they were laughed at, they were scorned, people who held them were reviled. Now has come a time when these have had their justification. Everybody feels, a very large part of the Indian nation feels to-day, that this is the only method by which we can achieve the results. In spite of the Congress and in spite of the obstinacy with which they are clinging to their own ideas—they are perfectly entitled to do so—the Council elections have shown throughout the country that the reformed system is what the intelligentsia in the country will uphold. That being the case it does not require very strong optimism to hold that there are very great chances, it is very likely, more likely than not, that even before 12 months pass we may have a Statutory Commission of enquiry. Whether it is going to be so or not, at any rate, we should be prepared and with all the experience that we have had we are prepared to make a statement to-day as we have done here. Gentlemen, you will remember that what we have stated here is to all practical purposes almost exactly the same as was stated in the Legislative Assembly by the joint consent of all the parties in the Assembly. The demand that we now put forward for giving this country Dominion status is what the Legislative Assembly has asked. Whether inside the Congress, whether as part of the Congress or not, it is made evident to the rulers that coming from any political platform, be it Swaragist, be it Liberal, be it anything else, the cry is the same. The same demand, the same goal, is repeated from all the political platforms in the country. If that is so, there is a unanimity of demand and the goal of the Indian nation will be evident. At any rate, there would be nothing wanting on our side. We shall be unanimous at least on one thing that we, all of us, under whatever name we go, want Dominion status. Gentlemen whether we are part of the Congress or not, whether we join it or not, it is all the same when we as Liberals, having expounded this very doctrine, having upheld this goal always, having got the experience, are now able to state that we still seek the same and this shows our steadfastness of purpose, our devotion to principles and the results of experience that we have gained. In this way we are able to state with emphasis what other people might have simply said by anticipation. Intelligent anticipation perhaps, but we have got this experience now and we are able to state plainly either to the commission or to the rulers that what we do want is Dominion status. We have tried your methods, they are found wanting and we still say that we want this. Now you will observe that the basic principles are only to be found in this proposition. There are many points of disagreement and this will be decided by the Statutory Commission. The general principles, a mere skeleton of what we want, is embodied in this resolution. The main principles on which there is such general agreement throughout the country have now been put in this proposition. I therefore commend this proposition for your acceptance.

But before doing so, I would just add one word and that is about the Nationalist party. When we had formed the Nationalist party we had the same goal. The Liberals wanted to merge themselves in the Nationalist party simply with the object of broadbasing this goal on a foundation which would find acceptance amongst a large majority of the intelligentsia of this country. In fact, the Liberal principles were



**Self-Government.** accepted by the Nationalist party with slight modifications which the Liberal party was willing to concede. It is not as if Liberalism is dead. It is living to-day. Whatever was the national idea of the Liberal party was taken up by the Nationalist party and because we found that a larger number of people were ready to assimilate themselves under the name of nationalism we, the Liberals, accepted, the Nationalist creed and tried to merge ourselves in it. We have found by experience since then that all that is useless, that the several parties are not willing to a real change of heart. So long as that party was not found workable Liberalism would continue. We have tried our level best during the last 12 months to get all the parties excepting the Swarajists on one common platform and we have found by experience that it is not possible even today. To our great misfortune, I am compelled to say that it is so. Hence, though a Nationalist, I am a Liberal. I stand as a Liberal before you and I say that the goal of the National party was the same and therefore we had no hesitation in calling ourselves Nationalists. It was intended to broaden it and yet, either as Liberals or as Nationalists, we have put before you the same goal and that is Dominion status. Gentlemen, I ask you to accept this proposition. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani:** Mr. President. Ladies, and Gentlemen, we state in this resolution our conviction of the necessity of a revision of the constitution of both the Central and Provincial Governments. During the last several years similar resolutions were put before and were passed by the sessions of the National Liberal Federation and elaborate reasons were set forth in support of the position we have taken up. The working of the Government of India Act of 1919 during the last six years has demonstrated to the satisfaction of almost every one willing to listen to reason and to learn from facts that while the constitution is not unworkable in the sense that any constitution can be worked, it is certainly true that it can be worked only with such difficulty, with such constant friction that neither efficient administration nor the contentment of the people can be secured by keeping up the present constitution with all its defects. If it is agreed that there is nothing sacrosanct in a date, there should be no reluctance on the part of the British Parliament and the British public to undertake at an early date an examination of the defects revealed by the working of the system so that they may be put right. In 1924 a committee set up by the Government of India of which our honoured President was a most prominent member examined witnesses representing different schools of political thought and approaching the subject from different points of view, examined them at great length and came to the conclusion that the constitution certainly needed revision. The majority of the committee were content to recommend a more or less nominal revision consistent with the structure and purpose and policy of the Act, while the minority went further and stated that the revision to serve its purpose must go much farther and that an examination of the present constitution should be made so that the essentials of that revision might be recommended by them. The evidence given by Indian public men, those who had experiences of the working of the Act in the central Government and the Provincial, in the Provincial on the Reserved and on the Transferred side, those who had experience of it as non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils and others who watched it from outside all that pointed to the common conclusion that neither from the point of view of the administrator nor

of that of the patriot could one be content with this system. In the clauses of this resolution you state in the broadest outline the lines which that revision should take. First of all, you ask that India should be accorded the status of a Dominion. What exactly is connoted by the status of a Dominion you have recently seen in the historic resolution passed by the Imperial Conference, a resolution which conceded to the Dominions such a status of equality with the mother-country that even a statesman like General Hertzog, who previously stood for separation from the British Empire, went back to South Africa and has been delivering speeches to tell his fellow-Boers that they need no longer be dissatisfied with their position within the Empire. When many people complain from one point of view of the inadequacy of the Dominion status as a political ideal, and from another point of view of the prevalence of seditious discontent in the country which requires what a typical Tory would have called resolute government and nothing less-when you hear these contrary cries from two different sides, you will be justified in pointing out to both that the sovereign remedy alike for political discontent and for the negation of political self-respect to the people in their own land is to be found in the recognition by the Parliament and the people of Britain of India as an equal Dominion with Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. In the resolution of the Imperial Conference to which I have just referred the position of India has been dismissed rather summarily. It is stated there that the conference recognised India as the most important part of the Empire and that the position of India in the Empire is what has been defined in the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919. We have stated more than once from Liberal platforms that we are not content to accept the substance or the language of that preamble as the last word upon the subject, that we are not content to remain in this position of subjection looking forward to self-government merely as a far-off and adorable dream but that we press for a rapid advance of our constitutional position, so as to approximate as closely as may be to the status which the Dominions enjoy. It is a corollary of this proposition that the Secretary of State for India should not be in the position of a master of the Governor-General in Council. At present the Government of India Act lays down that the superintendence, direction and control of the revenues and administration of British India shall vest in the Secretary of State for India in Council. We are not satisfied with that position. We want that controlling authority should be the Government of India in India and not a distant Secretary of State ignorant of, unresponsive to, and not at all responsible to the people of India. But in view of the conditions that exist, conditions for which we are not primarily responsible, in view of the circumstance that we are not ready at the present moment and cannot be prepared for sometime yet to undertake responsibility for the military defence of the country and in view of the complicating factor, the position of the Indian States in India, we make a reservation that for a transitory period-it is only in respect of civil administration and not in respect of foreign and political affairs and the defence of the country that the Government of India should be responsible to the Legislature here. To that extent and for a transitory period the Governor-General shall retain his responsibility to his Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. It has been put to us that while condemning Diarchy in the provinces, we are virtually recommending Dyarchy in the Central Government by such and such a reservation. I do not plead guilty to the charge. The Diarchy that

*Self Government.* exists in the Provincial Governments has compelled Provincial Govern-  
*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.* ments to be divided into two halves, the reserved and the transferred, the members of Provincial Governments to be on one side, Members of the Executive Council appointed by the Secretary of State, and on the other Ministers appointed by the Governor, one set of them responsible to one authority, the other set being responsible to another authority—men that know no common policy, with no loyalty to common principles being herded together as Members of one Government and being exposed to the fire of criticism from opposite directions.

We make no such recommendation with regard to the constitution of the Central Government. We only say that the Governor-General, not the Governor-General in Council, should remain responsible to the Secretary of State for the administration of those two subjects—foreign and political and military—for a transitory period, that the Government of India as distinguished from the Viceroy and Governor-General should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of civil administration just as Dominion Governments and his Majesty's Government in England are responsible to their respective Parliaments. Here is no Diarchy. It can be said that, although it may be no Dyarchy strictly so called, still it is very far from being perfect. That is true and if we have to be content with a system which we shall have to admit is far from being perfect, the responsibility lies upon those who have hitherto obstinately followed a military policy characterised by narrowness and selfishness and distrust and which has rendered it impossible for us to claim, and impossible for them to concede, responsibility for the military defence of the country in the immediate future. That the present position in the Central Government is highly unsatisfactory was admitted in anticipation by the distinguished authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report and has lately been admitted—it may be indirectly and by implication, but still admitted substantially and without any doubt—by no less responsible a man than our present Governor-General, Lord Irwin, in his speech at the European Association in Calcutta. A careful perusal of his Excellency's observations on the unsatisfactoriness of the present constitution of the Central Government where there is a Legislative Assembly with a substantial majority of elected members in more or less permanent opposition to the executive government without being able, however, to take the place of the executive government whom the majority may defeat day after day during the session. His Excellency's observations on this sovereign defect of the constitution, read carefully particularly as they came after the strident speech of Mr. Langford James, can leave no room for doubt in any mind. His Excellency is not much less dissatisfied than Indian reformers that things should be as they are. And from what we have known of the high character and just-mindedness of Lord Irwin, I trust we may hope that if only our representatives in the Legislative Assembly give a good account of themselves, we shall find in his Excellency a warm friend and supporter of the demand which we make for the fulfilment of our aspirations. If the majority in the Assembly will avoid the barren and futile policy of what is called indiscriminate obstruction and at the other end avoid the unintelligent and unpatriotic policy of merely walking into the government lobby, if they will apply themselves to the criticism of the subjects that go before the Assembly with knowledge, intelligence and a sense of responsibility, they will so establish the fitness of Indians for representative and responsible government that we may have a sup-

porter in our present Viceroy and we may be able to make out an irresistible case before the Statutory Commission.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

In regard to the provincial governments I have spoken more than once on this platform and elsewhere with the knowledge derived from presence inside that government for a period of 28 months, and I repeat to-day with as much confidence as I did before that it is necessary in the interests of good administration for the uplift of the people that the present constitution of provincial governments should be amended without avoidable delay. And no part of the scheme of reform which we suggest with regard to the provinces is more urgently needed than such a transformation of the position of the Governor as to make him a constitutional Governor instead of the most arbitrary being that at present he is. In a memorandum submitted to the Government of India for being placed before the Reforms Enquiry Committee the Government of the United Provinces, the present Government, stated as an unanswerable objection to certain reforms which Indian politicians asked for that if the Governor-General in Council and if Governors in Council are to be freed from their responsibility to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State, there must be no void, some other agency must exist to which they may be made responsible and as they cannot be made responsible to the Legislatures in India, therefore they must remain responsible to the British Parliament. In other words his Excellency Sir William Marris contended that neither the Governor-General nor Governors in Council should be made irresponsible. There must be some agency somewhere to which they must be accountable. May I enquire what is the agency to which the Government is accountable so far as the transferred subjects go in the appointment of Ministers and in the dismissal of them, in the conditions which he would establish for the transaction of business by Ministers in relation to himself, in relation to their colleagues on the reserved side, in relation to the secretaries of Government and the heads of departments in all these matters. The Governor paying a lip homage or observing a nominal allegiance to the letter of the Government of India Act is still capable of conducting himself in a supremely irresponsible manner without being accountable to any authority whatsoever anywhere for what he does and how he does it. (Hear, hear.) There are what are called rules of executive business which is the prerogative of the Governor to make under one of the sections of the Government of India Act. He is not bound to satisfy his own colleagues, he is not bound to get the assent of any superior authority. He can make those rules in such a manner, he can go on amending them from time to time in such a manner as to reduce his colleagues both on the reserved and on the transferred sides, but principally on the transferred side because here he is not responsible to the Government of India, to a position of impotence if it so pleases him. (Laughter.) A good Governor, constitutionally minded, with a desire to observe not merely the letter but the spirit of the Government of India Act and of the Joint Select Committee's report can act, as Governors have acted sometimes, in a most unexceptionable manner rendering it possible and even easy for Ministers to do a great deal of public good by feeling that position. But it is left entirely and absolutely to the discretion of the individual Governor to what length he will go in the assertion and exercise of arbitrary and unlimited powers, and this, I say, is a feature of the present constitution which requires radical revision at an early date and that alone can

**Self-Government.** be described as an adequate revision which will make the Governor a constitutional Governor, which will place the Governor in the same position in which Governors are in the Dominions. We do not want in the provinces any more than anywhere else a continuance of the Diarchical system, not because it cannot be worked in any conceivable circumstances—as I have already observed any system can be worked—but because it works so imperfectly, there is so much friction attending upon its work from day to day, there is so much loss of efficiency, the results are so meagre that no wise body of statesmen will be parties to an indefinite continuance of such a system.

**Mr. C. Y. Chittaman.**

Only one more point I will dwell upon in brief before I take leave of you. In the last clause of the resolution we have urged that the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies. One need not labour the proposition that responsible government is utterly incompatible with the existence in the legislatures of members whose only constituency is the Government House. (Laughter.) If you want Government to be responsible to legislatures you mean and intend that these legislatures should be representative of the people of the country, you do not mean that those legislatures should be so constructed as to enable the Government always or frequently to hold the key to be in a position to determine the result of divisions. In the Legislative Assembly an analysis of the voting in several divisions will show that where the elected members have been defeated, they have been defeated more often than not by the existence of the official and the nominated element in the Assembly, that if the Assembly only consisted of elected members they would not have been so defeated. In provincial Councils there is in the first place a solid block of official members. In the second place there are nominated non-officials. In the third place there are members elected by European constituencies. In the fourth place there are members elected by special electorates representing certain interests. In the fifth place there is the separate communal electorate. The result of these devices is that it is rarely that you can have in any Council such a combination of elected members representing one party and one policy as to produce any fear in the mind of the Governor in Council, as to produce any disquiet in the mind of Ministers, less anxious for the promotion of public good than for obtaining and retaining positions, if not of great authority at least certainly of dignity. Taking the United Provinces Legislative Council for an illustration, out of 123 members we have 18 officials and 5 nominated members. We have 2 members elected by the European Chamber of Commerce, 1 member elected by the European community. We have then 5 members nominated by the Governor, very frequently with the scrupulous care that no one of them shall stray into the opposition lobby. (Laughter.) Of the elected members 6 represent landlords and landlords' associations, 29 represent the Muslim electorate, I make no reflexion, I mean to cast no reflexion upon the general body of the Muslim members of the Council in United Provinces or of any other Council when I say that the desire that the Governor shall always include one Muslim amongst the Ministers, the desire that as often as possible the Governor shall appoint a Muslim as a Member of the Executive Council, the desire that Government shall concede to them privileges in excess of what other communities may deem to be just—a combination of these wishes and desires not in-

frequently leads them almost by instinct as it were, into the Government lobby. (Laughter.) It is no lack of patriotism, but it is these circumstances which are a peculiar feature of the present transitional constitution which are mainly responsible for this result. In these circumstances even where a general election may produce results highly satisfactory to patriotic and independent men when they sit down round a table to make an analysis of the parties or groups to which members are likely to belong, they find that in almost all conceivable circumstances, even if two of them are taken as Ministers, the Governor will be able to get them a majority. For these reasons it is essential that Legislative Councils should consist entirely of elected members. How important minorities are to be satisfied within a general system of territorial electorates, how their rights shall be duly safeguarded is a matter which has received very great consideration in the past and which will receive equal consideration in the future in any full-fledged scheme of details that may be placed before the proper authority at the appropriate time. The manner in which we have worded that clause of the resolution indicates not a desire that any injustice shall be done to any important minority, the very language of that clause shows that we have no such desire but a very strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the present system with the results that it yields to the satisfaction neither of the majority nor of the minority but to the satisfaction of the third party in power. I have no doubt whatsoever you will carry this resolution as you carried similar resolutions in the past.

I make one appeal to you and it is this. Bear in mind that the growth of Hindu-Moslem disagreements is being put forward as an invincible argument against action at an early date in the desired direction. That being so, our efforts to minimise disagreements and to promote a good understanding and mutual confidence must be in proportion to the keenness of our desire to win self-government at an early date. And if the members of our party who are neither reactionaries nor extremists, who are neither communalists nor persons who merely preach abstractions as if there were no communal interests to safeguard, who take credit, I think rightly, for commonsense in politics as in other matters, do mean what they say, do intend that they shall obtain true self-government at an early date. I trust Liberal Associations in doing that for which Rao Bahadur Kale has eloquently pleaded, in promoting the education of the electorate, will constantly bear in mind that this is one of their cardinal obligations to promote good understanding and minimise conflicts and not be parties to anything which may produce untoward results. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. G. K. Gadgil (Poona) supported the resolution in Marathi and it was carried unanimously. Mr. G. K. Gadgil.

### XIII. Council and Office-Bearers for 1927.

Sir Sivaswamy Iyer: (President): moved

Council and Office-Bearers for 1927.

(a) Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., be the Joint Honorary General Secretaries of the Federation for 1927. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer.

(b) Resolved that the Council of the Federation for 1927 be constituted as follows:

**Council and Office-Bearers for 1927.**  
**Sir Sivaswamy Iyer.** Mr. Chintamani was exceedingly anxious to be relieved of the burden of Secretaryship which he has held for so many years past. But we were all of opinion that we could not possibly spare Mr. Chintamani's services and he was willing to continue for sometime longer, provided he received help, and we have been able to persuade Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru to be the joint honorary secretary. The Secretary will now read the names of the members of the Council.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani then read out the names of the members of the Council.

( See Appendix C. )

**Meeting Place of the Next Session.**

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.**

#### XIV. Meeting Place of the Next Session.

**Mr. C. Y. Chintamani:** I move that the 10th annual session of the National Liberal Federation be held at Bombay or Allahabad as the Council may decide. The Liberals of both Bombay and Allahabad are equally willing to extend their hospitality to you to hold the next session. It is left to your Council, the composition of which you have just learnt, to decide which of the two places should have that honour and to undertake that responsibility. In either case I trust that you, brother-delegates will make it a point not only of attending the next session of the Federation, but of going there in much larger numbers and also of taking care of giving a highly creditable account of the work you have done in the interval in furthering Liberalism in the country. (Hear, hear.)

**Vote of Thanks to the President.**

**Sir Moropant Joshi.**

#### XV. Vote of Thanks to the President.

**Sir Moropant Joshi:** Brother-Delegates, I rise to express our sense of thankfulness to our worthy President for having given us wise guidance and a direction of the entire Liberal meeting of this year. I might remind my brother-delegates that it was very questionable whether any Liberal Federation should be held this year. There was a divergence of opinion and some of us were of opinion—and I am one of them—that we should have held a Nationalistic Federation instead of the Liberal Federation. We owe it entirely, however, to the energy of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur K. G. Daule (applause), that this Federation has been held, and not only held but also successfully held inasmuch as we have had a President who is considered the sanest political Liberal that is living at present. (Hear, hear.) We were doubtful as to whether any Liberal, howsoever his heart may be, would give us the benefit of his wise guidance, especially at a time when Liberalism is at a discount not only in this country but even in England. We were very doubtful as to what guidance we should get if we held a Liberal Federation, but we now find that we had a President who stoutly believes in Liberalism if anybody believes in Liberalism at all, and has been able to give us that wise guidance which was very necessary finding as we do that we are very near the coming of a Statutory Commission. I, therefore, on behalf of my brother-delegates wish to thank the members of the Reception Committee who have been able to pilot us so successfully through this year's Federation and I also very cordially thank the President for having given us the benefit of his presence and of his wise guidance for the Federation of this year. (Applause.)

## Concluding Speech by the President.

Concluding Speech  
by the President.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer (President): Sir Moropant Joshi Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, Let me thank you from the bottom of my heart for the very kind words which you have said of me, just now and for the manner in which those words have been received by the delegates.

When I left Madras to attend this conference I was under a weight of anxiety as to the success of the conference, an anxiety largely due to my knowledge of the condition of the Liberal party in Madras, to my knowledge of the waning enthusiasm of our party in Madras and to the unpopularity into which it had fallen in Madras. But I must confess that after I came here I found all this weight of anxiety lifted off my mind. The conference has proved a success and it has more than fulfilled my expectations. If the conference has been a success, it is due in a large measure to the efforts of our highly respected Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle (applause), and all other members of the Reception Committee including the secretaries and vice-presidents who have taken an immense amount of trouble to make this gathering a success and to provide for our comfort and convenience, and who have extended the hospitality for which we all feel grateful to the Reception Committee. Our thanks are also due to the Director of Public Instruction and the authorities of the Normal School for allowing us the use of the premises in which the conference has been held. I have also to thank the District Council staff and Messrs. R. V. Dharmadhikari, Shamrao Raoji Khanzode, Narayana-rao Kanhere and the Central Bank staff; Mr. Nadhasing and Mr. Budhasingh; Mr. R. R. Gadgil, Chairman, Municipal Committee; Mr. D. W. Pingle, Honorary Secretary, M. C.; Mr. H. R. Tandon, Executive Engineer; Mr. F. C. Turner, C. I. E., I. C. S. Commissioner, Berar; Mr. A. L. Hoyle, I. C. S., Deputy Commissioner; Mr. Rajpal Singh, District Superintendent of Police; Mr. Gaurilal, C. I., and other gentlemen of the town who have helped in making the Federation a success. I must also not omit a reference to the volunteers (hear, hear) who have all rendered us valuable service and borne their task in a most cheerful manner.

Gentlemen, I observed at the outset of my remarks that I came to the conference with great anxiety weighing on my mind. Though I am most full of hope with regard to the future of the Liberal party, I could not but feel depressed by the large amount of unpopularity which has been incurred by our party, and by what I consider the lack of enthusiasm in the minds of many members, especially in South India. But it has been my joyful experience during my stay here to find the spirit of Liberalism burning bright in the breasts of all the delegates who have attended this conference. Questions affecting the future policy of our party have been discussed at great length in our committee meetings. And one thing that impressed me most was the unwavering faith of the delegates to this conference in the future of the Liberal party (hear, hear), and in the creed of the Liberal party. I doubt whether it would be possible to find in any other part of India a stauncher set of followers of the Liberal party. Now this experience has revived my faith and my hopes and when I go back, I shall endeavour to communicate the renewed hopes which I feel to my brethren in South India. I have never had any doubt of the future of the Liberal party. Out



**Concluding Speech of the President, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.** policy stands for commonsense and constructive work. The principles for which it stands are bound to win in the end. For a considerable time past the country has been labouring under the tyranny of Swarajist delusions. I do not mean delusions about Swaraj but the delusions created by the Swarajist party and if the country now shows signs of returning wisdom it is due in no small measure to the past activities of the Liberal party both in the Councils and outside the Councils and no small share of the credit in achieving the result is due to the Maharashtra community. They have led a successful revolt against this domination of the Swarajist party and all honour to them. I have a great admiration for the Maharashtra community for its steadiness of purpose and for its steadiness of effort. In the course of my address I remarked that we had certain virtues to learn from Englishmen—a statement which on further consideration I thought was expressed in two unqualified terms. So far as the Maharashtra community is concerned it possesses those virtues also and they have nothing to learn from Englishmen (hear, hear.) You have the virtue of perseverance, and you have the virtue of persistent, continued effort. Now my mind carries me back to the glorious days of Maharashtra ascendancy when the Maharashtra led the revolt against the domination of the Mughals and shattered it to pieces. It may perhaps sound slightly inappropriate to compare the movement which we are now leading against the Swarajist domination, it may perhaps be inappropriate to compare this with your achievement of more than a century ago. But the same determination, the same character, the same spirit which animated your ancestors animates you still. And I hope that the Maharashtra community will be in the vanguard of the battle against the ascendancy of the Swarajist party and will succeed in securing a triumph for the principles of the Liberal party to which we are all pledged.

One of the most important resolutions which have been passed in the course of this conference is the one which was moved by our friend, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, which impressed on us the necessity for carrying on the work of educating the electorate. That, to my mind, is the most important work that lies before the Liberal party. It is a work which necessarily requires not merely organization but large funds. I hope that the Maharashtra community will set an example to the other provinces in this respect and that by their organization and the efficiency with which they run their organization, they will convince the Liberal party in all other parts of India that the only thing that is requisite to the success of our party is organization and funds. It may be asked where are we to collect the funds from? Unfortunately in this world public spirit and wealth do not always go together. Men who have public spirit are wanting in wealth and men who have wealth are often wanting in public spirit. And in the case of some of the poorer provinces—I do not know whether your province can be called a poor province at all—there may be a serious question as to where the funds could be got from. Here again, I have no doubt that in this province and in the Deccan you will have no difficulty in collecting the funds. What is wanted is to induce the people to believe in your sincerity of purpose and in the useful character of the work which you are doing for the country.

When I turn to the achievements of the Deccan, I wonder how Poona has been able to accomplish so much and carry on movements of great utility starting in the beginning with very limited resources or none. When I consider the achievements of the Deccan Education

Society—the Fergusson College—the Seva Sadan with which my friend Mr. Devadhar is associated and the Women's University of Prof. Karve, I am compelled to admire the tenacity of purpose and the zeal which have enabled the Maharashtra community to achieve such splendid successes. I have referred to them by way of illustration of the fact that given the necessary zeal and energy, it will not be impossible to persuade the public to help us with funds for the purpose of carrying on our work. One thing which is needed among others to persuade them is to show that our party works not merely for distant political objects, the nature of which they are unable to perceive or appreciate. We must show that we are interested in all the various concerns which vitally affect us. If we carry our work into the rural areas and among the masses and if we show that we take a genuine interest in everything that concerns their welfare and that the aim of our party is not confined to politics in a narrow sense but that our conception of politics and of Liberalism includes not merely attempts to influence the Legislature to pass certain measures or to induce the Government to pass certain orders but that it includes also a well-conceived and well-directed programme of social work, I have very little doubt that we shall be able to carry the masses with us. The want of success which has so far attended our efforts is to a large extent attributable to our failure to carry our work to the various parts of the country and among the people at large. Like the Congress of old we have more or less confined our work to the educated classes in the towns. Here again I do not wish to make a too sweeping statement or accuse other provinces of the apathy which unfortunately prevails in Madras. I know, for instance, that my friend Mr. Chintamani and my friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru carried on a propaganda work among the electorate in the United Provinces at one time. Whether it is being kept up now or not, I do not know. But that is the kind of work that is needed—propaganda work in all directions, propaganda work in everything that is connected with the social, economic and the political welfare of the people. Of course, it may be open to the criticism that to enlarge the objects of our party in that way may be inconsistent with its character as a political organisation and may require far larger resources than we can command. Our resources are unfortunately too exiguous even for our present political agitation and if we add to our programme enormously including work in various directions, our resources will have to be also enormously expanded. But if we show that we are really interested in the various spheres of social welfare and if we do carry on honest and earnest work along various lines, I hope that the necessary funds will be forthcoming. Take, for instance, the Servants of India Society. Perhaps some of my friends may think that they have not been able to secure as much funds as they would like to have, but still they carry on work not merely in the political sphere but in the social sphere also, and my friend Mr. Devadhar has never had any difficulty in getting all the money he requires. In fact, I only wish that we had several more Devadhars in the country and in all the provinces. I believe, therefore, that this question of want of funds—serious, as it is, I have no desire to minimize it—is not an insurmountable difficulty in our way. I hope that the Liberal Party not merely here but all over the country will rise to the needs of the situation and keep their faith undimmed and endeavour to carry on work in all parts of the country and bring home to the people the need for action on the lines and in accordance with

Concluding Speech  
of the President.  
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Concluding Speech of the President. Sir P. S. Swamy Aiyer. the principles for which the Liberal Party stands. The one thing that is wanted is that we should work with hope and with faith and with patience, virtues, which are absolutely necessary if work on any considerable scale is to be carried out.

I once more tender my hearty thanks to Rao Bahadur Damle and the Reception Committee for all the attentions we have received during our stay here. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The ninth session of the Liberal Federation then terminated amidst enthusiastic scenes, the President and Mr. Chintamani being garlanded amidst cheers.

## Appendix A.

### List of Members of the Reception Committee.

<b>BERAR.</b>	Mr. P. G. Deshpande of Dahihande
<b>Amraoti.</b>	Taluq Akot, Dist. Akola.
Sir M. V. Joshi, C. I. E.	Mr. B. R. Gadgil
Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma	Mr. Baban Mesaji Patil of Batwadi
Rao Bahadur R. R. Dole	Mr. N. K. Paranjpye, of Basim District.
Rao Bahadur Seth Ganeshdas	Thakur Shankarsing Mausabdar of Patur
Rao Bahadur W. R. Bhat	of Shaekh Baboo
Rao Saheb R. M. Khare	<b>Khangaon.</b>
Mr. K. V. Jamkhindikar	Rao Bahadur Kesharao Janrao Deshmukh
Mr. B. G. Kane	Rao Bahadur G. R. Kothare,
Mr. Janrao Bajirao Deshmukh	Mr. Sukhdeo Narayan Patil of Shegaon
<b>Akola.</b>	Dr. Kharkar
Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagwat	<b>Yeotmal.</b>
Rao Bahadur K. (†) Damle, C. I. E.	Rao Bahadur R. G. Munde
Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani	Mr. Bhalchandra
Rao Saheb Daulatrao Zabaji Deshmukh of	Mr. C. G. Bhanu
Dongargaon	Mr. V. T. Deshpande
Rao Saheb V. G. Kulkarni of Gaigaon T.	Mr. Khanderao Bajirao of Phulsawangee
Rao Saheb G. J. Bhalerao of Karanja D.	Taluk Pused
Mr. S. D. Cama	Madharao Nagthane of Pused
Mr. V. K. Rajwade	Mr. Jaiwantrao
Mr. N. S. Patil	Dr. D. G. Kurundwadkar
Mr. V. G. Tambe, Bar-at-Law	<b>CENTRAL PROVINCES.</b>
Mr. R. S. Satarkar	<b>Nagpur.</b>
Mr. T. R. Gadre	Sir S. M. Chitnavis
Mr. R. K. Thombre	Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar
Mr. T. S. Dighe	Rao Bahadur R. R. Jaywant
Mr. T. M. Gupte	Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambawale
Mr. A. S. Athalye	Mr. D. T. Mangulmurtee
Mr. S. A. Pande	Mr. Shridharao Gokhale
Mr. R. N. Garde	Mr. Kashinath Shriram Jathar, C. I. E. of
Mr. M. B. Mahajan	Akola, now staying in Poona.
Mr. Shrikrishna Amrut Deshpande of Ad-	Mr. J. R. Gharpure, of Poona.
gaon, Taluka Akot.	

## Appendix B.

### List of Delegates.

<b>BERAR.</b>	Mr. V. K. Rajwade, M. A. LL. B.
<b>Amraoti.</b>	Mr. N. S. Patil, M. L. O., Pleader
Sir M. V. Joshi, C. I. E.	Mr. V. G. Tambe, Bar-at-Law
Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma	Mr. R. S. Satarkar, B. A. LL. B.
Rao Bahadur R. R. Dole	Mr. T. R. Gadre, B. A. LL. B.
Rao Bahadur W. R. Bhat	Mr. R. K. Thombare, B. A. LL. B.
Rao Bahadur Seth Ganeshdas	Mr. T. S. Dighe, B. A. LL. B.
Rao Saheb R. M. Khare	Mr. T. M. Gupte, B. A. LL. B.
Mr. K. V. Jamkhindikar	Mr. A. S. Athalye, B. A. LL. B.
Mr. B. G. Kane	Mr. R. N. Garde, B. A. LL. B.
Mr. Janrao Bajirao Deshmukh	Mr. M. B. Mahajan, B. A. LL. B.
Mr. R. D. Saranjame	Mr. Shrikrishna Amrut Deshpande of
Mr. A. R. Deshpande	Adgaon.
<b>Akola.</b>	Mr. S. A. Pande, M. A. LL. B.
Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagwat	Mr. P. G. Deshpande of Dahihanda, Taluka
Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C. I. E.	Akot.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani	Mr. B. R. Gadgil
Rao Saheb Daulatrao Zabaji Deshmukh of	Mr. Baban Mesaji Patil of Batwadi
Dongargaon,	Mr. N. K. Paranjpye Pleader of Basim
Rao Saheb V. G. Kulkarni of Gaigaon	Mr. Venkaesh Shrinivasa Mudholkar
Rao Saheb G. J. Bhalerao of Karanja	Mr. H. R. Pitke
Mr. S. D. Cama, B. A. LL. B.	Mr. H. R. Bhatkhande Pleader of Basim

Thakur Shankar Singh Sardar Singh Mansabdar of Patur.

**Khamgaon.**

Rao Bahadur Kesharao Janrao Deshmukh  
Rao Bahadur G. R. Kothare  
Mr. Sukhdeo Narayan Patil of Shegaon  
Mr. P. S. Kolatkar  
Dr. Kharkar

**Yeotmal.**

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundale  
Mr. Bhalchandra  
Mr. C. G. Bhamu  
Mr. V. T. Deshpande  
Mr. Khanderao Bajirao of Phulsawangee  
Mr. Madhwarao Nagthane of Pusad  
Mr. Jaiwantrao  
Dr. Kurundwadkar

**CENTRAL PROVINCES.**

**Nagpur.**

Sir S. M. Chitnavis  
Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar  
Rao Bahadur R. R. Jayawant  
Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambawale  
Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit  
Mr. Shridharrao Gokhale  
Mr. D. T. Mangulmurtee  
Mr. R. T. Deshpande, Proprietor of Saraswati Press.  
Mr. Govind Bhaskar Oka of Jubbulpore

**Bombay Presidency.**

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K. C. I. E., Advocate, High Court, Bombay, Napean Sea Road, Malbar Hill, Bombay.  
Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M. A. LL. B. 73, Churni Road, Bombay No. 4.  
Mr. Vaikunt Rangaji Bhende, Journalist, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay, No. 1.  
Mr. Mangesh Furushottam Warty, Assis. Secretary Indian National Party, Petit Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay, No. 1.  
Mr. Chintaman Sakharum Deole, B. A. Member Servants of India Society, Bombay.  
Mr. G. K. Deodhar, Member "Servants of India Society", Bombay  
Mr. N. M. Joshi, B. A. Member "Servants of India Society", Bombay.  
Mr. J. R. Gharpure, B. A. LL. B. Angre Wadi Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.  
Mr. Madhao Damodar Altekar, M. A. Journalist, Haji Cassum Blocks, near French Bridge, Bombay  
Mr. Vasantao S. Ravut, Merchant, French Bridge, Bombay.  
Mr. Y. R. Vaidya, Student, "Davar's College of Commerce," 6/36 Khandkey Building Dadar, Bombay.

**Poona.**

Mr. V. B. Velankar  
Mr. K. S. Jatar, C. I. E. Pensioner, Deccan Gymkhana, P. O.

Mr. Dattatraya Vasudeo Ambekar, Member Servants of India Society  
Mr. Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, Member Servants of India Society  
Mr. Jyoti Bhushan Sen, Librarian Servants of India Society  
Mr. Vishnu Dhondo Kulkarni, Journalist, Dnyan Prakash Office  
Mrs. Shantabai Mehendale  
Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B. A. Bar-at-Law  
Mrs. Laxmibai Gadgil

**Satara.**

Mr. R. R. Kale, High Court Pleader  
Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande, Pleader

**Sangli.**

Mr. Vinayak Krishna Mainkar, B. A. LL. B. Pleader  
Dr. Narayan Vinayak Mainkar

**Belgaum.**

Mr. Moro Balwant Marathe, B. A. LL. B. Pleader

**Bengal.**

Mr. S. M. Bose, M. A., LL. B. (Cantab), Bar-at-law, 3 Federation Road, Calcutta.  
Mr. Jatindra Mohan Bose, Merchant and Talukdar, 1 Pisonath Bannerji Street, Calcutta.  
Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu, M. A. Solicitor, High Court, Temple Chambers, Calcutta.

**U. P.**

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C. Chief Editor, "The Leader," 18 George Town, Allahabad.  
Mr. Surendra Nath Verma, M. A., LL. B. Vakil, High Court, 3 Stanley Road, Allahabad.  
Mr. Pandit Hirdey Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. Member "Servants of India Society" Allahabad.  
Mr. Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari, Member Servants of India Society, 1 Katra Road, Allahabad.  
Mr. Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta, B. A., LL. B. Editor "The Leader" Allahabad.  
Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M. A., LL. B., Man Bhuvan, Fatehpur.  
Mr. S. P. Andrew Dube, M. A. LL. B. Member "Servants of India Society, Lucknow.

**Punjab.**

Mr. Hardatta Sharma, Member "Servants of India, Society" MacLagan Road, Lahore.

**Madras (Presidency).**

Mr. K. Parthasarathy Aiyangar, Teacher. Rojapethah, Madras.  
Rao Bahadur Doctor C. B. Ramarao, Banglore, City.

**Bihar & Orissa.**

Mr. Laxminarayan Sahu, M. A. Servants of India Society, Cuttack.