

REPORT
OF THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION
OF INDIA

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

HELD AT
THE GOKHALE HALL, MADRAS

on the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1933.



PR. SIDE
J. N. BASU, ESQ.

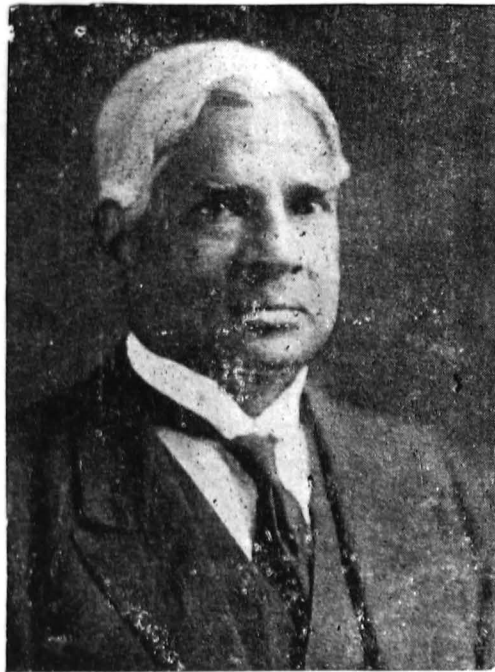
CONTENTS:

	Page
Text of Resolutions Passed	(i)
Report of the Reception Committee	1
Welcome Address by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee	7
Election of the President :—	
Sir P. S. Sivasawmy Iyer	8
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	8
„ D. G. Dalvi	9
Rao Bahadur R. J. Mundle... ..	9
Moulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C.	9
Presidential Address by Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C.	9
Messages :—Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao	22
Resolutions :—	
I. Recent Losses	23
II. Swadeshi	23
III. Terrorism	23
IV. Repression and Conciliation	24
V. Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions	24
VI. Temperance	24
VII. Indians Overseas :	
Mr. P. Kodanda Rao	24
Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer	27
VIII. Untouchability :	
Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar	28
Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao	31
Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer	32
Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer	34
Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri	35
Mr. Mahboobul-Huq	36
Mr. P. Narayana Kurup	37
Rao Bahadur Ramaswami Sivan	37
Mr. T. S. Natesa Sastri	38
Sir P. S. Sivasawmy Iyer	38
IX. Princes' Protection Bill.	
Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao	40
Mr. A. V. Patwardhan	42
X. Party Organisation	45
XI. Economic Distress	45

	Page.
XII. Reserve Bank Bill	45
XIII. Reciprocity Between India and Dominions	45
XIV. Co-operation with other organisations	46
XV. The White Paper Proposals :	
Sir P. S. Sivasawmy Iyer	46
Mr. B. N. Gokhale	54
„ C. Y. Chintamani	56
„ B. B. Roy	59
„ C. M. Gandhi	61
„ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri	61
Moulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C.	64
Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastry	67
Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru	68
Mr. G. Venkatraman	76
Moulvi Mahboobul Huq	77
Mr. M. D. Shahane	77
Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan	79
Mr. P. Narayana Kurup	81
XVI. Exchange and Currency Policy :	
Mr. A. D. Shroff	83
„ Jamal Mohamad Sahib	84
„ M. D. Altekari	86
XVII. Reduction of British Troops and Report of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal :	
Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao	89
Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru	91
XVIII. Meeting Place of Next Session :—	
Mr. K. S. Jatar	95
„ A. V. Patwardhan	95
XIX. Council & General Secretaries for 1934	95
Vote of Thanks :	
Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer	96
P. S. Sivasawmy Iyer	97
President's Concluding Speech	97
Appendices :—	
A. List of Reception Committee Members	100
B. List of Delegates	103
C. Council and Office-bearers for 1934	107

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

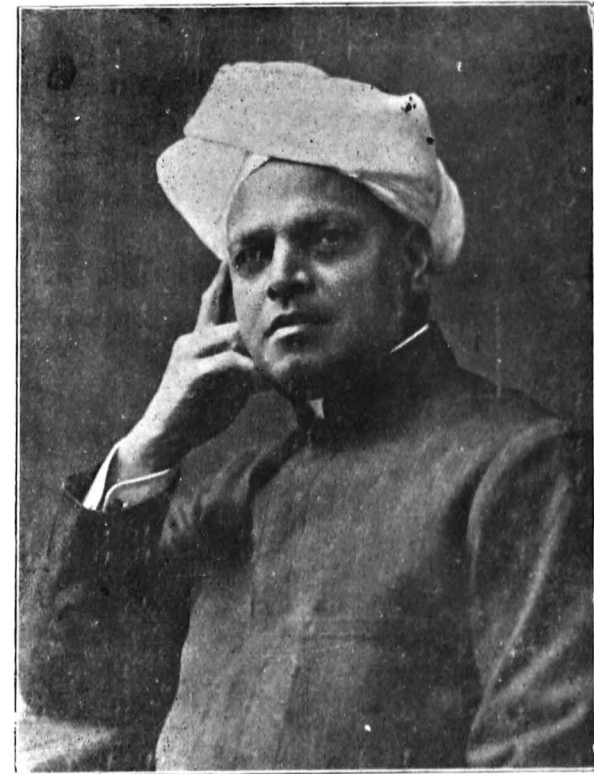
FIFTEENTH SESSION MADRAS, DECEMBER 1933.



Vice Chairman of the Reception Committee
Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer,
K. C. I. E., C. S. I., L. L. D.



President
J. N. BASU Esq.,
M. A., B. L., M. L. C. CALCUTTA.



Chairman of the Reception Committee
Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,
P. C., C. H., L. L. D.

Full text of the resolutions passed at the session.

I. RECENT LOSSES.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound sense of the great loss suffered by the country in the death of Mrs. Besant who devoted her wonderful gifts and energies to the service of India and humanity and fought for popular rights and liberties with unsurpassed courage and tenacity of purpose.

(b) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of the loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, and Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagvat who were staunch members of the Liberal Party and of Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. V. J. Patel, and Sir Mancharjee Bhowmaggree who in their various spheres rendered distinguished services to the country.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

II. SWADESHI.

(a) The Federation again emphasizes the supreme importance of the Swadeshi movement, and exhorts the people to support national enterprises in the field of Banking, Insurance and Shipping, and to prefer, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry to imported goods.

(b) The Federation strongly urges the Government actively to encourage and support the Swadeshi Movement in every possible manner.

(c) The Federation urges the Government of India not to allow Indian interests to be subordinated to those of Lancashire or Japan in the negotiations now going on between them and the representatives of those countries.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

III. TERRORISM.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India views with abhorrence terrorist activities wherever they exist and earnestly appeals to all classes to do everything in their power to check and prevent them as they are repugnant to all notions of humanity as well as injurious to the best interests of the country.

(b) The Federation expresses its sympathy with the bereaved relations of the victims of terrorist outrages.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

IV. REPRESSION AND CONCILIATION.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong protest against the Government's repressive policy which by its excessive and often uncalled for harshness has been adding to discontent in the country. The Federation impresses on the Government the urgent need for the repeal of repressive measures and for the easing of the tense political situation by the adoption of a conciliatory policy.

(ii)

(b) The Federation at the same time appeals to all who advocate or take part in the Civil Disobedience movement to abandon the movement and help in the creation of a peaceful atmosphere in the best interests of the country.

*Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.*

V. SEPRATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

The Federation once more strongly condemns the combination of Judicial and Executive functions and urges the Government to separate the same and place the Judiciary under the control of the High Courts in the different Provinces. In case the above policy is not adopted by the Government the Federation requests its council to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the acceptance of the policy and report the same to the next session of the Federation.

*Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.*

VI. TEMPERANCE.

The National Liberal Federation of India urges on the Central and Provincial Governments in India the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy of Temperance reform and calls upon the people to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in favour of total abstinence.

*Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.*

VII. INDIANS OVERSEAS.

(a) This Federation strongly condemns the demands which the European settlers of Kenya, encouraged by the discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and their representatives, have put forward for acquiring control over the Government of Kenya. It urges that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Governments should not be departed from and that no further constitutional power be transferred to the European settlers either by the institution of a Finance Committee with an unofficial European majority as proposed by them, or in any other way.

(b) The Federation presses the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indians in Kenya with special care in present circumstances. It further draws their attention to the complaint of the East African Indians that with the ostensible object of improving African agriculture, monopolies are being granted to Europeans, especially in Uganda and Tanganyika, for the purchase of special agricultural products from the Africans and that Indians are consequently being driven out of a business in which they were pioneers and have been engaged for generations past. The Federation urges the the Government of India to take immediate steps to investigate and obtain redress for this grievance.

(c) The Federation extends its wholehearted support to the Indians of South Africa in their just fight for their elementary rights and assures them that India will always be behind them in their struggle to uphold the honour of the Motherland and protect the interests of Indian nationals.

Proposed by :—Mr. P. Kodanda Rao

Seconded by :—Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar

Carried unanimously.

VIII. UNTOUCHABILITY.

The National Liberal Federation of India accords its fullest support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the classes concerned and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for its success.

Proposed by :—Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar

Seconded by :—Rao Bahadur C. B. Rama Rao

Discussed by :—Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghva Iyer,
Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer,
„ Narayana Kurup,
„ T. R. Venkatarma Sastri,
„ Mahbub-ul-Huq,
„ T. S. Natesa Sastri
Rao Bahadur Ramaswami Sivan and
Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer

Carried by a large majority.

IX. PRINCES' PROTECTION BILL.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic disapproval of the Princes' Protection Bill now before the Legislature as it makes further inroads on the freedom of the Press.

Proposed by :—Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao

Seconded by :—Mr. A. V. Patwardhan

Carried unanimously.

X. PARTY ORGANISATION.

In view of the impending changes in the constitution of the country and the introduction of the democratic principle the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that there is urgent need for the formation of a country wide Liberal political organisation, and that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to so extend and establish its organisations as to ensure the progress of the country on sound and healthy national lines and calls upon all members and associations belonging to this school of thought to work for the collection of the necessary funds and securing members and workers necessary for the building up of the Liberal Party.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

XI. ECONOMIC DISTRESS.

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to impress upon the Government of India and all provincial Governments the imperative necessity of the adoption of measures for the relief of the acute economic distress among the people, including an appreciable reduction of the burden of taxation, and for planned economic development.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

XII. RESERVE BANK BILL.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while welcoming the prospect of early establishment of a Reserve Bank, does not approve of the control by the Governor-General at his discretion of the Bank's policy and working, as thereby the domination of Whitehall and the city of London over India's monetary policy will be perpetuated.

(iv)

(b) The Federation further deems it necessary that the Indian Legislature should at all times be free to so amend the Reserve Bank Act as may be found necessary.

Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.

XIII. RECIPROCITY BETWEEN INDIA AND DOMINIONS.

The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its surprise that the Secretary of State for India should have declared himself against India being allowed the right of retaliation against Dominions which may discriminate against her and which may deny to Indian nationals the elementary rights of citizenship. In the opinion of the Federation the possession of such right by the Government and the Legislature of India is indispensable and a Constitution Act which withholds the right can never be acceptable to the people of this country.

Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.

XIV. CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

The Federation authorises its council to take necessary and feasible steps from time to time in co-operation with other organisations and parties to devise plans for joint work after the presentation to Parliament of the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the publication of the Indian Constitution Bill in its final form.

Put from the Chair.
Carried unanimously.

XV. THE WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The National Liberal Federation of India, reiterating its sense of profound disappointment at the White Paper proposals on Indian Constitutional Reform, records its emphatic opinion that the elucidation of the White Paper by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee and the supplemental proposals made in the course of his evidence before that Committee have strengthened among the people of India the conviction that the proposals are not calculated to establish any real responsible Government in India either in the Provinces or in the Centre and that the Secretary of State's declaration in the House of Commons that Dominion Status is neither the next stage nor the next but one violates the spirit of solemn pledges given with the sanction of the British Cabinet and has shaken their faith in the intentions of the British Parliament and people.

DOMINION STATUS.

2. The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian National aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

CONTROL FROM ENGLAND.

3. (a) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Governments in India by His Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.

(v)

(b) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures during the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

(c) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purpose.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

4. The Constitution Act should vest in the federal legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

ALL-INDIA FEDERATION.

5. (a) The Federation is strongly in favour of All-India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and the Indian States and on lines consistent with responsible government, but notes with regret that the proposals made in the White Paper and elaborated recently by the Secretary of State, as conditions precedent to the inauguration of the Federation not only make for undue delay but are neither necessary nor justified.

(b) In the opinion of the Federation it is unnecessary and inexpedient to create a separate statutory authority called the 'Viceroy'; and in any case the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should be exercised by the Government of India and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.

(c) The Federation is emphatically of opinion that none of its constituent units should have the right of subsequent secession.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

6. The Federation is strongly of opinion that a declaration of fundamental rights of Citizenship applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR BRITISH INDIA.

7. If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialise or be unduly delayed, there should be a responsible central Government for British India concurrently with "provincial autonomy," without prejudice to the effectuation of All-India Federation at the earliest possible date thereafter.

DEFENCE.

8. (a) While the Federation is prepared to accept the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of Defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they contemplate the retention of complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It views with the gravest misgiving and apprehension the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the Army to Indian control at the end of a limited period.

(b) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly urges that recruitment to the Indian Army, instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes, should be thrown open to all communities and provinces.

(c) The Federation urges that His Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the army within a period of twenty years. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers.

(d) The amount of expenditure on defence should be fixed every five years by a committee consisting of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over that amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event of hostilities on the frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it.

(e) During the period of transition the Defence Councillor should be a non-official Indian, preferably an elected member of the Federal Legislature, or one of the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal legislature.

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

9. (a) The Federation, concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Ministers, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which, while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of impotence in the disposal of the bulk of it.

(b) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed financial safeguards are both unnecessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion Governments and Legislatures.

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION.

10. (a) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British Nationals doing or seeking to do business in or with India, cannot support the proposals against "Commercial discrimination" as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may, in their judgment be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development.

(b) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General, to override the will of the legislature or the Government in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of "external relations."

STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY.

11. The Federation objects to the creation of a statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the tax-payer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.

THE SERVICES.

12. (a) The Federation considers the proposals of the White Paper regarding the Services as wholly reactionary and objectionable and regards the Secretary of State's further commentary thereon, in the course of his evidence as placing the future Provincial and Central Governments in an even worse position than the present dyarchic Ministries and rendering them practically impotent to maintain control and regulation of Services in a manner that would enable them to discharge their responsibilities to the Legislature for the carrying out of their policies and the efficiency of the departments under their administration in any satisfactory manner. The Federation, while quite willing to protect the rights of the present members of the Services, is wholly against any proposals which would give them inducements by way of enlarging the scope and character of the compensation for "existing and accruing rights" and also of making such rights available for those recruited subsequent to the passing of the Constitution Act.

(b) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment, control, and the determination of the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safe-guarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents; and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service.

(c) No member of any permanent service shall be appointed as Governor of an Indian Province.

POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GOVERNORS.

13. The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of Government, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of opinion that these proposals if carried into effect will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autocrats than at present.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

14. While the Federation approves of a bi-cameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that :—

(i) The strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper ;

(ii) There should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General ;

(iii) All the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the States as a transitory measure for a fixed period ;

(iv) The responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both houses assembled in joint session ;

(v) A two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of motions of no confidence ;

(viii)

~~(vi)~~ The representatives of the States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects;

(vii) The Council of State should have no right of considering demands for grants or money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited like that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911;

(viii) The Governor-General should not have the power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both houses of legislature; and

(ix) The Governor-General should not have the power of certifying the whole or part of a grant refused by the Assembly.

(x) This Federation is of opinion that the appointment of a Financial Adviser if any should vest in the Federal Government.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

15. The Federation reiterates the resolutions passed at its previous sessions against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the continued maintenance and strongly protests against the proposed extension of such electorates. The Federation re-affirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will be best secured by reservation of seats—with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE AND COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

16. (a) The Federation protests against the modification for the worse made by His Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.

(b) And it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organizations to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.

JUDICATURE.

17. The Federation is of opinion,

(a) That the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and

(b) That provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal of British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself.

(c) The Provincial High Court should be under the control of the Federal Government.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: TRANSITORY POWERS.

18. The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the Constitution of the Central Government in the interval between the introduction of "provincial autonomy" and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reactionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be worse even than at present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

19. (a) The Liberal Federation objects strongly to the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of finance, legislation and administration, as they are calculated to render "provincial autonomy" a shadow of the reality.

(b) This Federation urges that there should be no departure from the policy of transference to the Provincial Governments of all departments of the administration.

NEW PROVINCES.

20. The Federation is strongly opposed to the constitution of new Provinces except where they can support themselves.

CONCLUSION.

21. In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the ~~White Paper~~ proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, further aggravate the present unhappy conditions, alienate Indian opinion and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the lines of the Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will alone meet India's requirements and will satisfy the National self-respect of India.

Proposed by :—Sir P. S. Siwaswami Iyer

Seconded by :—Mr. B. N. Gokhale

Supported by :—Mr. C. Y. Chintamani,

„ B. B. Roy,

„ C. M. Gandhi,

„ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri,

Moulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C.,

Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastry,

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru

Mr. G. Venkataraman,

Moulvi Mahboobul Huq,

Mr. M. D. Shahane,

Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan and

Mr. P. Narayana Kurup.

XVI. EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY POLICY.

The Federation condemns the present currency and exchange policy of Government which, in its opinion, has largely accentuated the economic distress in the country and accords its fullest support to the Country-wide demand for an immediate review of the Rupee Sterling ratio and the adoption of prompt measures to meet the present situation entirely in the interest of India.

Proposed by :—Mr. A. D. Shroff

Seconded by :—Mr. Jamal Mohamad Sahib

Supported by :—Mr. M. D. Altekar

Carried unanimously.

XVII. REDUCTION OF BRITISH TROOPS AND REPORT OF THE
INDIAN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE TRIBUNAL.

(a) The Liberal Federation enters its emphatic protest against the decision of the British Government not to reduce the number of British troops in India, and strongly urges that immediate steps should be taken to nationalise the army in India within a fixed period of time.

(b) The Federation, while recognising that the recommendations of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal will lead to some reduction in the capitation charges, regards these charges as utterly unjust and objects on principle to their continuance.

(c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that relief should be given to Indian revenues not by means of Imperial sub-ventions but in the following ways :—

1. The size of the Indian army should be strictly determined by Indian needs;

2. The number of British soldiers should be progressively reduced with a view to their speedy elimination;

3. Capitation charges, which India should never have been required to pay, should be abolished.

Proposed by :—Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao

Seconded by :—Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru

Carried unanimously.

XVIII. MEETING PLACE OF NEXT SESSION.

Resolved that the Sixteenth Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Poona during the Christmas week of 1934.

Proposed by :—Rao Bahadur K. S. Jatar

Seconded by :—Mr. A. V. Patwardhan

Carried unanimously.

XIX. COUNCIL AND GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1934.

(a) That the following gentlemen be the Vice-Presidents for 1934 :—Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Messrs. C. Y. Chintamani, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry and R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Moropant Joshi, Sir Pheroze Sethna and Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

(b) The following will be the Joint Secretaries of the Federation :—Messrs. S. M. Bose, Nibaran Chandra Roy, T. R. Venkatrama Sastry and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

(c) Resolved that during the year 1934 the council of the Federation do consist of undermentioned members.

(See Appendix C.)

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

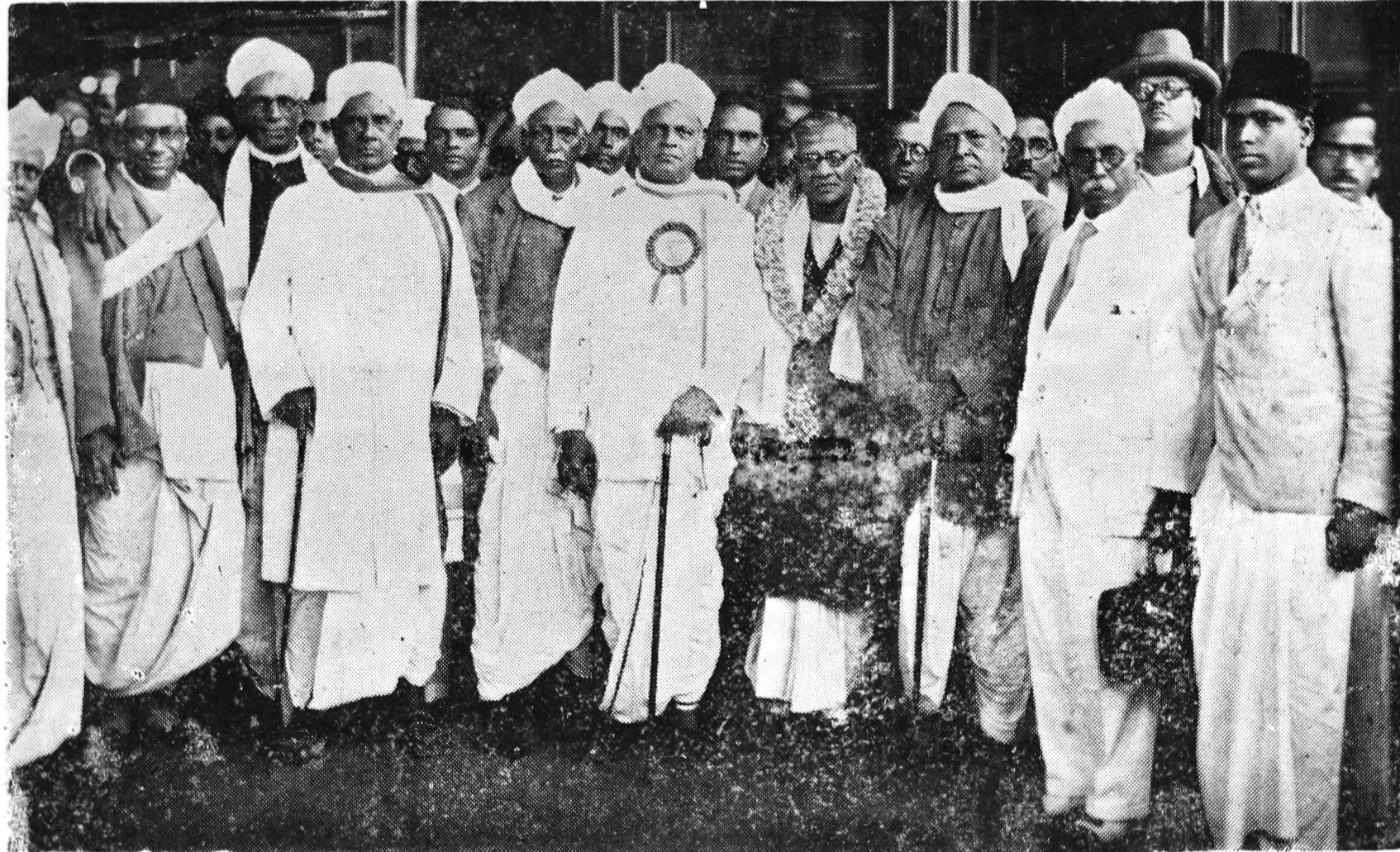
XX. VOTE OF THANKS.

Proposed by :—Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer

Seconded by :—Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer

Carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

Reception to the President elect of the Fifteenth Session of The National Liberal Federation of India,
J. N. BASU. ESQ., M.A., B.L. M.L.C. AT THE CENTRAL STATION.



Left to right :—Messrs. E. Vinayaka Rao, (*Secretary, R.C.*) C. Y. Chintamani, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, (*General Secretary, R.C.*) Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, (*Vice-Chairman R. C.*) Mr. P. Narayan Kurup, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, (*Chairman R. C.*) Mr. Manian Natesan, (*Asst. Secretary, R. C.*) Mr. J. N. Basu, *President elect.* Dewan Bahadur N. Pattabhi Rama Rao and Mr. M. Kulandaivelu Mudaliar, (*Treasurer, R.C.*)—By the courtesy of the "HINDU"

The National Liberal Federation of India

XV ANNUAL SESSION

held at

GOKHALE HALL, G. T., MADRAS

(on 26th, 27th and 28th December 1933)

REPORT OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

At the Calcutta Session of the XIV National Liberal Federation of India in April 1933, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao invited the XV Session to Madras. On 31st August 1933, the Madras Liberal League convened a meeting in the premises of the Servants of India Society, Royapettah, to form a Reception Committee in connection with the holding of the XV Session of the Federation in the last week of December 1933, when the following Office Bearers were elected :

RECEPTION COMMITTEE :

Chairman :

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., L.L.D.

Vice-Chairman :

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., L.L.D.

Secretaries :

G. A. Natesan Esq., B.A.

T. R. Venkatarama Sastri Esq., B.A., B.L., C.I.E.,

E. Vinayaka Rao Esq., B.A., B.L., Advocate.

N. Ranganatham Esq., B.A.,

Treasurer :

M. Kolanthavelu Mudaliar.

Assistant Secretaries :

S. R. Venkataraman Esq., B.A., B.L., Member, Servants of India Society.

Manian Natesan Esq., Asst. Editor, "Indian Review".

(Mr. G. A. Natesan having joined the Tariff Board as a Member, could not serve as one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee.)

The following resolutions were also passed :

1. "that the gentlemen present here and those that will join the Liberal Party, shall on payment of the prescribed fee of Rs. 5/- (Rupees Five only) be the Reception Committee of the XV Session of the National Liberal Federation that will meet in Madras in December 1933;
2. "that steps be taken to get suggestions from the various Liberal Organizations in the Country for the nominations for the Presidency of the Federation's Session at Madras."

Accordingly the Reception Committee addressed the following organizations:

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

In accordance with the recommendations made by the affiliated Liberal Organizations in regard to the Presidentship of the Federation Mr. Jatindranath Basu was elected President of the Session.

After consulting the President-elect, it was decided to hold the Session of the Federation on the 26th, 27th and 28th of December 1933, at the Gokhale Hall, G. T., Madras.

The Reception Committee met frequently till the Session of the Federation to transact routine business. At the meeting held on the 12th December 1933 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer in the Chair, the following Committees were appointed:

i. Hall arrangement

Mr. M. Kolanthavelu Mudaliar and
Mr. Manian Natesan

ii. Accommodation

Mr. S. R. Venkataraman,
Mr. N. Ranganatham and
Mr. M. N. Srinivasan

iii. Subjects Committee work

Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao and
Mr. Alladi Ramaswami

iv. Propaganda

Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao and
Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan

The various Liberal Organizations in the country were circularised soliciting information on the probable number of delegates likely to attend the Federation and intimating the boarding charges etc., in the hotels (Indian and European style).

A small volunteer corps of 25 was raised consisting of College Students and other youngmen. They presented themselves at the Servants of India Society, Royapettah, and were enrolled as volunteers. Mr. T. K. Rajasekharan, M. A., Lecturer, Christian College, was appointed Captain. Messrs. S. R. Venkataraman, B. A., B. L., Member, Servants of India Society, K. V. Venkataraman, B. A., and Alladi Ramaswami, B. A., B. L., were elected Vice-Captains.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee issued an appeal soon after the formation of the Committee drawing the attention of Liberal Politicians in the Country to the importance of the Session. He said :—

“ You are no doubt aware that the 15th Session of the Indian National Liberal Federation will meet in Christmas week at Madras and that a Reception Committee has been constituted to make arrangements for the meeting. I am addressing you on behalf of the Reception Committee to request you to arrange to be present at the Session, so that not only the importance and the representative nature of the gathering may be assured by the presence of a tried and valued publicist of your standing but the deliberations may benefit by your participation therein. I need hardly stress the importance of the Session to which I am inviting you most earnestly. Our country's political future is being decided at Westminster. In the present state of our public life and the deep and regettable communal strife that is in evidence, it is incumbent on the Liberal Party in India to pronounce their considered judgement on the evidence that is being let in before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and to assess the the tendencies and divisions in the country and find means to co-ordinate and harmonise them, if possible. Owing to causes which it is unprofitable to canvass, political activity in the country is at a low ebb, and it is all the more our duty to bestir ourselves and infuse life into all sections of the people as far as it is in our power to do so. The Indian National Liberal Federation is the only constitutional political organisation based on non-communal lines functioning at present, and its pronouncements on the present situation are necessary, as they are not unlikely to receive consideration at the hands not only of the authorities but of the various political bodies in the country. Believing as we do that the only solution to the complex problems of India—political, economic and social—is the bold and unflinching application of liberal principles, and, in the unhappy knowledge that, in the present juncture of our country's history, both reactionary activities and communal interests are active in their deadly propaganda, it is incumbent on us who profess liberal principles to forgather and place on record our considered judgement on the proposals of the White Paper and the evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and find out ways and means to collaborate with other progressive political bodies to focuss advanced Indian public opinion on the present situation.

I invite you with all heartiness to this important gathering and I trust you will kindly and without fail respond to it.”

This was followed by another circular issued by the Reception committee. It is reproduced below :

What is Liberalism ?

Liberalism is more an attitude of mind than a party faith. “ Liberalism,” as defined by Prof. Harold Laski, “ is the expression less of a creed than of temperament. It implies a passion for liberty, and that the passion may be

compelling, it requires a power to be tolerant, even sceptical, about opinion and tendencies you hold to be dangerous, which is one of the rarest of human qualities.' Liberalism appreciates the profound principle of liberty as a sure and potent—if not the only factor—of human progress, but its belief in liberty does not lead it to forget the imperative need of safeguarding that other factor without which society must dissolve—law, justice and order.

Nationalism.

Nationalism which stands for the principle of freedom of a country need not necessarily imply liberalism. Indeed as professed and practised in Italy and Germany to-day, it is the enemy of what is most essential in the liberal creed. Nationalism could easily be reactionary and illiberal. This danger should be guarded against.

Indian Liberalism : the I. N. L. F.

It is in such a liberal spirit and with such a liberal outlook that the labours of Raja Ram Mohan Roy for the political and social amelioration of the country were carried on, and were again taken up and continued by workers like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozesha Mehta, W. C. Bonnerji, Budruddin Tyabji, Ananda Mohan Bose, Sayani, Pandit Ayodhyanath, Hume, Pandit Bishembaranath, Wedderburn, Mrs. Besant and Gokhale, to name only some of the illustrious dead. And it is this tradition and this policy that are now followed and enunciated by the I. N. L. F. Owing to causes which it is well-known and unnecessary to recall, the I. N. L. F. was inaugurated and its first session was held in August 1918 at Bombay with Sir Surendranath Bannerji as President, and so far, fourteen meetings have taken place at different provincial capitals in India under the presidency of Sir Surendranath Bannerji, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Ayyar, Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Moropant V. Joshi, Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Sir Pheroze Sethna and Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

I. N. L. F's. Object.

The object of the National Liberal Federation of India is the attainment by constitutional means of SWARAJ (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status) for India at the earliest possible date.

Past and Present.

The I. N. L. F. has, during the fifteen years of its existence, tried to offer constructive criticism of the proposals of the Government; has not hesitated to condemn the autocratic excesses of the authorities and their arbitrary use of power; has endeavoured to preach to the people the great need of orderly progress and of the wise and constant use of the widening opportunities for the betterment and service of the country. In its attempts for the attainment of the ideal that Indians should be masters in their own home and for the ensuring of the self-respect and well-being of our countrymen abroad, and in its labours to bring about a spirit of understanding sympathy between the rulers and the ruled during an eventful period, the Indian National Liberal Federation has a record of unwearied and consistent advocacy. Its attitude towards the Simon Commission and the proposals embodied in the White Paper are well-known.

Indian Liberalism, while it fully sympathises, as it ought to, with the special difficulties and particular aspirations of minority communities and the Depressed Classes, cannot countenance the insidious but sure and fatal poison of communalism. In fact liberalism and communalism are diametrically opposing forces.

The Future!

Having laboured during a period of unexampled stress and strife, it feels that the present time, though full of bitter disappointment, dejection and distress, is opportune for the courageous, sincere and steady application of Liberal principles.

The I. N. L. F. is an organisation wherein Indian and Briton, Hindu and Moslem, the "high caste" and the Harijan could act together in harmony and in a spirit of mutual trust and accommodation, and dedicate their energies to the service of the Motherland!

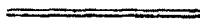
The 15th Session will be held at Madras at the Gokhale Hall on the 26th, 27th and 28th of December 1933, Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., of Calcutta presiding.

WILL YOU COME IN AND PUT YOUR HAND TO THE NATIONAL WORK?

As the Evidence of the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee and the Report of the Capitation Tribunal had been published the Session had a special significance and the occasion demanded a wise, firm, sagacious and statesmanlike guidance, and it was fortunate, we were able to secure a publicist like Mr. Jatindranath Basu as President of the Session to guide our deliberations.

A reading of the proceedings of the Federation will convince any one that the task before the Federation was well and satisfactorily performed. The response from all over the country was good, and the delegates who attended the Federation were representative of all interests and communities. The Reception Committee are thankful to the numerous members and friends of the Liberal Party for their generous assistance and co-operation. The Reception Committee's thanks are due to the Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer and Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu Garu, Sheriff of Madras, for having treated the Delegates to lunch during the days the Federation held its session in Madras.

The Reception Committee hope and trust that the resolution passed at the Federation on the need for organizing the Liberal Party and making it function efficiently will appeal to all Liberals in the Country and that they would do all in their power to do the needful.



OPENING SESSION:—Tuesday 26th December 1933.

The XV Annual Session of the Indian National Liberal Federation was held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Tuesday, the 26th of December 1933, and on the two following days. The Hall was tastefully decorated for the occasion, a special feature of the decoration being a canopy over the dais, where the leaders were seated, with festoons and a row of multi-coloured electric bulbs all round.

The Session commenced at 1 P. M. on the 26th of December with a large attendance of delegates from different provinces and a number of prominent citizens of Madras belonging to the Congress and other organizations, who were present in response to the invitation of the Reception Committee. Among those present were :

Mr. J. N. Basu,
 Mr. G. K. Devadhar,
 Sir. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer,
 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani,
 Dewan Bahadur N. Subba Rao Pantulu,
 Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao,
 The Hon. Sir. M. D. Devadoss,
 Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Aiyangar,
 Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer,
 Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu,
 Kumararaja M. A. Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad,
 The Raja of Kollengode,
 Mr. N. V. Raghvan,
 Dr. and Mrs. P. Subbarayan,
 Mr. S. Muthia Mudaliar,
 Mr. Yaqub Hasan Sait,
 Mr. N. Pattabirama Rao,
 Dr. P. Varadharajalu Naidu,
 Mr. S. Satyamurthi,
 Mr. C. Abdul Hakim,
 Mr. Jamal Muhammed Sahib,
 Rev. Bittman,
 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri,
 Mr. A. A. Hayles,
 Rao Bahadur A. S. Krishna Rao,
 Mr. T. V. Muthukrishna Iyer,
 Rao Bahadur N. Thiruvengadatha Aiyangar,
 Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao,
 Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastrulu,
 Rao Bahadur C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer,
 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,
 Mr. V. Saranathan,
 Mr. D. G. Dalvi,
 Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle,
 Moulvi Abdus Samad,
 Mr. N. Ranganadham Naidu,

Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao,
 Mr. M. Kolandaivalu Mudaliar and
 Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

Music

At the commencement of the proceedings a few good pieces of music were played by the Indian Orchestra organised by Prof. P. Sambamurthi.

Rt. Hon. Sastri's absence due to sudden illness

Owing to the unexpected and unavoidable absence of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference, by his falling ill suddenly that morning, his place was taken by Sir. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, to whom had already been assigned the duty of welcoming the delegates and proposing the President.

WELCOME ADDRESS.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the President-Elect and Delegates to the Conference and in doing so said :—

GENTLEMEN : On behalf of the Reception Committee I welcome you all most heartily to the Fifteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation. This duty of welcoming you should have been performed by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who is the Chairman of the Reception Committee. You will now learn with the greatest regret, as I have just now learnt, that he has suddenly taken ill and that he is unable to attend today's proceedings. He was relying on his own ability to deliver a speech extempore on this occasion and had not thought it worth his while to prepare a written speech. Had he done so, it would have been possible for me to read the address which he should have delivered. But unfortunately he miscalculated his physical powers and it is a matter of the greatest regret to me and to all of you that he has been prevented by his sudden illness from performing a duty which no one else can perform with the same success and distinction.

The White Paper.

This is one of the most momentous sessions of the National Liberal Federation. The deliberations of the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee have all concluded and the Reform Bill is about to be prepared, and introduced next year. All our friends who have recently returned from England tell us that though there is not very much chance of improving upon the White Paper, still representations by all parties in India may possibly induce the Imperial Government in Britain and Parliament to modify and if possible liberalise the provisions of the Bill. It is therefore necessary that we should concentrate our attention at this session upon the White Paper scheme and upon those other proposals which have been put forward during the course of the deliberations in the Round Table Conferences and in the Joint Select Committee. It is essential that we should put forward our views upon the various proposals which have been put forward and express clearly what exactly the country wants at the present moment and what we all expect. Whether our representations will be successful or not, it is not possible to say, but it is clearly our duty to put forward our views upon the scheme which has been already outlined in the White Paper and upon the other proposals put forward during the course

of the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare. Those proceedings have not altogether been of a re-assuring character. You will remember that Sir Samuel Hoare stated some time back that the new Reforms will not introduce Dominion Status as the next step or even the next step but one. These expressions of opinion by the Secretary of State for India have been of a most disappointing character. We were no doubt prepared for a certain minimum interval of transition stage, but we were not prepared for a series of instalments at the end of which alone Dominion Status can be expected. The proposals have all been of a most discouraging character, but we have to discharge our duty and let us hope that the united expression of the views of the people of India on the various Reforms may have the effect of modifying the proposals which have been so far put forward in a liberal manner.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to say anything more because I have been called upon at a moment's notice to offer these words of welcome to the delegates.

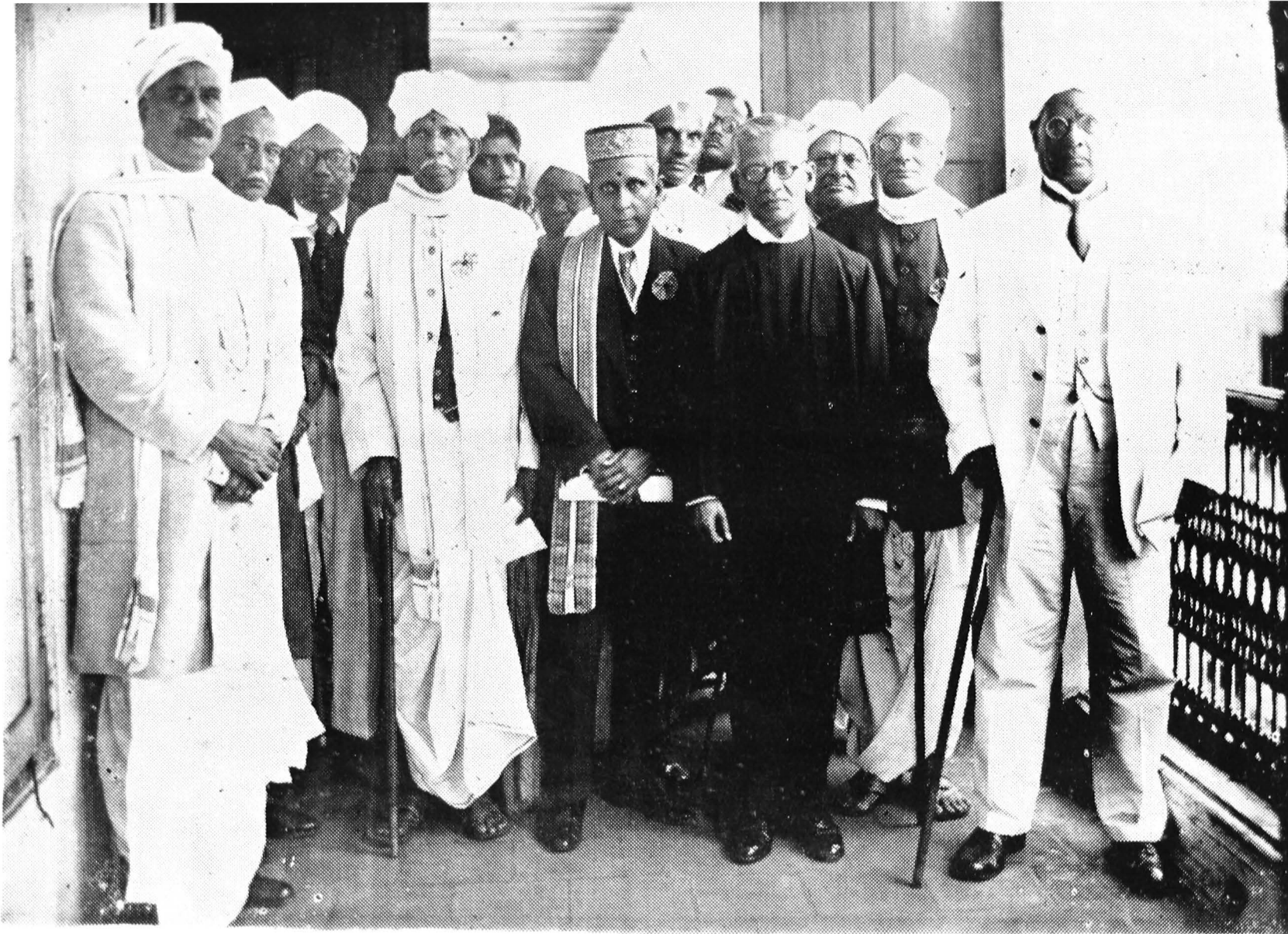
Election of President.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer proposed that Mr. Jatindranath Basu, M. L. C., be elected President of the Fifteenth Session of the Conference, and in doing so said :—

Gentlemen: I now beg to move that Mr. Jatindranath Basu be elected President of this Session of the National Liberal Federation. He is a gentleman of large political and legislative experience. He has been a member of the Legislative Council in Bengal for the last thirteen years continuously. He has been one of the staunchest members of the Liberal Party. He is the President of the Indian Association in Calcutta, which corresponds to our Liberal Party here. He has been associated with various movements and institutions in Bengal, educational and social. He has taken a great interest in matters of social service, and also in matters of education. He has been a very staunch Liberal and it is a matter of great pleasure to me to propose the name of Mr. J. N. Basu for election as President of this Session of the Conference.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) seconded the proposition and said :—

Fellow Liberals: I have great pleasure to second the proposition placed before you that Mr. Jatindranath Basu be elected President of this Session of the Liberal Federation. When last we met in this hall four years ago, we were assembled in an atmosphere of hope. The Round Table Conference had been announced and the deliberations of that session of the Federation were marked throughout by a spirit of buoyant optimism that the deliberations of that Conference would be followed by the grant to the people of India of the right of self-government. In the first two sessions of the Conference that have been since held, our President-elect has taken a notable and distinguished part. I was one of his colleagues in the first session of the Round Table Conference and I have not forgotten the ringing accents in his speech on the closing day. He described the attitude of the British as one of uniform suspicion of Indians, and at the same time the British expected Indians to feel nothing but unqualified confidence in their own intentions. Mr. Basu has had occasion to be disappointed by the result of that Conference as the rest of us were. The proof of the depth of that disappointment was that he declined the invitation extended to him last year to attend the Third Session of the Conference. Mr. Basu will be the first public man of Bengal to be the President of the Liberal Federation



Left to right:—Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu Garu, *Sheriff of Madras*. Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Messrs. C. Y. Chintamani, N. Subba Rao Pantulu, E. Vinayaka Rao, Sir Vasudeva Raja of Kollengode, Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar, Mr. J. N. Basu, *President-Elect*. Dewan Bahadur N. Pattabhi Rama Rao, Rao Bahadur C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

after Sir Surendranath Banerjee was our first President in 1919 in Bombay. Mr. Basu comes to Madras as President almost with a hereditary right because it was his distinguished uncle, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, who presided over the Madras Congress nineteen years ago. Mr. Basu is distinguished by the qualities of modesty, courtesy and hospitality as a man, as his public activities are marked by moderation, sound judgment and uniformly disinterested motives. From the platform of the Indian National Congress it was stated by Mr. Badruddin Tyabji that every public man should be accurate in his facts, temperate in expression and just in his conclusions. This triple qualification is possessed in ample measure by my friend Mr. J. N. Basu. Now that we are meeting in an atmosphere of gloom, with the knowledge that the Round Table Conference has not achieved its avowed purpose and with an assurance amounting to certainty that the coming Reforms will not improve our political status almost in any degree whatsoever, we are happy indeed in selecting as our leader, during the next twelve months, a veteran colleague who is possessed of the essential qualities which I have named already. With these words, I commend this proposition to your enthusiastic acceptance and I humbly wish that this session of the Federation, under the guidance of Mr. Basu, may be a success and most useful to the cause of our country.

Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay) supported the proposition and said :—

I rise to support the proposition that Mr. J. N. Basu be the President of this session. It is not to vindicate the choice of this Conference, because Mr. Basu is already our President-elect. He has been elected by all the constituent bodies which constitute the National Liberal Federation. Reference has already been made to his various accomplishments and virtues by the previous speakers. I emphasize only one aspect of his career. Mr. Basu has been one of the most staunch Liberals that I have known. His faith in Liberalism is unique and it is our good fortune that at a time when we are in a critical stage of political evolution of this country, we shall have at the helm of affairs a gentleman of a harmonious devotion to the cause of Liberalism. We know that he is quite familiar with the work of the Round Table Conference in the first session and he would have continued to the Third Session if he had so chosen. The point I want to emphasize is that he has been constantly following to the letter the attitude of the Liberal Party, and his attitude was not varying with the attitude of the British Government in England. With these words I support the proposition.

Rao Bahadur R. J. Mundle (C. P. Nagpur) said :—I beg to further support the proposition.

Moulvi Abdus Samad (M.L.C., Bengal) said :—I whole-heartedly support the proposition that Mr. J. N. Basu be the President of this session.

The proposition having been adopted, Mr. Jatindranath Basu, M.L.C., was garlanded and installed in the Presidential Chair amidst cheers.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The President then addressed the Conference as follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before I address you on the business before you, let me express the keen regret felt by yourselves and by me at the absence from this meeting, owing to

ill-health, of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Let us all hope that he will soon be restored to health and will be in a position to take part in our deliberations as we go on.

Let me also express, on your behalf and on my behalf, the keen regret we feel at the devastation caused by the cyclone that recently swept over parts of this Province, causing destruction of life and property. Our sympathies go forth to the sufferers from that catastrophe.

I thank you for doing me the great honour of asking me to preside over the present sessions of the National Liberal Federation of India. We have been passing through an atmosphere of gloom and uncertainty. When your call came to me I hesitated to accept a position of so much responsibility. But assured of the support of distinguished colleagues whose work in the cause of our country has been of the highest value, I decided to respond to your call and to make my contribution, however small it may be, towards the achievement of the momentous work we have in hand.

Recent Losses.

At such a time, the death of some of our tried and veteran leaders is a great loss. With some of those leaders we differed in policy and methods, and the path that they tread was different from ours. But we recognise with due regard the fervent patriotism that animated them and their earnest endeavours for the organisation of public opinion and the recognition of the political claims of our country.

Mrs. Besant's name is a household word in India. She dedicated herself with a rare devotion to the service of our motherland. Her love for our country, her reverence for our past and her faith in our future, were voiced by her with an unequalled eloquence and ardour that have left their impress on the public life of this country. The memory of Mrs. Besant's whole-hearted devotion to the cause of India will continue to be an inspiration to our people.

Mr. Syed Hasan Imam was not only a lawyer of learning and eminence. His mind stood high above the considerations of race or creed. He worked shoulder to shoulder with men of all classes and creeds in common endeavours for the uplift of our motherland.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta was one of the leaders of the Congress movement. He devoted himself selflessly to the cause that he had made his own. He worked according to his lights for the furtherance of the cause of the country, and sacrificed his health and life in treading the path that he had chosen.

Mr. V. J. Patel occupied a high place in the ranks of Congressmen. He took a prominent part in various spheres of public activity, and distinguished himself by his patriotic endeavours and his great ability in dealing with important problems.

Sir Bipin Krishna Bose was the grand old man of the Central Provinces which he chose as the venue of his life's work. He worked steadily in his quiet and unassuming way for the advance of the people of the Province of his adoption. His work extended to many spheres. He gave lavishly in the cause of advancement of education.

Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagwat was a staunch Liberal and an earnest worker. His death is a great loss not only to the Berar, but to the Liberal Party in India.

Sir Muncherjee Bhowuggree retired from active political work several years ago. But for a long time he filled a large place in public life and interested himself during his long stay in England in matters affecting India.

We have no longer in our midst the leaders, whom I have mentioned and others whose death we deplore. But we still have before us the problem of the present and of the future of our country. It is for us to go on working, so that the problem may be solved in a manner acceptable to our people.

India in a ferment.

For nearly half a century, political opinion in India has been rapidly going through various stages. The normal desire of the people to be masters of their own affairs has become insistent and has been gaining strength and volume. Events happening in other States in Asia have given impetus to the desire. India is no longer in a state of isolation from the rest of the world. In contacts with the world outside, her nationals have keenly felt the disadvantages and humiliation attendant upon their present status.

Britain has not appreciated to its fullest extent the spirit that is behind the present political movement in India, a spirit that animates the old and young, the Moslem and the Hindu, the socially backward and the socially advanced.

I need not dwell as to how and why in the mind of large sections of our population, there is no longer the feeling of trust and goodwill on which alone a stable and lasting union between Great Britain and India may be established. It cannot be denied that distrust of Britain had steadily spread. Political leaders, who have adhered to the policy of trust have had their ranks thinned.

The reforms that came from time to time since 1890 failed to remove the root cause of discontent in this country.

Montagu Chelmsford Reforms and after.

The Montagu reforms were promulgated with the ostensible intention of allowing the people of this country to control their internal affairs. But the real authority remained aggressively centralised, leading to the breakdown of the system in some of the Provinces. Apart from the dilute nature of the authority that was transferred, the financial adjustment between the Centre and the Provinces and between the Reserved and the Transferred Departments in the Provinces was of such a character as did not render much help to the cause of self-rule or of friendly co-operation.

After the Montagu system had operated for some time, the defects of it came to the surface. A change was felt necessary. The Muddiman Committee was appointed to go into certain aspects of the system. But nothing came of the Reports of that Committee.

In the meantime the Government in England appreciated to some extent the alienation of feeling that was taking place in India. The Statutory Commission was appointed. There was no Indian on the Commission to discuss with

their British colleagues the questions that more vitally affected India than any other country.

Auxiliary Committees of Indians were appointed later probably with a view to satisfy Indian opinion. But the fact remained that Indians stood excluded from having a hand in the framing of the final decisions.

The Three R. T. Cs.

The justice of the Indian attitude towards the Statutory Commission was felt. Lord Irwin in consultation with the British Government declared that a revision was necessary in the procedure that had been adopted. He announced the convocation of the Round Table Conference and foreshadowed that pursuant to a suggestion made to the Prime Minister by Sir John Simon, a conference should be called in which the representatives both of British India and the Indian States should meet the British Government with a view to frame the final proposals which were to be submitted to the British Parliament.

The first Round Table met in November 1930. At that conference there were discussions about the constitution of an Indian Federation including both the Indian States and the British Provinces. Many prominent representatives of the Indian States agreed to join the Federation, but the details of the relationship between the Indian States and the Federal Centre were not fully thought out and the solution of the question stood over for further consideration.

Lord Irwin in his pronouncement of the 31st October 1929 has stated as follows:

“But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and in India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress as therein contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status.”

Certain eminent leaders, viz., Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Annie Besant, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. V. J. Patel and others met at New Delhi shortly after Lord Irwin's pronouncement and issued a manifesto in which it was stated as follows:—

“Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraphs in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand however that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy.”

There was disinclination on the part of a large section of British political opinion to concede responsibility at the Centre. On the other hand, political opinion of all parties and communities in British India, other than non-Indian clearly indicated that the constitution they wanted was that of a self-governing

Dominion. On most of the representatives of the Indian States expressing their desire to join the Federation if responsibility at the Centre was conceded, British opinion underwent a change, and it was stated that if the Indian States came into the Federation a responsible centre with certain safeguards and reservations might be agreed upon.

It is needless to recapitulate the happenings at the three Round Table Conferences. There were no doubt discussions in public on many topics. But extraordinary importance was sometimes attached to things done behind the scenes and without the knowledge or assent of the general body of delegates. The Minorities' Pact may be mentioned as an example.

The White Paper.

After the Third Conference, the British Government framed their final scheme for the constitution of India. The White Paper contains what the British Government is prepared to concede in the matter of the political advance of India.

The result is a strange combination of centralised authority and of responsibility, weighted with brakes of various descriptions. The system is without a precedent and without the experience of the past to guide it. It is certainly not anywhere near Dominion Status.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the White Paper does not lay down the lines for a real constitutional Government, but merely attempts to tone down some of the aggressive features of an autocratic State. While admittedly the bounds of the constitution are to be narrow, no provision is made for gradual or automatic expansion through the legislatures in India.

The decision about any progress must continue to be made outside the country. This feature of the White Paper Scheme accentuates a serious grievance. There is widespread discontent already that the present system does not respond to the needs of the people. The steady decline in the value of Indian agricultural produce, the failure to organise suitable industries, the very slow progress of education and of general moral and material welfare have been causing distress to the people and have been embittering their feelings. The State has failed to give due weight to these important factors in the life of this country, and has neglected these economic problems which the large growth of our population has made prominent. Attempts that have been made to explain away things by a reference to general economic depression have not convinced the people. The depression and want here are not of recent growth. The long continued general level of living conditions compared with what prevails in other countries with much poorer natural resources will show the failure of our administrative system in the past. But the causes of failure have not been taken due note of. It is now proposed to set up for the future a machinery no less cumbrous and more expensive. Financial strength, which is of vital importance in any administrative system, will not have normal and free play. Apart from reserved powers in financial matters, the State will be overburdened from the very commencement with the creation of new Provinces requiring heavy subventions for a great many years.

Some of the general features of the White Paper scheme have been referred to. It covers almost the entire field of the political activities of the

State. The details require careful consideration. I shall refer to some of the more important aspects of the Scheme.

Financial Safeguards.

The position of Finance at the Centre has been left vague and indefinite. It should be ensured that questions of finance, including those of currency and exchange should be dealt with entirely in the interests of India and with due regard to her economic resources and requirements, and her industrial and commercial operations. Financial measures should meet the needs of the country whether they are of a temporary or lasting character. There should be no other consideration influencing the exercise of financial authority at the Centre. There has never been any serious opposition to suitable safe-guards for outstanding debts, for other commitments of India in Great Britain and for the conduct of the Reserved Departments during the transitional period. The resources required for the country's liabilities abroad and for the Reserved subjects may be arranged for by mutual consultations. The demands for non-transferred subjects should not be altogether in the nature of edicts. There should be due opportunities for a mutual consideration and for an equitable adjustment having regard to the needs appertaining to reserved subjects and to subjects not reserved.

I do not deal with controversies regarding the constitution of the Reserve Bank and the fixing of the exchange ratio between the Sterling and the Rupee. These are matters vitally affecting the economic prosperity of this country and the smooth regulation of her finance and trade conditions in the future. But if financial authority is transferred with such safe-guards, as I have mentioned, measures may be taken to remedy any defect that experience may reveal in the conduct of India's financial affairs.

Defence: Indianization and Capitation Charges.

Coming to Defence, one is struck by the absence of a definite policy of active and progressive Indianization and for entrusting the country with the duty of her own defence. The danger and insecurity felt by the people of a country, who are kept out of the organization and working of their own defence can well be imagined. The Defence policy has been one of the greatest blots of the present system. Indianization will not only increase the power of facing aggression, it will lighten the cost of defence to a very considerable extent. It is also necessary to remedy the grave defect of depriving entire provinces of India of any training or participation in self-defence.

There is another acute grievance regarding the present system of Defence. It is widely felt that the present defence organization is meant not only for the security of India, but also for the purposes of other parts of the Empire. It will continue to cause great soreness until this heavy financial burden is taken off the shoulders of the poverty-stricken population of this country. India should not be made to bear the burden of others.

Apart from the question of Indianization and the transference of Defence after a temporary period to be fixed by Statute, the adjustment of the cost of military forces between Great Britain and India should be immediately effected irrespective of the question of constitutional advance. The justice of India's

claim inspite of the decision of the British Government on the findings of the Capitation Tribunal in that respect cannot be denied. Why should justice in this respect be further delayed?

With her ever-increasing burdens, it will be difficult for India to conduct her affairs on up-to-date lines, if she continues to be crippled financially by the burden of a considerable portion of the military expenditure required for the Empire being thrown on her shoulders, and by her being forced to maintain an army far beyond her means.

Commercial Discrimination.

Regarding the question of Commercial discrimination, there are certain features which Indians cannot ignore. Our economic life has not arrived at such development that it can compete on equal terms with commercial forces from countries equipped with the most modern systems of manufacture, transport, trade organization and marketing. The doctrine of reciprocity can have no application in our internal trade and commerce. In order to feed our growing population and to raise the present level of living, it is necessary that there should be special treatment of our indigenous enterprises, so that in the face of stubborn competition, they may stand on their own legs and a large section of our people may be pulled out of the mire of poverty in which they are now sunk. We have to face the opposition of vested interests, but there is no reason why in our own country we should not have the power to extend a helping hand to our own nationals when the economic condition of the majority of our people urgently calls for such favoured treatment. We must go on fighting for the sake of the very life of our people until success crowns our endeavours.

While on the question of Commercial discrimination, I may refer to the controversy that has arisen over certain statements made by the Secretary of State for India regarding discrimination against such Dominions as discriminate against India. From very early times, India seldom closed her doors in the face of friendly foreigners, and allowed facilities to outsiders in the matter of residence and trade. She has suffered bitterly for her generous attitude. What she now demands is that she should not be deprived of the power to discriminate against nationals of other countries, who treat Indians as pariahs. Our claim is that we should not be debarred from taking such measures in the interests of our nationals as may be necessary to impress upon countries who discriminate against Indians, that they can only do so at the risk of India retaliating in the cause of her own nationals.

External relations.

It is proposed to reserve External Relations entirely to the Governor-General. But a great part of the External Relations may relate to economic movements between India and other countries. The countries that adjoin India and other countries in Asia and Africa are natural fields for the expansion of Indian trade and commerce. The Indian Legislature should be free to establish and foster friendly trade relations with countries beyond the boundaries of India. The reserved powers of the Governor-General as regards External Relations should be so modified as not to interfere with action taken by the Indian Legislature as regards the establishment of economic contracts with foreign countries. It is a right that has been recognised in the case of other

Dominions, and should not be denied to India which having regard to her extent, her population and her resources is economically a backward country in spite of her affairs being under the sole control of an economically advanced country like Great Britain for nearly a century and a half.

Indian States and the Federation.

We do not yet know as to how many of the Indian States are coming into the Indian Federation. But the manner in which the Federal Legislatures are proposed to be constituted is such as fails to give due consideration to the vital features which build up the life of a people. The respective importance of the component parts of the Federation have not been taken due note of, and seats in the legislature are proposed to be allocated without due regard to such importance.

The scheme in the White Paper may be said to be over-weighted with a tendency to keep back the progressive elements in the new State by giving power and prominence to elements that have not sufficient experience of work for general welfare and progress in various spheres of life.

White Paper and separate Electorates.

The artificial divisions set up by the White Paper tend to create for the time being an antagonism between classes and communities. The division of the electorates into separate water-tight compartments, for representation on and election to the legislatures according to creeds, and not on the basis of political views and programmes amounts to the introduction by Great Britain of a new element of untouchability in India, namely, untouchability in politics. The party to which we belong has strenuously opposed the throwing into our midst of such apples of discord. We see the evils that are inherent in it and we know the mischief that has resulted from it. The accentuation of non-political differences and the importation of them in the constitution of the state is a reversal of the normal process of building up a people. Why such reversal is proposed to be effected has not been explained, but will probably be explained in future at the bar of History.

The Services.

The provisions as to the services are of a peculiar character. The Provincial Governments and a part of the Central Government will ostensibly be responsible to the Legislatures, but the responsibility will have to be discharged through services, manned in the higher posts by men about whose appointment the future Governments will have no voice, and who will continue to be under the control of the Secretary of State. Such a system vitiates the principle of responsibility and continues in practice the autocratic authority exercised through Local Officials by the Secretary of State. Unless a Government which has to work the Departments of State has the power to decide upon the machinery to be employed for carrying out its policy, to choose the personnel of its staff and to regulate the pay and prospects of those through whom the work is to be carried out with due regard to responsibility to the legislatures, the transference of authority that is going to be made will be of an exceedingly dilute character. It may be that the expensive and over-manned system with which the administration now operates may be found to obstruct the path of progress. It may be necessary to so lay down the conditions, pay and prospects of the services that the

future administrative machinery may not be a cumbersome burden on the shoulders of the people. Let us hope that the proposals in the White Paper regarding the recruitment by the Secretary of State whether in India or outside of some of the important higher services, the laying down by him of the conditions attached to those services, the control to be exercised by him, and the reservation by him of posts for men of his services will be so modified as not to stifle the life of the Constitution.

The Indian Legislature has no control over the Railways.

The Transport Requirements of a country are its own concern. It is extraordinary that it should be considered necessary to control the Railways under a Statute framed by the British Parliament and not by the Indian Legislature. The grounds stated in the White Paper as to the necessity of having in the Constitution Act provisions for the establishment of a Statutory Railway Board are not convincing. The taking away from the Central Legislature of complete control over the Railways may hamper it in future as regards Transport policies that may be required by the ever-changing circumstances of the country. There is no objection to due provision being made to safeguard the interests of of such Companies as still own or work Railways in India. The Government of India after an experience of three quarters of a century of possession and management of Railways by the State, is attempting to go back upon its policy and practice of nationalisation of the Railway systems. For some reason not yet explained a peculiar device is being adopted which will close the doors of complete control of the Railway Administration to the future Government of India.

Powers of the Governor-General and the Governors.

I shall now refer to some of the powers proposed to be vested in the Governor-General and the Governors. Amongst the powers that the Head of a State ordinarily possesses is the power of veto. But the initiative as regards policy and legislation has always been in the hands of the ministry responsible to the legislature. The White Paper invests the Governor-General with direct legislative powers so that he may promulgate Acts which will have the force of Enactments passed by the Legislature. Such a power will convert the Ministers from being responsible representatives operating the Government with the willing assent of the people to persons carrying out behests which sometimes may be against the declared policy of the Ministry. It will be a position of difficulty and probably of humiliation. Ukases should only be issued and that very reluctantly when the State has broken down or is faced with a grave emergency. But the White Paper treats the Governor-General's legislative powers as an ordinary part of the constitution.

Amongst other powers intended to be reserved to the Governor-General and the Governors are the control of the services and the prevention of commercial discrimination. I have already pointed out that the reservation of these subjects will in a great measure take away autonomy from the Governments of the future and will stand in the way of their responsibility to the legislatures.

Fundamental Rights.

Regarding Fundamental Rights, hesitation is expressed in the White Paper as to giving them Statutory sanction. The rights of free citizens as understood all over the world should be accorded to the people of India. The rights

which the White Paper is prepared somewhat tardily to concede are no new rights but have been enjoyed by the people for nearly a century and are not in the nature of a new emancipation.

Supreme Court of Appeal—a distant ideal.

The Judicial authorities referred to in the White Paper consist of the present High Courts in the Provinces, a Supreme Court of Appeal that may hereafter be constituted and a Federal Court. The delay and expense incident upon appeals from India prosecuted in England render it necessary that a Supreme Court of Appeal should be established in this country. The High Courts in the Provinces should be associated with the Central government as regards appointment and control.

Britain distrustful and Suspicious of India.

What was necessary in dealing with the problems of India was the laying down of broad lines boldly drawn in a spirit of trust in the people and with a genuine desire for progress. But the manner in which the question of constitutional advance has been discussed on behalf of the British Government for the last few years, served to keep in the background the real issues prominent in the minds of our countrymen, namely whether the political status of India was going to remain where it was, or whether there was to be a real advance. We regret that differences were accentuated and magnified and pointed at to frighten us and the world, while common interests, and the amicable contracts and daily co-operation in vital matters in various spheres of life between different sections and communities were ignored as of no importance. The question of Status has been ignored. The Secretary of State either directly, or through the Governor-General, the Governors and the services controlled by them, still looms large in the picture, overshadowing the new system, which was expected to consist of fully responsible Governments. The power to make such readjustments in her system of government as may be rendered necessary either in India's interests or in the light of experience, and the power of normal expansion finds no place in the constitution. If we require hereafter a change in these matters, which concern us alone, we shall have to convince not only the 300 millions of our own people but we must undertake to convince 45 millions of the people of Great Britain (I believe there are 60 millions now) who if there interest can at all be roused have in many cases a different outlook and different interests. The resources of our Governments in the past have left nearly 90 per cent. of our people illiterate, have not succeeded in stopping the death of hundreds from preventible diseases in the rural areas and have not succeeded in helping the poor and indebted agriculturist who is the mainstay of our country. The White Paper now proposes to seriously cripple our attenuated resources by the creation of new Provinces and by imposing heavy subventions which are likely to keep us down for a great many years. The financial resources of a people are its life blood in the matter of living and development. But the allocation of the resources as indicated in the White Paper takes no note of the realities in this respect. The Secretary of State must also have his men in the framework and emoluments and conditions fixed by him, and the British units of the Defence Forces must be there whether the future Government has or has not enough money for necessary medical relief, for removing the widespread illiteracy of our people, or for economic development.

A generous gesture animated by a spirit of trust and goodwill might have laid the foundations for the growth of a lasting and satisfactory union. But the happenings of the last six years, and the White Paper, which has resulted from the deliberations that took place during that period, can hardly be said to be such a gesture. It was for Great Britain with the position she occupies to take the first step in the establishment of mutual good-will. But the halting and hesitating manner, in which the deliberations were carried on, and the decisions of the British Government as embodied in the White Paper, display more of doubt and distrust than of confidence and assurance.

In order to claim trust and goodwill one has to be generous and trustful. Is India to repose all the trust she can, while Great Britain proceeds on the basis of distrusting India?

Provincial Autonomy.

It may be said, that the transfer of all the Departments in the Provinces to Ministers responsible to the Legislatures is a surrender of authority, which should be regarded as an important gesture of trust. We recognise, that the establishment of responsibility in all the Departments in the Provinces is ostensibly an advance on the present system of diarchy. But the safe-guards and the power vested in the Governors and the Governor-General, the manner in which the services are to be constituted and worked and the financial provisions including the burden of Defence and the subventions to Provinces to be newly created inspite of the urgent needs of the existing Provinces who have been crying for the organization of their economic life and for advancement of health and education, will neutralise the authority that is going to be transferred and place the new Governments in no better position than that of the present Transferred Departments.

The White Paper cannot be described as a document intended to bring about peace and contentment. It is aggressively reactionary in the matter of communal representation. It goes very much further than either the Minto-Morley Scheme or the Montagu Scheme in accentuating and elaborating separate communal electorates and seats in the legislatures. It subdivides the Hindus. There is no recognised principle behind the Scheme. What has been given to one community in one Province has not been given to another community occupying the same position in another Province. Instead of framing a constitution suitable for a modern Government facing the future, the White Paper seeks to drag us backward to earlier centuries.

The proposals of the British Government are now being considered by the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament. The Committee has considered for a great length of time the various problems covered by the White Paper. The Secretary of State for India has stood up in defence of the Government scheme with great energy and earnestness against the attacks that were made on it. We may differ from the Secretary of State, but we cannot but commend the stubborn fight that he put up in urging the views that according to him should be the basis of our next constitutional advance.

Repressive Law and Terrorism Condemned.

Apart from the White Paper which has not satisfied the aspirations and met the requirements of the country in the future, the steps that have recently

been taken to placate the country can hardly be said to be such as might lead to success. Repressive measures have been heaped one upon another. The Liberal party abhors terrorism and all methods subversive of law and constituted authority. If there is not more trouble it is due in a great measure to the immense steadying influence that the stable factors in the country continuously exercise on the population in general. The Government has taken in its hands powers of great absolutism, and has chosen to impose restrictions on certain parts of the country, restrictions indistinguishable from martial law. Particular communities have been insulted and oppressed by the imposition of collective fines by Executive Orders while it is to a large extent with the help of those communities that the present difficulties are being weathered through. British historians in the past have condemned the *Jeziah*. I do not know how the historians of the future will characterise the present day impositions on particular communities.

Those in power forget that persons who desire to commit political crimes and crimes of a violent character do not declare their intentions from the rooftops. It is evident from the trials of such offenders that they constitute small groups working in the dark, and that it is not possible for the ordinary citizen with his meagre leisure and his exacting occupations to achieve marvels of detection where the elaborate police staff of Government maintained at a high cost has failed. The policy of mass punishment of those who are either entirely or with solitary exceptions innocent is not likely to achieve the object in view. On the other hand if human nature in India is not different from what is elsewhere, such a policy is likely to spread discontent. So long as crimes of terrorism happen, every citizen should do all in his power to put down such crimes. This cannot be done by mass punishments or by the marching of troops through the villages, which for the cost incurred has no more effect than amusing the village children. Such and similar methods have failed in the past, and are bound to fail in the future. Instead of creating an atmosphere in which goodwill may prevail, they have a contrary effect adding to the difficulties of the situation. If no attempt is made by discontinuance of repressive measures to create a favourable atmosphere, the chances are that the new system will not command general acceptance whether from majorities or from minorities. The risk attendant upon the withdrawal of harsh measures which fall much more on the innocent than on the guilty is far less than that of antagonising whole countrysides.

Associated intimately with the question of the growth of political conspiracies is the question as to why they grow at all, and why some young men and women fall a prey to those that teach hatred and violence. The most effective method to put an end to the nefarious activities of such teachers is to make the youth of the country feel that they are free citizens, and that in regulating the administration of the country the requirements and progress of the people will be the main guiding factors. No people can better realise the truth of that doctrine than the people of Great Britain. The press laws that have been promulgated, the detention of large numbers without trial, the internment and externment that is widely resorted to, the barricading of the residences of officials and of public buildings, these and similar factors show that the policy that has been pursued has not succeeded. It is not by these methods that people have in the past been placated or subdued. While

Government should not do anything to increase the number of the disaffected, we should make it clear to those who lapse into criminal and violent methods that the people of this country in general look upon their acts as unworthy of the country to which they belong. I would earnestly urge upon those that lean towards terrorism to think carefully before they commit themselves. The system they evidently desire to overthrow is a system framed by the people of Great Britain, a people to whom freedom is the very breath of their lives, a people who cannot forget their history of striving and struggle and success in the cause of freedom. Those that take to criminal methods for the achievement of their object probably do so because they have lost confidence in the use of any other methods. I would urge upon them, if my voice reaches them, to consider carefully the trend of events in India during the period of British connection and not to take to a policy of despair. The advance of the people has been slow, and there have been good causes for feeling aggrieved. But I ask those concerned not to overlook that the general tendency has so far been one of progress.

White Paper Proposals—Reactionary.

Occasionally there is stagnation or even a set-back. The remarks I have addressed to you to-day show in which respects according to us the contemplated changes in the constitution either lead to no advance or are reactionary. But if a system is sought to be imposed on us which we do not consider to be in the best interests of our people, we must press our views with all the emphasis at our command, and if our voice is not listened to, we do not take the system as a settled fact, but go on agitating and organizing public opinion. We have had examples in the past of settled facts being unsettled by persistent political agitation. But the agitation must be conducted in an open and straightforward manner.

In carrying on the struggle for self-rule we must not forget the spirit and traditions of our own country and the growth of world ideas regarding the relationship between different nationalities. We in India, whether Hindu or Moslem, have a distinctive culture which we have developed through the centuries, sometimes dark and sometimes bright. The policy of scratching biting and hitting is looked down upon by us. In our country the men that are remembered and are held in reverence are those that preached love and good-will. Rulers and generals are either forgotten or are placed in a much lower plane. Those that taught us lessons of love and good-will and lived and preached what they taught occupy a predominant position in our hearts. Gautama Buddha, Nanak, Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Moinuddin Chisti, Nizamuddin Aulia, Haji Noor Kutub Alam of Gaur and others have been revered by millions of our countrymen for generations. The League of Nations is an international Institution of recent growth to establish amity and understanding amongst different nations. The spirit behind the League is the spirit that has always animated India. Why should an Indian do any act which might cloud the brightness of our ancient heritage, and lead to a reversion back to methods of barbarism, and keep us away from establishing unions and understandings by methods that are not sub-human. We have lost much that we possessed. The attribute of spreading love and good will is an ideal which we cannot afford to lose. It is one of the precious possessions left to us. I appeal to all who try to imitate other nations elsewhere by resort to violent political crimes not to besmear the good name of their country by such imitations, but to uphold the

traditions, the value of which is now being gradually recognised by World opinion. We must show, as we can show, that political controversies can be pulled out of the dirt and mire of hatred and physical strife, and that lasting understandings can be arrived at between those that do not agree by pressing on claims based on justice and equity. I do not ask that ideals and aims should be abandoned. All that I ask is that the methods of work should respond to the spirit of India.

Unity Essential.

Before I conclude I cannot but draw your attention to the fact that there are forces of disruption at work tending to divide our house against itself. I would remind all my countrymen that they have common ties, ideals and interests which are indissoluble. Whether we belong to the Hindu community or the Moslem community, whether we are Sikhs or Christians, Brahmins or non-Brahmins, we stand or fall with our common motherland. Her glory is ours, and her humiliation bears us down. Take for instance the question of economic advance in our own country. The neglect of it vitally affects all of us. The treatment meted out to our nationals in some of the Dominions and other countries hurts all of us equally. But while our common interests are matters of every-day and vital importance, going to the root of the existence and status of our people, there are persons and forces who try to pull us apart by magnifying the differences that must exist in the best ordered society. We have to counter these movements by fostering and strengthening those organisations which allow of common consultations and common action. There are divisions amongst us, as amongst other peoples, not only of classes and creeds but also in political methods and policy. But in spite of all these, we should always remember that we are Indians and that there is a vast field for joint work on the basis of common interests. Political caste systems may be sought to be thrust on us. But all of us from whichever section of the people we come must join hands and render united service to our common motherland. It will be for you gentlemen to suggest joint organisations of different sections and bodies both for temporary purposes and for a permanent course of work. The forces working for disruption must be brought under control, and the ties that bind us must be strengthened. Standing united before the country and before the world we shall have together with all the will that is in us bringing glory, contentment and prosperity to the land we all love. (Cheers.)

Messages.

Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, Joint Secretary of the Reception Committee then read the following messages from Liberal Leaders and friends wishing success to the Federation.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.), Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Sir M. D. Dadhabhoy, Sir Md. Habibulla, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Messrs. B. S. Kamat, R. R. Shyam Behari Misra, S. P. Sanyal, A. P. Sen, Hanuman Singh, Surendranath Varma, B. L. Ralia Ram, Vakil, Lahore, Sir Morapant M. Joshi, P. N. Daroowalla, Munindradeb Rai Mahasai, G. K. Gadgil, Fakir Chand, Lahore, L. N. Gubil, and Narayanaswami Aiyar, Trichy.

Subjects Committee.

The President referred to the practice of electing a Subjects Committee and proposed that all the Delegates present resolve themselves into a Subjects Committee to discuss the subjects that were to be placed before the open session of the Federation.

The proposition being adopted, the whole Conference went into Committee.



Top Row :—Messrs. 2. M. D. Altekar, 3. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, 4. Mahbulul Huq, 5. A. V. Patwardhan, 6. V. Rama Aiyangar, 8. K. K. Subba Rao, 9. Maujunathayya.

2nd row :—Messrs. T. Ramachandra Rao, Manian Natesan, (*Asst. Secretary R. C.*) A. Rangaswami Aiyangar, J. R. Gharpure, E. Vinayaka Rao, (*Jt. Secretary R. C.*) Chunilal M. Gandhi, H. G. Gharpuray, D. G. Dalvi, Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Aiyangar, B. N. Gokhale, A. D. Shroff, N. R. Wadia, Dr. S. Ram, Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, Dr. B. B. Roy.

On chairs :—Messrs. Abdus Samad, S. M. Bose, J. C. Ray, C. Y. Chintamani, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, (*Vice Chairman R. C.*) Mr. J. N. Basu, (*President.*) Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, R. G. Mundle, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, (*Genl. Secretary, R. C.*) and M. Kulandai Velu Mudaliar, (*Treasurer.*)

On floor :—Messrs. J. C. Chatterji, K. V. Venkataraman, T. S. Natesa Sastrigal, K. Sundaravaradachariar, G. Venkataraman S. R. Venkataraman (*Asst Secretary R. C.*) M. D. Shahane, H. H. A. P. H. Gossain.—By the courtesy of the "HINDU" Madras.

Second Day's Proceedings : 27-12-1933.

The Conference re-assembled at 12 noon on the 27th of December 1933. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was present on this day and the following day

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen : There are certain resolutions over which there is not much difference of opinion amongst the Delegates and it has been arranged they should be put to you from the Chair. The first is about the loss that the country has sustained in the death of some of our leaders. I propose the first resolution.

I. RECENT LOSSES.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound sense of the great loss suffered by the country in the death of Mrs. Besant who devoted her wonderful gifts and energies to the service of India and humanity and fought for popular rights and liberties with unsurpassed courage and tenacity of purpose.

(b) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of the loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, and Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagvat who were staunch members of the Liberal Party and of Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. V. J. Patel, and Sir Mancharjee Bhownagree who in their various spheres rendered distinguished services to the country.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously, all standing.

II. SWADESHI.

THE PRESIDENT :—I propose the second resolution which runs thus :

(a) The Federation again emphasizes the supreme importance of the Swadeshi movement, and exhorts the people to support national enterprises in the field of Banking, Insurance and Shipping, and to prefer, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry to imported goods.

(b) The Federation strongly urges the Government actively to encourage and support the Swadeshi Movement in every possible manner.

(c) The Federation urges the Government of India not to allow Indian interests to be subordinated to those of Lancashire or Japan in the negotiations now going on between them and the representatives of those countries.

The resolutions was declared carried unanimously.

III. TERRORISM.

THE PRESIDENT :—I propose the third resolution which is as follows :

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India views with abhorrence terrorist activities where ever they exist and earnestly appeals to all classes to do everything in their power to check and prevent them as they are repugnant to all notions of humanity as well as injurious to the best interests of the country.

(b) The Federation expresses its sympathy with the bereaved relations of the victims of terrorist outrages.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

IV. REPRESSION AND CONCILIATION.

PRESIDENT :—I propose the fourth resolution which reads thus :

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong protest against the Government's repressive policy which by its excessive and often uncalled for harshness has been adding to discontent in the country. The Federation impresses on the Government the urgent need for the repeal of repressive measures and for the easing of the tense political situation by the adoption of a conciliatory policy.

(b) The Federation at the same time appeals to all who advocate or take part in the Civil Disobedience movement to abandon the movement and help in the creation of a peaceful atmosphere in the best interests of the country.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

V. SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS.

THE PRESIDENT :—I propose the fifth resolution which goes to the root of the administration of justice in this country. I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything in support of this resolution. It speaks for itself.

The Federation once more strongly condemns the combination of Judicial and Executive functions and urges the Government to separate the same and place the Judiciary under the control of the High Courts in the different Provinces. In case the above policy is not adopted by the Government the Federation requests its council to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the acceptance of the policy and report the same to the next session of the Federation.

The resolutions were declared carried unanimously.

VI. TEMPERANCE.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now propose the resolution on temperance, and it reads thus :—

The National Liberal Federation of India urges on the Central and Provincial Governments in India the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy of Temperance reform and calls upon the people to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in favour of total abstinence.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

VII. INDIANS OVERSEAS.

THE PRESIDENT :—I shall now call upon Mr. P. Kodanda Rao to move resolution No. 7.

Mr. P. Kodanda Rao.

Mr. President & Brother Delegates : The resolution which I have been called upon to move runs as follows :

(a) This Federation strongly condemns the demands which the European settlers of Kenya, encouraged by the discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and their representatives, have put forward for acquiring control over the Government of Kenya. It urges that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Governments should not be departed from and that no further constitutional power be transferred to the European settlers either by the institution of a Finance Committee with an unofficial European majority as proposed by them, or in any other way.

(b) The Federation presses the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indians in Kenya with special care in present circumstances. It further draws their attention to the East African Indians that with the ostensible object of improving African agriculture, monopolies are being granted to Europeans, especially in Uganda and Tanganyika, for the purchase of special agricultural products from the Africans and that Indians are consequently being driven out of a business in which they were pioneers and have been engaged for generations past. The Federation urges the the Government of India to take immediate steps to investigate and obtain redress for this grievance.

(c) The Federation extends its wholehearted support to the Indians of South Africa in their just fight for their elementary rights and assures them that India will always be behind them in their struggle to uphold the honour of the Motherland and protect the interests of Indian nationals.

The resolution, as you will see, is divided into three parts. The first relates to Kenya. It has been urged for a decade that the claim of the European settlers in Kenya, which they have been making for over a decade now, was simple. Their demand is for a transfer of power from London to Nairobi. If it was for transfer of power from London to Nairobi, we would not have opposed it, because we are also demanding self-government in India. But their claim is not for transfer of power from London to Nairobi, but its concentration in the hands of a handful of European settlers. That is a claim that we could not support in the circumstances which are obtaining in Kenya today, where racial antipathies are most outstanding and outrageous, and times have hardly changed the relations between the different races: *viz.* Asiatics, Europeans and Indians. Their relations are anything but cordial and the Europeans settlers' claim must be resisted. When Mr. Amery was Colonial Secretary, the settlers had a chance of obtaining what they wanted. The Hilton-Young Commission was appointed and the instructions were very clear as to what this Commission was to report. The Commission was loaded in favour of the settlers, but it was that Commission which completely smashed to pieces the claims of the European settlers, and now to transfer the trusteeship of the natives to the Europeans will be like entrusting the fate of the rat to a cat, a most dangerous thing to do. Now the settlers thought that there was no chance of getting what they wanted. They have modified their demand. They ask for some modification in the financial control in the Colony. They simply say: "Let us have a Finance Committee of the Legislature consisting of a majority of European unofficial members and their voice shall prevail, and if not, the Governor would, by certification rule of the country, set aside the majority opinion of the European unofficial members of the Legislative Council." This is a dangerous demand. If they can get control of finance, they get the control over the whole province. We must stoutly oppose the grant of this demand, as finance will give the whip hand to the European settlers.

The second part of the resolution refers to administrative discrimination against Indians. In Tanganyika it is not possible for the Government of the day to discriminate legislation, because Tanganyika happens to be a mandatory state. If Indians do not appreciate the benefit of being a member of the League of Nations, Indians overseas are sanguine of it. They cannot discriminate legislation, but there is a way of getting round these things. By administrative action they can get redress. It is extremely difficult to prove it except after

the event. Legislation is worded in a very loose way and it is ostensibly meant for the benefit of Africans whose civilization is much lower than that of the Indians. Any measure meant to check this discrimination is just. Administration that lends to discrimination against Asiatics must be prevented and there has been agitation against that discrimination. It is only when we take statistics, we can find how many Indians have been thrown out of business as a result of this discrimination. Then only we can make out a conclusive case. Until then there is room for the Government of India to be vigilant and watchful against the possibility of discrimination.

The third part of the resolution refers to South Africa. There we say that we stand by our people. We have always done so. At the present moment there is a division in the ranks of the Congress and the Indians. Two problems agitate their minds. One is Asiatic Land Tenures Act and the other is the Preliminary Commission to inquire to find out if there are any countries in the world which will take the Indians that may be assisted in emigrating from South Africa and from India. That Commission was appointed more or less with the acquiescence of the Government of India. We knew that policy to be opposed to our principle, but the action was meant to soften the rigour of the law as it stands. But even so, on principle, we have always objected and shall continue to object to any kind of segregation of Indians in the Transvaal. That Act has been passed and there is no use our speaking against it now. The Congress as a whole has taken strong objection to the inquiry and refused to co-operate with or tender evidence before the Commission to inquire about the working of the Act. In practice the Act will alleviate the difficulties under which Indians are suffering, but on grounds of principle the Congress refused to co-operate and thereby placed the Agent of the Government of India in a difficult position. Personally, my sympathies are with the Agent. Without our accepting it, we have submitted to the inquiry by our protest, but it is only meant to make it easier for people, while not admitting the principle of segregation it is open to us to tender the best evidence that we can and make things as convenient as possible. But the Congress has chosen otherwise. There is the other question of repatriation. Under the Cape Town Conference of 1932 it was agreed that Indians should not be sent back to India, because their coming here will be a jump from the frying pan to the fire. They wanted to find out if there are any other lands which would take Indians not only from South Africa but from India. A Committee was appointed primarily by the Government of India and the South African Government and the Union Government would assist British Indians to go where the Government would send them as surplus population. There was pressure in Africa itself and the Union Government appointed a Committee with the co-operation of the Government of India. To that also a section of our people are opposed. They say that it is as good as accepting that Indians are undesirables. There too I think it was rather unfortunate that our friends non-co-operated with the inquiry Committee. It was first of a preliminary nature and its decisions are not binding upon anybody. The Committee itself will see if there is any country in the world which will accept the surplus Indian population, and if there is no country, what can the Committee do? The boycott of that Committee was unfortunate on the part of some of our friends in South Africa and there also the Indian Agent is put in an embarrassing condition. He was bound to co-operate with the Committee and you will

see that not even the most stalwart Congressman will have given a more self-respecting evidence than he did. Non-co-operation with the Committee, whose report is bound to influence the Government, is unfortunate and the Agent is in a very difficult position indeed. He is being reviled as a traitor. The Indian Community are in a temper and have been upset. I should think that this Federation may as well send a word of sympathy and encouragement to the Agent of the Government of India and support him in the action he has taken. With these words, I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar.

In seconding the proposition, Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar said: Mr. President and gentlemen, I rise to second the resolution so ably proposed by Mr. Kodanda Rao. At the outset I might state that I cannot pretend to the credentials which Mr. Kodanda Rao has for moving this proposition. But I am relieved of very much of my task because he has told you what exactly the proposition means and stands for. This resolution makes a strong plea that Indians, who belong to the British Empire, should no longer be slaves of that Empire. The Indians demand the free citizenship which we are privileged to have under the British Empire. Even we in this country must appreciate what the disabilities of Indians overseas are. Those difficulties are roughly classified by those experts who talk upon that subject, under four heads,—franchise, segregation, ownership of land and emigration restriction. On all these heads the Indians are suffering from disabilities of an unusual kind.

The difficulties in Kenya territory, which consists of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, I shall presently mention. In that portion of East Africa, Indians have got a special claim to be treated fairly. So early as during the time of Lord Salisbury it was declared that the intrusion of the British Empire in East African politics was partly if not mainly due to the regard the British Empire has for the interests of the Indian trader there, and it was admitted then, as it has been admitted before other Commissions, that the Indian traders in Kenya have contributed to the prosperity of that land. They have promoted agriculture, and they have promoted trade. Kenya, as you may be aware (many of you are expert politicians) consists of 240,000 sq. miles of which nearly 200,000 are waste, and only a small portion is fertile land. So it is necessary for the settlers there to bring a large portion under cultivation, and the Indian settlers there have largely contributed to bringing those portions into cultivable area; and it was so admitted before the enquiry committees which sat to investigate the Kenya problem. Therefore the justice of the Indian demand is that the Indian population there were settlers as much as the Europeans, that the Indian population there have a special right to equality of citizenship with the English settlers there. The population of Kenya, according to the latest census report—not the total population because I understand there is no register of births and deaths there, only a rough estimate—the total population of Indians is 45,000 according to the census report. The population of European settlers is 9,000 and odd—nearly one-fifth of the Indian population. But the majority of the land is now sought to be owned by the English settlers. The Englishmen who own lands number 1,893. But these 1,893 want to own almost all the lands in Kenya and want to prevent the Indians from owning any land. Is it fair treatment I ask that the English settlers there, who have gone

long after the Indians, and when the British Empire has sought to make Kenya a Crown Colony on the special ground that the Indians should be protected in trade—when the British Government has so declared, is it fair for the English settlers to proclaim themselves as the trustees of the whole population and say that they should have the paramount interest and control of the finances of the country? I think we in this Federation assembled should strongly protest against that demand made by the European settlers. Encouraged by their discussions with the Secretary of State for the Colonies we should also urge that the doctrine of paramount native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Government should not be departed from. We are now under the regime of a National Government. The Labour and the Conservative Governments accepted the Joint Parliamentary Committee's recommendation that they should reinvestigate the question of the interests of Indians and East Africans and they should try to readjust the relations between these three classes, the Europeans, Africans and Indians. That recommendation still stands, and the East African Congress assembled at Mombasa recently passed a resolution in which they asked that the Government should implement their recommendations by pursuing a policy in which they will lay down that the interests of the Indians and Africans and Europeans should be equally represented in the Legislative Council. It is unnecessary more to dilate on this proposition, and I have great pleasure in commending it for your acceptance.

The resolution was put to vote and declared carried unanimously.

VIII. UNTOUCHABILITY.

THE PRESIDENT:—We shall now consider resolution VIII. I will call upon Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar to move it.

Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar.

Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar, in moving the resolution on untouchability, said :

The resolution which I have the honour to propose is in these terms :

The National Liberal Federation of India accords its fullest support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the classes concerned and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for its success.

I venture to think that this resolution does not call for a long speech at this time of the day. You will see that it consists of two parts. The first part pledges our fullest support in favour of the removal of untouchability and the second part is a plea in support of the uplift of those regarded as untouchables.

Now, taking the first part, there can be no doubt that the custom or practice of untouchability is the darkest blot on the Hindu Society. Untouchability or rather unapproachability as practised by us, Hindus, has no parallel in any other country or nation of the world. It is only here that we find a portion, indeed a large portion, of our community regarded as unfit for being approached, for being seen, for being spoken to and for being associated with.

It is unnecessary to go into the question how this monster of untouchability crept into our society. It seems to me an irony of fate, that this monster should have established itself so firmly in a community, according to whose religion and belief, human body is the greatest gift of God. Our well-known saying "Durlabo Manusho Dehah:" one gets a human body as opposed to animal body or plant body, only as a result of accumulated virtue. How then can a human being be an unapproachable, an unseeable, an untalkable and an unassociable to another human being by reason of mere birth?

I have heard authorities quoted in support of the vicious custom. But I firmly believe that our revelations and Shastras are not so bad and that properly interpreted and understood, they not only do not support it but condemn it in no uncertain terms. This is however, not the time or place to go into a disquisition of the text. Others have done it already and made out that there is not sufficient warrant in the authorities or accepted shastras to regard a person as unapproachable by mere birth. I daresay there are still persons who would not feel convinced about it, but argument, as you all know, may be endless.

I submit, Sir, that according to the highest and best in our religion untouchability as now practised is a gross and cruel sin against humanity. But there are learned men who say seriously that there is no cruelty at all in the practice of untouchability and that it is indeed based on the utmost mercy and compassion. It appears that all the people who are now regarded and treated as untouchables have in their previous birth or births committed enormous sin, and it is the height of mercy and compassion to keep them as unapproachables, unseeables, untalkables, and unassociables, so that they may undistractedly wash off their sin in this birth and if one birth is not sufficient for it, in the least possible number of births. It is impossible to beat this argument in speciousness, but I may put them one question. I would ask them to stand in the shoes of the unfortunate unapproachables and consider how far they would then feel satisfied or pleased if the argument was advanced against them. "Do unto others as you would be done by" is the crucial test of right conduct laid down in all religions and creeds and I would simply ask for its application in considering our duties towards the so called untouchables.

You all know that Mahatma Gandhi who is now straining every nerve of his to exercise this evil spirit of untouchability from Hinduism, has called this movement a religious revival. It is this aspect of it, which irresistably attracts me to it. Not Gandhiji alone but all original and serious thinkers on Hinduism, Professor Radhakrishnan for instance, are clear that unless the hindering excrescences which have grown into it are at once done away with the entire religion may soon perish leaving not merely our sacred land, but the whole world very much poorer for its disappearance. It is, therefore, upto all of us to take our part, small or big, according to the capacity of each, in eradicating the disease of untouchability.

One point which I would like to draw your attention to is, that this movement for the purification of Hinduism by the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the so called untouchables, is by no means a novel or revolutionary venture. A study of the history of Hinduism will reveal that there have been every now and then, whenever necessary, such purifying movements in the past by acknowledged leaders of our faith. As a disciple of the famous Ramanuja

and standing within such short distance from the sacred place of his birth, I beg leave to point out that so far back as over 800 years ago, he felt for the low and the down-trodden and did all he could for their moral and spiritual uplift. At that time the highest truths of our religion were kept a close secret among the few initiated and were not open even to the caste shudras, but he broadcasted them to all irrespective of caste or creed, in the language in which they could most easily understand and follow them. He had thousands of followers among the panchamas or untouchables, whom in his great love he called Tirukkulattars or men of exalted caste. Ramanuja's disciples also continued to carry his torch of knowledge, love and spirituality among the depressed classes until by efflux of time and the gathering in of prejudices and superstitions, it became dim and ceased to shine. I can refer you to the teachings of Ramanuja and his successors to show that they attached far greater value to knowledge, devotion and spirituality than to birth in estimating the worth of men and I can also relate authentic incidents from their lives to establish that they also acted up to their teachings but I do not attempt it now for want of time. My chief object in making this brief reference to Ramanuja and his successors is to show that the cry which is often raised in answer to the movement for the removal of untouchability namely, that it is opposed to Sanatanism and Varna-dharmism is untenable. Ramanuja and his successors were undoubtedly Sanatanists and Varna-dharmists and yet they did not hesitate to disregard untouchability to such an extent that they not only took disciples from the untouchables, but acknowledged the evolved among them as their acharyas and paid them homage accordingly.

Not merely from the point of view of true religion but from the point of view of social justice, equity and good conscience we are bound to see to the removal of untouchability. This hardly requires elaboration but I may quote the words of Mahatma Gandhi, which appeared in the press last evening. He said :

“Nature intended all human beings to be equals; but man in his arrogance, has created invidious distinction by classing some as high and some as low. God does not recognise these inequalities. You may see anywhere or anything in nature but you cannot see this kind of inequality, which man has created. So unless you eradicate the evil of untouchability you cannot establish equality, which is nature's law.”

We have been complaining that in other parts of the world, we, Indians, are treated as if we were untouchables. Are we not bound first, to set our own house in order? Inconvenient questions have been put in this matter, so that, if we are to take our lawful place among the peoples of the world, it is absolutely necessary, we should banish this cruel custom of untouchability from our midst.

So much on the first part of the resolution. The second part relates to the uplift of the untouchables, who are poorest, the most ignorant and the most down-trodden. All those who regard service as their duty and ideal of life, are bound to contribute their mite towards it. This is absolutely uncontentious and needs no further argument.

For these reasons, Gentlemen, I heartily commend the resolution for your kind and unanimous acceptance.

Before closing I might also mention one word about the wording of the resolution itself. The first part of the resolution says: "The National Liberal Federation accords its staunch support to the movement for the removal of untouchability." As you know, there is a Bill before the Legislative Assembly on this question. The resolution purposely leaves the question on the Bill silent. That is to say, we do not commit ourselves whether the Bill is or is not necessary, and the resolution is accordingly framed in the most general terms. It may be that the movement may succeed with the Bill, or without. Therefore it is left open. As an amendment was proposed yesterday at the committee, I suggest it is not necessary to bring any question of any legislation in this resolution and complicate matters. With these few words I heartily commend this resolution to your kind and unanimous acceptance.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Bangalore) seconded the resolution and in doing so said:—The resolution has been very ably moved by Dewan Bahadur Bashyam Iyengar, a learned lawyer. He has anticipated the amendment which is to follow. I am a member of the Liberal Federation as well as of the International Fellowship. My motto is "All under heaven one family." It cannot be conceived that each nation has its own God. We are all agreed—all educated people in all countries are agreed that there is one God and if we are His children certainly no possible distinction, invidious or otherwise, can be made in matters social. But unfortunately in India we are dominated by foreigners and conditions have been so vicious that most undesirable results have accrued and one of them is this untouchability. If a dog or a cat crosses your path while going into the street you do not consider it a bad omen but if an untouchable comes and howls from the top of his voice and gets about 30 yards from where you are he is considered an untouchable and unapproachable. This it seems to me is a most deplorable social ruling. Even to this day after the great unfortunate Mopla rebellion that we had fifteen years ago this custom has not disappeared. This seems to be a country, particularly southern India where customs die hard and if my friend Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer is going to move an amendment to stop legislation, it is only in our hands not to seek for legislation. If educated and cultured people can stop this practice which has grown in spite of our liberal mindedness and made us indulge in treating our fellow brethren as worse than animals it behoves us to get rid of the custom as soon as possible. If we cannot do it conjointly law must come eventually. The resolution does not suggest what particular measures should be adopted in order to remove untouchability. I know from past experience that we cannot trust our own people. We are so divided and our interests are at such loggerheads that in times of common danger we lose sense of our duty to the people. I will cite an instance of this although it was in my early boyhood. During the famine of 1877 you will find that in southern parts of India there was a peculiar phenomenon which was not to be found in any part of India. It was in the Tinnevely District of this Presidency. In that District you have a town known as Nazareth,

From the lowest thoti to the highest and richest man they are all Christians. That is a phenomenon which requires intelligent investigation. It has at the root of it our gross negligence of the interests of the poor people in times of danger. In the great famine of 1877 when our people were killed in thousands like flies our people did not extend their hand of charity to their brethren but the Christian missionaries who were wide awake cabled to England and America, got ample funds and gave money and food to the people suffering from famine with the result that village after village wholesale from top to bottom, man, woman and child, all became Christians. What Christians did at a moment of danger and crisis Mahomedans are now doing slyly. I do not want to refer to present politics but recently there was a great agitation in Mysore over the abduction of certain young girls by Mahomedans with a view to conversion.

THE PRESIDENT :—That is beyond our province of discussion here.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao continuing said: I bow to the president's ruling. I wish only to add that if we do not attend to the sufferings of our people they will embrace other faiths and instil bad blood and enmity and want of fellow feeling in the community where we should put forth every effort to promote good understanding. If the Liberal Federation should do its duty properly I take it that every thing that disturbed the equanimity and well-being of our society should be satisfactorily handled and we must remove this untouchability, no matter in what way it is done.

Mr. Narayana Kurup rose to a point of order and said that the amendment given notice of by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer was not in order.

THE PRESIDENT :—I shall call upon Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer to move his amendment. You can raise your point of order afterwards.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer:—Mr. President and Gentlemen, I do not propose to do two things. One is to take up your time unnecessarily and the other is to bring heat into the discussion of this subject. The amendment that I beg to move is this, namely to remove the words 'for the removal of untouchability' and to delete the word "concerned" and substitute therefor the words 'spoken as untouchables'. With the amendment the resolution will read as follows:—"The National Liberal Federation of India accords its fullest support to the movement for the uplift of the classes spoken of as untouchables and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do every thing in their power for its success." The reason why I propose my amendment is that notwithstanding that the learned proposer has pointed out to us that the question of the need for Legislation or the absence of such need is left open by the proposition as proposed by him if the resolution as proposed by him should be passed in this House by those who are in favour of legislation an impression may be created that this resolution is in favour of legislation. I do not want that such an impression should prevail. I maintain that the question of depressed classes has to be considered in several aspects. There is the question of their economic

betterment. You have also the question as to how far their religion is affected. There is also the question how the condition of the so-called backward classes requires consideration. So far as this conference is concerned it is the successor of the old Congress and we stand purely for political aims and objectives. By way of furthering our political aspirations we have also adopted questions bearing upon the economic conditions of the people. To the extent therefore that you can take into consideration that aspect of the condition of the so called backward classes as can be bettered by their uplift in their economic conditions, to that extent my submission is that we may have jurisdiction to consider the question. When you call in question the propriety of certain religious usages so far as they affect the backward classes, whatever might be the justice of our claim we certainly are not the body that can consider this question. My reason is that in the first place the National Liberal Federation is one which comprehends in its fold all classes of political workers whatever religion they may profess irrespective of caste or community. There can be no doubt that so far as the betterment of religious and social status of the so called backward classes goes it bears very largely on the religious and social practices that affect them. This question deals with religious and social practice of the people. To neither of them can a political conference direct its attention. I ask whether we are well advised, whatever attractiveness there is in the subject, to make this subject a subject of consideration by us. The second point is we are here not merely as representing a particular community but as representing several communities including Christians and Mussalmans. If their conception of what might be considered as natural justice is considered, any of my friends belonging to other religions may similarly on grounds of equity, good conscience and justice come on this platform and ask for betterment of their condition in respect of their social and religious usages. The result will be that you will have to pronounce judgment upon their views. It is not just for this conference to do that. Then I would submit that the reason why I object to the resolution as it stands and put forward my amendment is that we shall not be well advised in interfering with the religious usages and sentiments of the people. Secondly, I object to our being called upon to support legislation for the purpose of redressing any social abuses in our society. The resolution as it originally stands without my amendment might not in so many words suggest the possibility of these two things being done, namely Indian Legislation and interference with religious and social usages but it is possible for those who are in favour of it to believe that the resolution as it stands is in favour of legislation. In matters of such importance you will have to take note of the impression that will be produced in the minds of others and my submission is that the question of legislation is so important that it is better that we make it clear that we do not want legislation to be initiated for the purpose of redressing religious abuses. I therefore submit that to the extent that it is for the purpose of bettering their economic condition and doing everything in our power to relieve economic distress my amendment is quite in order and I move it for your acceptance. My submission is that so far as the uplift of the depressed classes is concerned we are a competent body to discuss that question. Although it may be that so far as this particular resolution is concerned, I mean no offence to anybody, there is a great chance indeed of this resolution as originally proposed being carried, I beg to draw your

attention to the responsibility that you Gentlemen have by asking you to accept my amendment. The proper place where the resolution as it originally stands can be discussed is not here and today but day after tomorrow at the Social Conference. My submission is that the amendment that I propose is one that is called for and I beg of you to give your support to it.

Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer.

Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer (Madras) seconded the amendment. He said:—I second the amendment for the very same reason which you have heard from Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer. The mover of the resolution has made it clear to you that this is a religious question. He referred to Ramanuja. That itself shows that it is purely a religious question. Ramanuja is a great authority on religious matters and his authority has been accepted by a large number of his followers, chiefly on religious grounds. The apostle of reform Mahatma Gandhi has himself openly declared that he is purely for religious revival. Therefore it is, gentlemen, that both of these references of the mover to Ramanuja and to Mahatma Gandhi that it is a purely religious question, support my submission to my brother delegates that this is a purely religious question and that you should urge your reasons on a religious platform. It is only by religious men that this question can be decided. In political questions feelings are roused and it is an irony of fate that we are asked to speak on social matters and we speak of communalism. On these occasions we have always emphasized communalism. Let us not talk of social brotherhood. This reform can be brought about only by religious reformers. We have no right to question their belief. Reformers have no right to question their belief on a platform like this. Most of our countrymen are keen for a platform and Liberal Federation gives us a platform on which we can speak on political questions. Religious reformers and social reformers have got other platforms to discuss those questions. After all what are we doing at this Federation? We are the successors of the ancient National Congress. What have they done in that Congress? Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said in open Congress in quite unmistakable terms that we should dissociate ourselves from social questions and that the Indian National Congress must confine itself to political and economic matters which are joined together always. Political and economic questions can be discussed in the National Congress. I hope that you would consistently with that policy not allow the platform of the National Liberal Federation which is the successor of the Indian National Congress to be used for the ventilation and removal of social and religious abuses.

Mr. Narayana Kurup.

I want a ruling from the chair whether Mr. Govinda Raghava Iyer's amendment is in order. My reasons are that the resolution deals with untouchability. The amended resolution is entirely devoid of any ingredients of untouchability. Therefore the amendment is only opposed to the resolution and is a negative to it. The resolution as it stands is entirely different from the amendment proposed.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Iyer :—May I say a word on the point of order?

THE PRESIDENT :—There is no need to hear you. The amendment is in order because it has reference to untouchability. We may now proceed with the discussion.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri : Mr. President and Brother Delegates, you have heard my friends Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Aiyar and Mr. Balasubramania Aiyar on the amendment they have proposed. The first point that is made is, it is not a question with which the Liberal Federation should be concerned. The Liberal Federation in its Constitution has a paragraph stating the matters that may be dealt with by the Federation. "The Federation and its component parts will aim at (a number of things follow) promotion of inter-communal unity and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of its population." If I were to bring myself to believe that the question is a purely religious or social question, I might agree with my friends that it is a matter with which we need not deal, assembled in this conference. But I believe it is a political question now. The political questions which you will have to consider when you deal with the White Paper include questions which relate to persons belonging to the depressed classes, to the untouchable classes. I am free to confess that at other times it is possible to argue that this question does not touch upon the political sphere at all, but it is impossible hereafter to speak of this question as a question which has no connection with politics. My friends concede that economic questions are within our jurisdiction, though we might be a political body, because economics is so connected with our politics. If social questions or religious questions impinged upon the political sphere and in doing our political work we had to turn to questions which had a bearing on the social and on the religious sphere, I consider most respectfully that the problem should be considered by this political body. It may be that we need not consider it further than it is necessary for the purpose of solving our political questions. But in so far as the solution of your political questions depended on your pronouncing an opinion on a matter which may have a social and a religious side to it, you ought not to shirk the responsibility of dealing with the problem, which has a political side to it. From that point of view it seems to me that this problem is one which is properly before this Federation. I do not understand my friends to say that untouchability is not a thing that you should work against at all (we are dealing socially with the question ; whether this body assembled here should consider it or not). If my friends agreed that anti-untouchability is a problem which you might accept—and the real objection which Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar mentioned at the start was that he objects to legislation—if that is the only thing he has got in mind, I would ask my friends not to press this amendment. I have said before in the Subjects Committee, in which we were all present, and I am saying it again in open conference—it is our desire to express our idea that untouchability should go and we would work for it. But on the question as to whether legislation should be resorted to or not, as we are divided, let us not divide the House on a question on which we are divided already, and that is a matter entirely for another place, in regard to which people may make up their minds as they please. But as we are agreed that our ultimate goal is getting rid of untouchability, and we carry in that matter our two friends who have proposed and seconded the amendment, let us

all agree to pass this resolution with the words 'We give our support to the movement for the removal of untouchability.' We don't pledge the Liberal Federation to supporting any legislation on the matter. We are all of us agreed that we should work for it in the country without any question of legislation. If it is only a social work that we have to do in the country, we are all agreed that we all stand on the same platform and urge the removal of untouchability in the country. So far as we can do that together let us do it. On the question as to whether legislation should be supported, each individual may do what he pleases. This Federation as a whole does not give its support to legislation. It has framed its resolution in such a way that it should carry all members of the Federation in the doing of the work in which we are all agreed. On the question of legislation, individuals are left free. The Federation does not support legislation, does not oppose legislation. It leaves individuals free to act as they please. That is the idea that the conference has in view in framing the resolution in this form. I would therefore ask my friend Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar and my friend Mr. Balasubramania Aiyar not to press this question of removing those words from the resolution. We have given them the assurance that this Federation is not committed to support legislation. It does not call upon individual members to go forward and support legislation. It leaves people free. It only unites all of us together in our working on the social platform for the removal of untouchability. Removal of this untouchability will be found ultimately necessary for making very important changes in the political sphere. If you desire to have an electorate which is uniform without being divided into depressed classes and non-depressed classes within the fold of the Hindu and a separate electorate for Moslems—if all this has to go finally, you will find that the solution of this question will have a very important bearing, if it does not solve wholly, it undoubtedly has a very important bearing on the solution of the political question. It is from that point of view that I urge on you the acceptance of this resolution, and I urge once again on my friends not to press their amendment.

Mr. Mahbub-ul-Huq.

Mr. Mahbub-ul-huq: Mr. President and Brother Delegates, taking my stand in the city of Madras, I do really feel very keenly the differences which are existing between the people of this Presidency on the point of untouchability. Belonging to that religion which goes by the name of Islam, which does not believe in division between man and man—Islam sanctions that all men are equal before the eye of God, the principles of fraternity and equality stand on the very face of Islam—I feel very keenly on this point of untouchability. Our human body is the dwelling house of the soul, which is a part and parcel of that immortal soul called God or Krishna, or whatever name you choose. Can there be any distinction between man and man when we raise our hands and give prayer to that Almighty? Certainly if we are human beings with a grain of commonsense in our brain, we should hang our heads in shame when we find one people shunned as pariahs and not allowed to cross the shadow itself. Therefore the burning question of the day is untouchability, which found a place in the resolution which was drafted by the Subjects Committee.

But I stand convinced by the very able arguments put forward by the mover of the amendment, Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar. As members of the Indian National Liberal Federation, we should liberalise our ideas. The

expression 'depressed classes' brings under its category all classes of people who are backward in the race of progress. We should uplift them, whoever may be untouchable—Hindus, Muhammadans or Christians. This Liberal Federation should with eyes open go forward in the march of progress without any distinction of caste, creed or colour. Therefore this amendment is rather an improvement on the resolution which was drafted by the Subjects Committee. Therefore, gentlemen, this Liberal Federation should liberalise our ideas, and instead of bringing in a question of a purely religious character, this amendment rather avoids that and at the same time brings within its wide scope all things which are backward. Therefore I have great pleasure in supporting the amendment.

Mr. P. Narayana Kurup.

Mr. Narayana Kurup:—I oppose the amendment. My point is that we call ourselves liberals and when any question which demands of us a liberal attitude we cease to be liberal. This question demands a very liberal attitude and outlook. If we fight shy of this question dealt with in the resolution we do not deserve to be called Liberals. I do not talk of the religious or political aspects of untouchability. We can argue for hours when we take up those aspects. Our expression of sympathy with the demand for the removal of untouchability has no meaning. I appeal to you to be logical and ask you to hate this amendment. It touches the root of things of fundamental value. I oppose the amendment and very humbly ask you to remove untouchability by adopting a really impartial attitude in the matter and decide the question by rejecting the amendment.

Rao Bahadur Ramaswami Sivan.

Rao Bahadur Ramaswamy Sivan (Madras) said:—I wish to oppose the amendment, on the ground adduced by the mover and seconder of the amendment. Mr. Balasubramanya Iyer said that Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar and Mahatma Gandhi accepted that the question of the removal of untouchability was a religious question. As I understand the statement of Mahatma Gandhi and the speech of Dewan Bahadur Bashyam Iyengar the interpretation put upon their utterances is false. Mr. Bashyam Iyengar says on general grounds and on grounds of common sense of people it is a religious matter and that we should move for the removal of untouchability. It so happens that Ramanuja has also given his support to the movement. So far as Mahatma Gandhi is concerned he says that the removal of untouchability shall be considered as a religious duty and not that religion sanctioned it. Mr. Balasubramanya Iyer in seconding the previous resolution relating to the position of Indians in Kenya and Tanganyika used very strong terms. I have got his words here. He said that Indians should not be slaves of Europeans, that Indians should not have any disabilities and that Indians should not be discriminated. If as a liberal politician Mr. Balasubramanya Iyer says that there shall be no segregation of Indian settlers in African Colonies what all this resolution demands and that also in a diluted form is one in which you express sympathy with steps to remove untouchability. You are not asked to dine with them, or enter into marital relations with them. If you are not in favour of this I do not know what more to say. At the Subjects Committee there was discussion as to what the Liberal Federation stands for. To my judgment the

Liberal Federation meant the old Congress minus Civil Disobedience. If it means that the Liberal Federation is the old Congress minus action, I do not agree with the statement. It is true that there was a time when what was considered a social problem was not mixed up with political work. But times have changed. In those days you were mendicants. In social questions you have got to do something practical. That is what Mahatma Gandhi has done in mixing social work with political work to an essential extent with the result that the congress has now become a live body. If you want life introduced into political work you cannot take away such a simple matter as a demand for the removal of untouchability, a demand which was made in the past by Mr. Ranade and Mr. Gokhale. Mr. Venkatrama Sastri has told you that in order to placate friends like my friend Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer, as a compromise between liberals, this diluted resolution has been placed before you. If you cannot accept such a proposition I do not know what the Liberal Federation is going to do.

Mr. T. S. Natesa Sastri said:—After hearing Mr. Venkatarama Sastri's speech I am for adopting the original resolution if it has no reference to legislation. I wanted to move another amendment but was told that I would not be in order as I did not give previous notice of it. I oppose the resolution as it stands but if the proposer and seconder will adopt a modification of the resolution by saying that the movement for the removal of untouchability has no reference to legislation I am in favour of such a modification. After hearing all the arguments of the speakers, I say that Ranade and Gokhale spoke on social matters on non-political platform. If you do not accept my amendment you may vote for Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer's amendment. I do not think without religious support the Anti-untouchability Bill can be passed and when we Hindus say that we are for the removal of untouchability it includes legislation. I therefore oppose the resolution as it stands and request you all to vote for the amendment.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer:—Mr. President and Brother delegates, I had no intention originally of speaking either on the original proposition or the amendment but I find that a great deal of misunderstanding exists regarding the objects of the Liberal Federation and its constitution. I find also that a great deal of feeling has been imported into the discussion. I wish to point out one or two things. It was stated by my friend Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer that the discussion of social matters is outside the purview of the Liberal Federation which was said to be the successor or an offspring of the Congress and that it has inherited the principles of the Congress. I do not think it is necessary to refer to the constitution or to the principle of the National Congress. We should be guided by the constitution of the Liberal Federation and I refer you to the aims and objects of the Liberal Federation. I read to you paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Liberal Federation. "The object of the National Liberal Federation and its component organisation is the demand by constitutional means of Swaraj or responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status." The second part of this clause is that the Federation and its component organisation will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, wider

spread of education, improvement of public health, economic development, promotion of Inter-communal amity and the amelioration of the backward condition of the population. There are several subjects included in the second paragraph which cannot be said to be of a political character. There are subjects which have a distinctly social object in view. Promotion of Inter-Communal unity is also one of them. Would not that object be promoted by the removal of untouchability? Does or does not untouchability affect the question of Inter-communal unity? The amelioration of the condition of backward classes does not confine itself to political amelioration or the conferment of franchise upon backward classes. The amelioration of their condition is amelioration in all respect. These words are sufficient to cover the object of the resolution as it originally stood. It is particularly difficult to draw a clear line of demarkation between political and social matters. There are many social matters which impinge upon political matters and many political matters which impinge upon social matters. All these have a bearing upon political rights and disabilities. It is difficult to draw a line of demarkation between them. Let me remind you that at the last session of the Federation a resolution was passed on this very subject in these terms:—"The National Liberal Federation accords its fullest support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in its power to remove this disability. The Federation accords its approval to the principle underlying the legislative measures now before the Legislative Assembly". That resolution went much farther than the resolution now before you. Our object was to have a resolution which creates no difference of opinion and makes the resolution acceptable to almost all the members of the Conference. Look at some of the resolutions passed to-day at this Conference. Take Swadeshi. Is it a political matter or a purely economic matter? We cannot say that it is not a political matter and you cannot say that it is not an economic matter. It has a great bearing upon political matters. Take the question of Temperance. Is that a question of social reform or political reform? It is no doubt a question of social reform but you cannot say that it is outside the purview of political platform. It is difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between social and political matters. On questions of expediency we may clear ourselves of social and religious questions. It is a question of expediency as to what we should allow to be discussed. As a matter of fact we have at this very meeting this morning passed resolutions on questions which are primarily of the nature of social reform or on economic questions and it is impossible to contend that we confined strictly only to matters of political character. I do not want to be drawn into any discussion on abstract questions of what are politics and what are not politics. With the illustration I have given you it is impossible to draw this distinction. My friend Mr. Govinda Raghava Iyer wants the first part of the resolution to be taken out for the removal of untouchability. I do not know whether he is of opinion that untouchability should remain. I believe that a large number among us are convinced that untouchability should go. But there is a difference of opinion as to the means by which it should be removed, whether it should be by means of legislation or compulsion or by education of public opinion or by means of persuasion. We do not wish to commit the Federation to any decision on the question of legislation. We leave the question open. My friend Mr. Natesa Sastri wanted to move an amendment.

That would mean that Federation as a body is opposed to legislative interference. I do myself think that legislative interference is desirable but that is another matter. The question is whether any method of legislative interference should be resorted to. We steer clear of any expression of opinion as to the desirability or otherwise of legislation. We confine ourselves to the opinion as to the desirability of removing untouchability. We do not wish to commit the Federation as a whole to any expression of opinion on this point. Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was willing to allow the words "for the uplift of the backward classes" to remain. The removal of untouchability is one of those means which are essential to their uplift, to their self respect and to raise them in the estimation of the community generally. My friend wanted to introduce another amendment as regards the "so called untouchability." Untouchability is a fact and I do not think it is necessary for us to insult the feelings of the people by using the word "so called untouchables." If there are no untouchables why all this fuss? Even the least sensitive members of the depressed classes will object to reference being made in the resolution to the "so called untouchables." There is no necessity for the amendment and I think it is very undesirable to introduce it in the resolution and make it appear that the National Liberal Federation is of opinion that untouchability shall remain a permanent feature of our society. On these grounds I oppose the amendment.

The amendment was put and declared lost only nine voting for it.

The original resolution was then put and declared carried by a large majority.

The Conference adjourned for lunch.

The Conference re-assembled after luncheon interval at 2-30 P. M. under the Presidency of Mr. J. N. Basu.

IX. PRINCES' PROTECTION BILL.

THE PRESIDENT :—We shall now proceed to consider Resolution No. IX. I call upon Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao to move the resolution.

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

Mr. President and Brother Delegates, the resolution which I have the honour to move is in the following terms :—

The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic disapproval of the Princes' Protection Bill now before the Legislature as it makes further inroads on the freedom of the Press.

Gentlemen, this is a matter which relates to a Bill which was introduced in September last in the Legislative Assembly. The object of this Bill was to empower the Government of India to protect the administrators of States in India which are under the suzerainty of His Majesty's Government, from activities subversive or exciting disaffection towards or to interfere with such administration. That is how the object of this Bill has been described in the preamble to the Bill. Since its introduction it has been a subject of controversy throughout India as subversive of the rights of British Indians and that the provisions are altogether undesirable and dangerous as they restrict the legitimate rights of British Indians and they are certain to close the only avenue

now available to people of Indian States to bring before the public their grievances through the British Indian Press. This is the subject of our complaint. I need not dilate very much on the present position of the people in Indian States as you are all aware that there is no rule of law in most of the Indian States. The rights of Habeas Corpus are not in force in Indian States. They have no sense of liberty. Anybody can be arrested and thrown into prison and compelled to remain there without trial. There is no security of property. They have no press. As you are all aware the newspapers in Indian States can be counted on one's fingers. They have no right of association or of public meeting. This is compendiously described as the action of the rule of law in Indian States. What has happened in consequence of this state of things? It cannot be that people of Indian States have no grievances. They are subjects of autocratic Governments and they have no representative institutions in Indian States except in a few to ventilate their grievances and bring them to the notice of the Government. The result is that year after year most people of Indian States have come to British India and organised their annual Conferences for ventilating their grievances. It is a notorious fact that many of the States have refused permission to their subjects to hold conferences within their States. I have known of instances of permission asked from H. E. H. Nizam's Government and other Princes having been refused to hold conferences. Either rulers of States believe that their subjects have no grievances or that they have no politics, notwithstanding the fact that for several years this right of association has been pressed and people of Indian States have been asking for permission to hold political conferences in various States. You will find that Western Indian States have organised their conferences in Bombay, the Deccan States in Poona and Kathiawar States in near places which were considered perfectly safe for holding their meetings. Their position is therefore helpless. It is also well known that British Indian Newspapers which have been in the habit of criticising the administration of Indian States have been refused entry into States and postal authorities have been asked not to distribute such papers in Indian States. Many have been arrested and thrown into prison. There is this disparity in the condition of States' peoples in comparison with people in British India. In these circumstances you will have to consider the provisions of this Bill. The ostensible object of this Bill is to give security and protection to the rulers and administrators of Indian States from movements and activities intended to promote disaffection or to interfere with their administration. It is a perfectly legitimate work in respect of places where there is no Press, no Legislature, and no representative institutions. What is exactly the position of the people of the Indian States in the ventilation of their grievances? There is no answer to that question. In introducing this Bill in the Legislative Assembly Sir Harry Haig said, in connection with the coming Federation that it is better to place all the units of the Federation on the same position with reference to subversive attempts against them. It seems to me that we have been talking of Federation for the last four years. No body knows when this Federation is going to materialise. Statements have been made with reference to States joining the federation that there are conditions stipulated which are impossible of being complied with. In these circumstances it would have been most wise on the part of the Government of India to wait till the Federation actually materialises before thinking of protecting these States in the way that

they propose to do in this Bill. The main reason why throughout British India objections have been taken to this Bill is that there is autocratic administration in Indian States, that there is no public press there for the ventilation of the peoples' grievances with the result that subjects of British Indian States have to come to British India as one outlet for their grievances. When they come here they are prosecuted for offences under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

Gentlemen, I think our duty clearly is to protest against the provisions of this Bill and inform Government that if any protection is necessary the time for it has not yet come. In a recent conference of Indian States' Subjects in Poona over which Rao Bahadur Lathe has presided, he has said that no State or Ruler should be permitted to take the benefit of this Act so long as there is no liberty of speech or freedom of association or representative institutions in the States to ventilate the grievances of the people of the State. We must emphatically say that rulers of States should not be given any protection so long as there are no reasonable facilities afforded in States to criticise their administration. It seems to me to protect autocratic rulers from criticism in British Indian Press by British Indian subjects or by Indian States' people is dangerous to the liberty of the Press in British India. There are various other provisions of this Bill which are of objectionable nature. They have been justified on the ground that they seek to punish people who transgress the law of tradition as laid down in Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, for offences committed in British India whether by British Indians or by subjects of the Indian States. A question has been raised whether it is legitimate for British Indian Legislature to lay down law in regard to acts regarding Indian States. Some doubt has been thrown on this matter. The Press has already suffered under restrictive legislation in recent years. We had Legislation in 1910. Then we had Press Ordinances. We have now emergency Legislation of 1933 and we are to have another Bill which is going to provide ample protection to autocratic rulers in regard to what they do without being legitimately criticised in the British Indian Press. The Press is a great palladium of the rights and liberty of people and if you take away the existing facilities it will be a most dangerous step for the Government to take. It is on these broad grounds that we protest against this measure. Therefore I commend this resolution to you for it is a grave encroachment on the liberty of the Press.

Mr. A. V. Patwardhan.

In seconding the proposition, Mr. A. V. Patwardhan said: Fellow Delegates. The Bill, against which Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao has brought forward the resolution, is of a dangerous character from the point of view of the Indian States' people. As I am connected with the States' people's agitation, I think it to be my duty to come and place before you the difficulties of workers in this cause.

I have been complaining, and complaining often, about the attitude of leaders of British India in the matter of the condition of the Indian States' people. But now the British Indian Government has gone a step further in curtailing the liberty of the Press in British India on the question of protesting against Indian States' administrations. If you analyse the facts as they prevail in the Indian States you will find that there is practically no administration

excepting in these South Indian States. If it had not been for the Press in British India, the misdeeds of Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar or the Ruler of Dewas would not have come before the public. After the Bawla case the British Indian Press raised a hue and cry against the administration of Indore; and that was the reason why Sir Tukoji Rao was asked to abdicate. If the British Indian Press is prevented by this new legislation from publishing matters relating to Indian States, the only avenue available to the Indian States' people of ventilating their grievances will be closed, and the people of the Indian States will be without any method of getting justice for their grievances. The Home Member has introduced this Bill in the Legislative Assembly, and at the beginning of his speech said: "Don't misjudge this Bill because it is introduced by the Home Member" and from that you will see that any action taken by the Home Member is considered as rather arbitrary. The Bill that is introduced before the Assembly now is to amend the old Princes' Protection Act of 1922 which was refused the first reading even in the Assembly. It was certified by the Governor-General of the day, and that Act is to be amended now with a view to give more protection to the Princes. In the statement of objects and reasons the reason given is "The forthcoming constitutional changes moreover make it desirable that the authorities in British India should have power to protect units of the Federation from agitation directed against them from British India." As the Dewan Bahadur has said, we do not know when Federation is going to come into existence. The Government is going to give protection for future units of the Federation. But in my opinion this is a protection that is sought to be given to British Indian Officers themselves. In the evidence that was given before the Joint Parliamentary Committee Mr. Churchill said that the Government is forcing the States to enter the Federation. Among the baits that were put before the States to join the Federation, you know one proposal that was made is to do away with the tributes that are being paid by the States at present. That is one bait. This is another—of protecting the mal-administration that is being carried on by these Rulers within their States; and the exposure of that mal-administration is to be stopped by making any criticism of their actions impossible in the British Indian Press. The Home Member in his speech in introducing this Bill said: "This Bill is intended against unconstitutional acts." But you know that in Indian States there is no constitution at all and every action there of the Ruler will be treated as an act which is guaranteed by the constitution. He further said "This legislation is meant to protect administration that is established by law." But I doubt whether there is any law under which the administrations of the Indian States are carried on. Even the administration of Mysore is, as you know, guaranteed by the Guarantee Deed. The Government of India which has been watchful of the States has only recently allowed acts of Mysore Legislature to be free from the shackles imposed upon it up till now. Up till recently even laws passed by the Assembly of Mysore had to be ratified by the Governor-General. If this is the case as regards a progressive State like Mysore you can imagine what sort of administration there will be in States elsewhere. You must have heard of the discreditable case that is going on in Bikaner. The Bikaner Maharaja is considered a progressive ruler. In his State a case has been launched against seven gentlemen for taking signatures on an application that was to be presented to the President of the Congress as regards the rights of States' people. This case has been going on for the last

24 months and you will be surprised to hear that the accused are obliged to walk every day from the jail to the court office three miles in the hot sun on foot with shackles on hand and foot, and in the evenings they are obliged to return on foot. This is the way the administration of a progressive Maharaja is being carried. If these things are not brought before the public, how are the States' people to get any redress of their grievances? In the Assembly debate I find my friend Mr. Joshi pleading for States' subjects. He said: "You want constitutional methods to be followed, but if there are no constitutional ways allowed in the States how do you expect people in Indian States not to resort to unconstitutional method?" Under these circumstances it is very difficult for people of Indian States to get their grievances ventilated before the public. Section 4 is about the Press, 5 is about Jathas, and 6 gives District Magistrates full power.

"Where in the opinion of a District Magistrate or Presidency Magistrate there is sufficient ground for proceeding under this Section, such Magistrate may, by written order, stating the material facts of the case and served in the manner provided by Sec. 134 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, direct any person to abstain from a certain act if such Magistrate considers that such direction is likely to prevent or tends to prevent interference with the administration of a State in India or danger to human life or safety or a disturbance of the public tranquillity or a riot or an affray within the said State." You know at present how the District Magistrates in British India interpret the laws and orders of superiors. If this special power is given to these District Magistrates, I am quite sure that hereafter States' people will not have any chance of holding any conference in British India even. You will say: "Why don't you hold the conference within the States limits themselves?" The Dewan Bahadur has told you already that in most of the States there is prohibition of holding any meeting. When we began our agitation of Indian States' people, we from Poona went to Bhor and requested the Ruler of the State to allow us to read some portion of the chapter of the Montagu Report, the 19th chapter of that Report, even that was disallowed. Later on we had to disobey that proclamation and hold a meeting there. If you prevent by such proclamations and orders ordinary human rights to be exercised, then you will force the people of Indian States to take to civil disobedience.

Under these circumstances I want you, leaders of British India to come to the help of Indian States' people, and from that point of view say that this Bill should not be passed into law.

THE PRESIDENT: The resolution has been duly proposed and seconded. Is it your will that it should be accepted? Anyone against?

The resolution is unanimously carried.

The second day's sitting then terminated.

Third Day's Proceedings : 28-12-1933.

The Conference reassembled in Gokhale Hall at 12 noon, Mr. J. N. Basu presiding.

X. PARTY ORGANISATION.

THE PRESIDENT :—We now commence the work of the day. There are certain resolutions to be put by me. I will move resolution No. 10. The resolution runs thus.

In view of the impending changes in the constitution of the country and the introduction of the democratic principle the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that there is urgent need for the formation of a country wide Liberal political organisation, and that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to so extend and establish its organisations as to ensure the progress of the country on sound and healthy national lines and calls upon all members and associations belonging to this school of thought to work for the collection of the necessary funds and securing members and workers necessary for the building up of the Liberal Party.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

XI. ECONOMIC DISTRESS.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now move resolution No. 11 which runs thus:—

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to impress upon the Government of India and all provincial Governments the imperative necessity of the adoption of measures for the relief of the acute economic distress among the people, including an appreciable reduction of the burden of taxation, and for planned economic development.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

XII. RESERVE BANK BILL.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now move resolution No. 12 which stands as follows:—

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while welcoming the prospect of early establishment of a Reserve Bank, does not approve of the control by the Governor-General at his discretion of the Bank's policy and working, as thereby the domination of Whitehall and the city of London over India's monetary policy will be perpetuated.

(b) The Federation further deems it necessary that the Indian Legislature should at all times be free to so amend the Reserve Bank Act as may be found necessary.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

XIII. RECIPROCITY BETWEEN INDIA AND DOMINIONS.

THE PRESIDENT :—I move now resolution No. 13 which is as follows:—

The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its surprise that the Secretary of State for India should have declared himself against India being allowed the right of retaliation against Dominions which may discriminate against her and which may deny to Indian nationals the elementary rights of citizenship. In the opinion of the Federation the possession of

such right by the Government and the Legislature of India is indispensable and a Constitution Act which withholds the right can never be acceptable to the people of this country.

The resolution was declared carried unanimously.

XIV. CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

THE PRESIDENT :—I now propose resolution No. 14 which reads as follows :—

The Federation authorises its council to take necessary and feasible steps from time to time in co-operation with other organisations and parties to devise plans for joint work after the presentation to Parliament of the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the publication of the Indian Constitution Bill in its final form.

THE PRESIDENT :—This resolution lays down the policy of our party as regards co-operation with other organisations in the great work that lies before us in national progress. Gentlemen, so far as the differentiation of the population and their divisions into different parties are concerned, if the matter is carefully looked into, you will notice that the matters in which the parties differ are few and comparatively unimportant while situated as India is the matters in which they agree, the vital matters which go to the very root of their life and progress, are matters on which all communities, whatever caste or creed they belong to, are completely united. The time has come, having regard to the movements that are taking place for the creation of barriers as between parties and communities in this country on an artificial basis, for you not only to declare the elementary rights that every man has, but you will have to apply those rights and liberties and the time has come for us to break the barriers that are sought to be erected so that the hand of fellowship that ought to be joined in close contact with different parties should have a free and unobstructed play in the joint work for our common progress.

The resolution was put and declared carried unanimously.

XV. THE WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS.

THE PRESIDENT :—We now come to consider the expression of our views on the White Paper. I call upon Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar to move the resolution.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, The resolution which I have been asked to move on the White Paper proposals extends over four pages and contains as many as 21 clauses. Almost all the delegates present to-day were present at the discussion in the Subject Committee last night and the resolutions which now are placed before you are practically the same as they were at the last night's sitting. The copies of this resolution have been circulated to all and I do not consider it necessary that I should occupy your time by reading all the clauses of the resolution covering four pages and more before I make my remarks on the White Paper proposals.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The National Liberal Federation of India, reiterating its sense of profound disappointment at the White Paper proposals on Indian Constitutional Reform, records its emphatic opinion that the elucidation of the White Paper by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee and the supplemental proposals made in the course of his evidence before that Committee have strengthened among the people of India the conviction that the proposals are not calculated to establish any real responsible Government in India either in the Provinces or in the Centre and that the Secretary of State's declaration in the House of Commons that Dominion Status is neither the next stage nor the next but one violates the spirit of solemn pledges given with the sanction of the British Cabinet and has shaken their faith in the intentions of the British Parliament and people.

DOMINION STATUS.

2. The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian National aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

CONTROL FROM ENGLAND.

3. (a) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Governments in India by His Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.

(b) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures during the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

(c) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purpose.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

4. The Constitution Act should vest in the federal legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

ALL-INDIA FEDERATION.

5. (a) The Federation is strongly in favour of All-India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and the Indian States and on lines consistent with responsible government, but notes with regret that the proposals made in the White Paper and elaborated recently by the Secretary of State, as conditions precedent to the inauguration of the Federation not only make for undue delay but are neither necessary nor justified.

(b) In the opinion of the Federation it is unnecessary and inexpedient to create a separate statutory authority called the 'Viceroy'; and in any case the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should be exercised by the Government of India and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.

(c) The Federation is emphatically of opinion that none of its constituent units should have the right of subsequent secession.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

6. The Federation is strongly of opinion that a declaration of fundamental rights of Citizenship applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR BRITISH INDIA.

7. If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialise or be unduly delayed, there should be a responsible central Government for British India concurrently with "provincial autonomy," without prejudice to the effectuation of All-India Federation at the earliest possible date thereafter.

DEFENCE.

8. (a) While the Federation is prepared to accept the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of Defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they contemplate the retention of complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It views with the gravest misgiving and apprehension the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the Army to Indian control at the end of a limited period.

(b) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly urges that recruitment to the Indian Army, instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes, should be thrown open to all communities and provinces.

(c) The Federation urges that His Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the army within a period of twenty years. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers.

(d) The amount of expenditure on defence should be fixed every five years by a committee consisting of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over that amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event of hostilities on the frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it.

(e) During the period of transition the Defence Councillor should be a non-official Indian, preferably an elected member of the Federal Legislature, or one of the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal legislature.

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

9. (a) The Federation, concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Ministers, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which, while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of impotence in the disposal of the bulk of it.

(b) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed financial safeguards are both unnecessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion Governments and Legislatures.

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION.

10. (a) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British Nationals doing or seeking to do business in or with India, cannot support the proposals against "Commercial discrimination" as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may, in their judgment be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development.

(b) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General, to override the will of the legislature or the Government in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of "external relations."

STATUTORY RAILWAY AUTHORITY.

11. The Federation objects to the creation of a statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the tax-payer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.

THE SERVICES.

12. (a) The Federation considers the proposals of the White Paper regarding the Services as wholly reactionary and objectionable and regards the Secretary of State's further commentary thereon, in the course of his evidence as placing the future Provincial and Central Governments in an even worse position than the present dyarchic Ministries and rendering them practically impotent to maintain control and regulation of Services in a manner that would enable them to discharge their responsibilities to the Legislature for the carrying out of their policies and the efficiency of the departments under their administration in any satisfactory manner. The Federation, while quite willing to protect the rights of the present members of the Services, is wholly against any proposals which would give them inducements by way of enlarging the scope and character of the compensation for "existing and accruing rights" and also of making such rights available for those recruited subsequent to the passing of the Constitution Act.

(b) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment, control, and the determination of the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safe-guarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents; and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service.

(c) No member of any permanent service shall be appointed as Governor of an Indian Province.

POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GOVERNORS.

13. The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of Government, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of opinion that these proposals if carried into effect will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autocrats than at present.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

14. While the Federation approves of a bi-cameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that;—

(i) The strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper;

(ii) There should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General;

(iii) All the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the States as a transitory measure for a fixed period;

(iv) The responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both houses assembled in joint session;

(v) A two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of motions of no confidence;

(vi) The representatives of the States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects;

(vii) The Council of State should have no right of considering demands for grants or money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited like that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911;

(viii) The Governor-General should not have the power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both houses of legislature; and

(ix) The Governor-General should not have the power of certifying the whole or part of a grant refused by the Assembly.

(x) This Federation is of opinion that the appointment of a Financial Adviser if any should vest in the Federal Government.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

15. The Federation reiterates the resolutions passed at its previous sessions against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the continued maintenance and strongly protests against the proposed extension of such electorates. The Federation re-affirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will be best secured by reservation of seats—with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE AND COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.

16. (a) The Federation protests against the modification for the worse made by His Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.

(b) And it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organizations to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.

JUDICATURE.

17. The Federation is of opinion,

(a) That the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and

(b) That provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal of British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself.

(c) The Provincial High Court should be under the control of the Federal Government.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: TRANSITORY POWERS.

18. The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the Constitution of the Central Government in the interval between the introduction of "provincial autonomy" and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reactionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be worse even than at present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

19. (a) The Liberal Federation objects strongly to the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in the spheres of finance, legislation and administration, as they are calculated to render "provincial autonomy" a shadow of the reality.

(b) This Federation urges that there should be no departure from the policy of transference to the Provincial Governments of all departments of the administration.

NEW PROVINCES.

20. The Federation is strongly opposed to the constitution of new Provinces except where they can support themselves.

CONCLUSION.

21. In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, further aggravate the present unhappy conditions, alienate Indian opinion and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the lines of the Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will alone meet India's requirements and will satisfy the National self-respect of India.

The White Paper Scheme was published in the beginning of this year and it evoked a storm of criticism from all quarters. It satisfied no one in the country. It did not fulfil the expectations of the people. It was thrashed out at considerable length when the Session of the Liberal Federation was held in Calcutta last April. The resolution now placed before you is practically the same that was considered by the Federation on the last occasion. In some respects we have made a few changes. Since the meeting of the Federation in April last there have been a few further developments and a few further enunciations of policies by Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State. It is for the purpose of referring to some of these new developments and new expositions of policy that a few changes have been introduced in the resolution passed in April last. I will refer to a few of the main features of this resolution. The chief criticism levelled against the White Paper Scheme is that it did not take us any where near Dominion Status. It was stated by some that Dominion Status was not promised at all. What was promised has been repudiated and set at rest by the Secretary of State himself. We had the right to expect that the new reforms which would be inaugurated would carry us on the path to

Dominion Status and would lay down a Dominion constitution subject to certain safeguards and reservations for an unavoidable period of transition. These were our expectations but they have not been fulfilled by the scheme which has been embodied in the White Paper nor has any attempt been made to remove any of the defects or meet any of the criticisms which have been brought forward in the press or on the platform. Now are we in sight of Dominion Status at all? We were told by Sir Samuel Hoare that the new Bill would not give us Dominion Status, that Dominion Status would not be the next step from these reforms or even the next but one to Dominion Status. How long are we to wait then for Dominion Status? How many stages more we have to pass through is not made clear. We were prepared to agree to a minimum period of transition but not to an indefinite postponement of the attainment of Dominion Status. Though there are various provisions in the White Paper as safeguards, and reservations and restrictions on the powers of legislatures during the period of transition, there is absolutely no indication as to when the safeguards, reservations and restrictions would be removed or when the period of transition would end. Nor is there again a definite indication as to the date when a federal scheme will be inaugurated. Various conditions were imposed for the inauguration of Federation such as that a number of Indian States should agree to join the Federation, that 51 per cent of the population of the Indian States and 51 per cent of the seats should be represented by the States which agree to join the Federation. How long it will take for States representing this rate of population and this proportion of seats to join the Federation we have not an idea, nor have we an idea as to what is to happen if the requisite proportion of States do not express their willingness to join the Federation. With regard to these matters no further light has been thrown by the discussions which have taken place in the Joint Select Committee.

Then again it was a matter of complaint that there were far too many safeguards and restrictions imposed, that there was no real responsibility at all conferred by the provisions of the scheme. We find no indication of any disposition to remove or diminish these safeguards and restrictions. On the other hand the disposition of the Secretary of State has been to yield too readily to all suggestions for further safeguards and restrictions. When any suggestion was made to remove the safeguards and restrictions he was not inclined to agree to any such suggestion. The White Paper scheme therefore as it was published is not likely to be improved in any way. On the other hand it is likely to be watered down a great deal as a result of the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee. Then again one of our complaints was that there was no provision for any progressive transfer of responsibility to the legislatures. What ever responsibility may be conferred now should be gradually extended automatically until India attains full Dominion Status. There is no provision in the White Paper Scheme for a gradual extension or enlargement of responsibility by any automatic process. If any further responsibility has to be secured it can only be by the procedure of again appealing to Parliament and the British government and perhaps by means of further enquiries at certain stages. That is a feature of the White Paper Scheme to which a strong objection has been taken everywhere. Another objection which was taken to the scheme was that no power was conferred

under the scheme for vesting constituent powers in the legislature to amend the constitution in any respect. Whatever amendment may be required whether of a minor character or of important character can only be secured by an appeal to the Parliament and by applying for a further statute. The usual procedure in the enactment of a new constitution is to vest what is called the constituent powers in the legislature by which responsibility is proposed to be conferred to alter the constitution from time to time in such manner as may be found necessary or expedient. No doubt it may be necessary to enact certain safeguards for the purpose of preventing any rash legislation or any injury to interests which ought to be protected, but these safeguards should be such as could be complied with by responsible legislature and should not be such as could be got over only by an application to the various parties such as the Imperial Parliament, or the British Government. There is no sign of any intention to confer any constituent power upon the Indian Legislature with regard to the alteration of the constitution. Then there is another matter to which reference may be made. And that is that there is no provision for slackening or removing control of India Office to the Government of India. The retention of India Office and control exercised by the Secretary of State over the Government of India have been a subject of criticism for many decades past. It has been felt that India Council has always acted in a reactionary spirit. We felt that they always impeded progress instead of furthering progress in any responsible matter. In all these respects there has been no change whatever since the publication of the White Paper.

Then again another great defect in the White Paper scheme is that there is no indication of any intention to transfer the subject of Defence to the control of Indian legislature within any conceivable period of time. A reference has been made during some of these discussions to the fact that it has been recently decided to Indianise one division of the Indian army but there is no proposal and no plan for the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the Indian army and no proposal for nationalisation of the army. It has been said that it is objectionable to fix any time-table and that it may not be possible to work-up such a time-table irrespective of the results of the experiment which they say is now being made. But whether it is an experiment or not, it ought to be possible for them to lay down some limit of time, however long it may be, within which the army should be Indianised and it should be possible to transfer the control of the Defence to the legislature. The very possibility of the transfer of the responsibility in respect of Defence does not seem to have entered into the thoughts of the people who are responsible for the preparation of this scheme. For aught we know it may take a century or more. How long it will be, it is not possible to say, to Indianise the army. This I regard as one of the serious defects in the scheme. Until this country is able to take charge of the subject of Defence it cannot possibly attain the Dominion Status and England will always continue to rely upon India's inability to defend herself or take charge of the subject of Defence as a ground for refusing to grant her the full Dominion Status. This is, in our view, one of the most vital defects in the scheme of reforms which has been outlined in the White Paper. There has been any amount of discussion before the Joint Select Committee upon the omissions in the White Paper Scheme and from the reports, that have appeared in the papers from time to time we were led

to imagine that there were considerable differences among our own delegates and that they had not succeeded in arriving at any large measure of agreement. We have all been agreeably surprised and it is a most gratifying thing that His Highness the Aga Khan and eleven other delegates have been able to submit a joint memorandum to the Secretary of State and Parliament embodying their objections to the scheme contained in the White Paper. This memorandum has emphasised all the points which the public have dwelt upon as constituting serious defects in the scheme of reforms. It is a most gratifying circumstance and I do hope that considerable weight will be attached to representations which have now been brought forward by these delegates to the Joint Select Committee including as they do representatives of various classes and creeds in India. There are five Mohamadan gentlemen and two or three Hindus, a Parsi, a Christian and an Eurasian. That people representing all these creeds and classes should have been able to agree in this matter of the White Paper scheme is a matter of satisfaction to us all. They have stated in the memorandum that unless the criticisms which they have put forward in the memorandum are attempted to be met it will not be possible to satisfy even the moderate feeling. They remark that they had stated a number of modification that should in their opinion be made in the scheme in order to satisfy the ordinary public opinion and they have indicated briefly the reasons for satisfying their demands. It is clear that the demands that they put forward are the minimum demands which should be granted by the British Government before they can satisfy the Indian opinion. The defects in the scheme are set out in the various clauses of the resolution. The other clauses of the resolution deal with matters which will be dealt with by the speakers who will follow me. I do not wish to occupy your time further and I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. B. N. Gokhale.

Mr. B. N. Gokhale (Bombay): Mr. President, fellow-delegates and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been moved by our revered leader Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. The resolution, as you know, is a comprehensive one dealing with all the features of the White Paper proposals, and as you will see, it is the considered opinion of the Liberal Party on the White Paper proposals, with their implications, as revealed in the examination of the Secretary of State by the Joint Committee.

When we met in Madras in 1929 we welcomed the announcement of Lord Irwin to the effect that the natural issue of Indian political progress was the attainment of Dominion Status and with a view to frame the future constitution a Round Table Conference was proposed to be called. In the resolution which we then passed, we made it clear that the Liberal Party stood for Dominion Status subject to essential safeguards for the transitional period. Speaking from this very platform, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then made it clear in his speech that the Liberals did not want Dominion Status to be worked by stages or instalments, we wanted a dominion constitution subject to the minimum necessary safeguards, which would come to an end at the end of the transitory period.

It is from this point of view that I wish you to study the White Paper proposals and to give your support to this resolution. Now three Round Table

Conferences were held, as a result of which the British Government formulated their proposals embodied in the White Paper, and the Joint Committee has now examined official as well as non-official witnesses concerned, on their proposals. But what do we find? Some of the delegates who attended the Round Table Conference—all the three sessions—and also the sittings of the Joint Select Committee were hopeful that the essential modifications which were being pressed on the attention of the British Government on behalf of the progressive sections of India would be given effect to by His Majesty's Government. But after the evidence that has been collected by the Joint Select Committee, our apprehensions are that not only will there be no advance on the White Paper proposals, but it is likely, unless we make strenuous efforts, that there will be a whittling down of those proposals themselves. In 1921, when the Federation met in Bombay under the distinguished Chairmanship of Mr. Chintamani, we passed a resolution on Provincial Autonomy, because we are always being told that whatever the defects in the central constitution, we are going to have Provincial Autonomy in the future constitution. Our main complaint at the end of the first Round Table Conference was this, that the special powers of the Governors were too comprehensive, that the Government had already decided to create second chambers in some of the Provinces. Those were our two complaints. Now the safeguards appear to be in danger of being multiplied further. When the Secretary of State was being examined by the Joint Select Committee, two suggestions were put forward regarding the department of law and order. The first was that the Governor should have some special control over the special branch (C. I. D.) of the police. The second suggestion was that with a view to keep the Police Acts and Rules outside political intervention, the Police Manuals should be divided into two sets of rules,—the Governor's rules, amendable at his discretion, and purely administrative rules, amendable by the future government. Now, gentlemen, remember these two suggestions came from no less a person than Sir Austen Chamberlain, who wields great influence over the Conservative Party. Unless therefore these suggestions are strenuously opposed by us, the proposal to transfer law and order would be virtually nullified.

This is an instance as to how there is a real danger of the safeguards being multiplied unless even at this stage we strenuously oppose any going back and strenuously demand that the suggestions made by us should be given effect to.

Similarly as regards the services, I need not remind you that it was a majority recommendation of the Services Sub-Committee that future recruitment and control of the security services also should vest in the future Federal Government. But the proposals of the White Paper are contrary to this recommendation, and now they propose that future control of the services for five years at least should remain in the hands of the Secretary of State. Similarly there are proposals regarding accruing rights of the services with which we do not agree. The way in which these safeguards are being stiffened and made more and more rigid really raises the question whether as a result of these enquiries, extended over nearly six years, we are going to have a constitution which will be better than the present one or which will be actually a retrogression. Without going into that vexed question, it is certain that the

constitution now proposed does not satisfy us, in the sense that it does not contain the essential attributes of a democratic constitution which is capable of automatic growth. It was the claim made by Sir Samuel Hoare before the Joint Select Committee that the whole basis of his scheme was the basis of development. But he had to admit that with regard to the reservations, with regard to the proposals about the services, the previous sanction required in connection with certain matters in the central legislature, we shall have again to go before the British Parliament to get these things amended. Not only therefore, as Sir Sivaswami Aiyer has pointed out to you, does the constitution not take us any nearer the goal of Dominion Status, but it is such a rigid constitution that it will be difficult for us under the constitution to make substantial progress within a reasonable period. Now, as belonging to the younger section of the Liberal Party, I have one thing to say. Under the guidance of our stalwart leaders we fully believe in the efficacy of constitutional methods. But is it not also the duty of Government to confirm that faith in us by action? Will it be wise, will it be expedient, to show that Government will not yield to constitutional methods, to the pressure of constitutional methods? It is therefore the hope of the Liberal Party that even at this stage the British Government will think twice before proceeding further and give effect to the modifications that are being demanded by the Liberal Party. With these words I beg to second the proposition.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) supported the resolution and in doing so said :—Mr. President and fellow-Liberals, I recently happened to read something about the dimensions of a speech and what should be its length. The answer was given that a speech should be like a woman's dress (laughter) long enough to cover the subject and short enough to be interesting. (Laughter). The subject matter of this resolution covers such a vast ground that no speech which is possible during the time at our disposal can cover the subject fully. Therefore I shall not make any attempt to fulfil that test. A short speech can be made but it is not given to all to make it interesting. Therefore I shall say a few words to the best of my power without attempting to satisfy the definition of a good speech that I have referred to at the outset. The subject matter of this resolution has been discussed at great length during several sessions of the Federation and Liberal Conference and on other occasions. I have sat through several sessions although it is true that this is only the second session after the publication of the White Paper. But the resolution recorded at the Session of 1931 at Bombay covered the whole ground taken at the discussion of the Round Table Conference and it may be said that as long ago as that date we made it clear what exactly would satisfy us as meeting the requirements of the country and what would not. The proposals under the White Paper were discovered to be no more than the tentative conclusions reached by committees and sub-committees of the Round Table Conference, and not only so, but to be far worse than what they were admitted to be. In fact one of the most distinguished leaders of Indian opinion who is not far from us and whom we claim as our leader had no hesitation in remarking that no criticism would be too harsh on the White Paper. What exactly does the White Paper scheme propose to give us and what does it seek to withhold from us? It promises the establishment of an All India Federation but it makes it clear that it may or

not materialise. The All-India Federation if and when it became a fact would be of such a nature that it would deserve the name of Federation by courtesy and not because it complies with the requirements of the Federation. The arrangements proposed as between British India and the Indian States are not accepted by the representatives of British India as equitable to them. The conferment of Federal legislature will be unsatisfactory. Even the lower chamber will include nominated representatives. The representatives of British India will owe allegiance not to one entity of people but to different sectional interests divided by communities and creeds. The executive will be responsible to the legislature only with a series of reservations and qualifications. The powers that the executive will enjoy will be unduly restricted by conferment of ordinary powers by the head of the government who will in no sense of the term be the constitutional head. Our present Viceroy has more than once stated in public that it is his ambition to be the first constitutional Governor-General of India. He recalled his happy days in Canada where he had no less responsibility and where his duties began and ended with the discharge of social functions. But the proposals that have been made and the tendency of policy both in White hall and in Simla indicate clearly that the Viceroy's wish is more a pious hope than anything else. The defence of the country will not be under the control of the legislature and not only will it not be so in the beginning but there is no promise that it will become a responsible subject even within the life time of a generation. In respect of finance over more than 80 per cent raised by the government will be beyond the control of the legislature. You will have a responsible finance minister, it is true, but while his responsibility is questionable, the power vested in him to enable him to discharge that responsibility is more than questionable. In the opinion of an official the future finance minister will be a big cypher. His will be the duty to raise all the revenue that may be required but his will not be the right of proposing how to dispose of the bulk of the revenue. When important matters of internal administration comprehended by the well-known phrase law and order are under consideration, the powers vested in the government are so vast and so vague that any day those powers may reduce all responsibility to nullity and the minister in-charge of law and order may act as if there were no legislature and no government. In a word, when every Indian nationalist of every school of thought has been agitating for a generation, that for which many an Indian patriot has braved and borne much, namely a responsible central government, will after the introduction of the proposed constitution be as much in the realm of adorable dreams as it is to-day. We have been told that provincial autonomy will be given to us. I shall ask you to examine the proposals with regard to the future government and I shall congratulate that one who as a result of such examination will be able to state that there will be a genuine provincial autonomy. On the contrary, that much advertised provincial autonomy will be in the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru a bogus provincial autonomy. The members of provincial government will be able to exercise very little control over the more important officers under them, namely the District officer belonging to Indian Civil Service and the Police officer belonging to the Indian Police Service. There will be very little control over those who are thrown upon the provinces with starving finance and with an army of British Officials. At the present moment under the dyarchical government it is not open to any member of provincial

government so much as to censure a member belonging to the Indian Civil Service or post any officer from one place to another except with previous concurrence. The position will continue to be the same hereafter. In no single instance will a member of provincial government enjoy control over officers on whose administrative work his own success or failure depends. As if the proposals made in the White Paper with regard to services were not bad enough in all conscience the Secretary of State to whose straight forwardness, industry, ability and cognate virtues un-numbered tributes have been paid by persons in whom the bump of admiration has been unduly developed, has made expressions to make further concessions to the services to which our leader, the distinguished mover of the proposition, has made reference. I cannot do better in speaking of this than to borrow the language of our friend the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri whose unfortunate absence from the sittings of this session we all deplore : the language employed by him in moving the resolution on this subject at the last session of the Federation at Calcutta was that if everything else in the scheme is satisfactory and if it included the present proposals as regards services he would reject it and kick at the White Paper because it made these proposals. Yet those proposals are going to be made worse than they are as the speech of the Secretary of State clearly indicates. When you come to finance one certain result of the new constitution will be to increase taxation everywhere but will that increased expenditure which we may be willing to bear as inevitable in a democratic constitution, which we may put up with and without which there will be no progress, bring with it compensating advantages ! That expenditure will be due to the paraphernalia with showy and costly trappings of constitutional government without any constitution anywhere. The country is groaning under the burden of taxation. We have passed a few minutes ago a resolution from the chair that in the present economic distress in the country a reduction in the burden of taxation is necessary but no one in authority has contemplated any such reduction. On the contrary, every Viceroy has been concerned with the thinking of means by which additional sources of taxation might be made available to the provincial governments and the central government. While we shall undoubtedly be called upon to pay more for the maintenance of the government we shall not be allowed the right of determining how to shape that expenditure. We shall not be allowed to determine the policy of the day to day administration which will have to be conducted to satisfy the aspirations of the people for whose good every government is supposed to exist. The whole of the White Paper constitution taken together has brought to my mind nothing more forcefully than the story of a cow between two brothers of which I read some years ago. When two brothers had a dispute between them as to which of them should possess the ancestral cow neither being willing to accept cash in lieu of the animal they finally decided that the elder brother should be content with the hind part of the cow and as a proof of his affection for his younger brother he will let him have the front part of the cow. From the next day he had to milk the hind part. We shall undoubtedly have responsible government and have it with a vengeance in the sense that the whole of the responsibility for maintaining that government out of taxes contributed by us shall fall upon our shoulders. But when it comes to the exercise of powers necessary for the discharge of responsibility by the state then in the main even if we work the constitution with a spirit of self-sacrifice the new constitution will relieve us of our obligation to discharge our duty.

This is a constitution which in essence is going to be given to us. It is for you to decide whether we shall accept or refuse it, whether we shall express any degree of satisfaction with the constitution or say that we are utterly dissatisfied with it. I say that there is no sense in the term 'acceptance' or 'rejection' of a promise. If it were in our power to say that no-body in the country would work the constitution at any stage because we are dissatisfied with it, we may do so. In 1906 the Liberal government in England through Mr. Birrell introduced what was called the Irish Reform Bill as an instalment of Home Rule. Then a Convention was held in Dublin and what is called Irish National Register under the leadership of John Redmund was opened and a resolution was unanimously recorded there that they rejected the Irish Council's Bill. Forth with the government dropped the measure, opened negotiations with Irish nationalists which eventuated in the Home Rule Bill introduced by Mr. Asquith. If we in India were in a like position of strength to dictate to the government, there will be a meaning in our accepting or rejecting the constitution. If to-day we say that we reject the constitution Sir Samuel Hoare will proceed with the further progress of the Bill just as if the whole did not exist. If we accept it he will follow the policy of Lord Willingdon. If we were able to say that no-body will go to the polling booths and that there will be in India no constituency proceeding to elect representatives to the legislatures, I can understand our saying that we reject the constitution. But everything will go on seemingly well whether we go to the polling booths or sit at home. We shall have elections and we shall have to bear the burden of government as if we have taken part in them. Congressmen have realised the position to their cost and the result is the formation of Swaraj party. Those who think of boycotting the future legislatures will have to go through similar experiences. It is our right to say whether we are satisfied or dissatisfied with the constitution proposed in the White Paper. The country has answered the question. The Liberal Party has answered the question. And this resolution before you answers the question and says that we are utterly dissatisfied with it. Speaking for myself I will go further and say unhesitatingly without any mental reservation that I entirely agree with Dr. Paranjpye and others who are of his opinion that it is better for us to accept the devil than that of which we do not know anything. Utterly unsatisfactory the present hybrid constitution is, and eager as we are that the constitution should be changed at the earliest possible date, I say deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility that I would sooner go on with the present constitution for a few years more and go on with our agitation until a more propitious day arrives to receive a more genuine article than this mongrel constitution that is offered to us to-day to which I apply the description given by Disraeli, namely "organised hypocrisy". I would feel we are nearer the day of Swaraj if the White Paper scheme is dead than if it is proceeded with without material improvements. That is my individual opinion and it is also my deliberate and unalterable conviction. I only have to say in conclusion that it is a matter of great regret that as Mr. Burke has remarked "Argument has been exhausted, Reason has fatigued, Experience has given judgement but obstinacy has not been conquered". I will add to 'obstinacy', British arrogance and British selfishness has not been conquered. (Cheers).

Mr. B. B. Roy.

Mr. B. B. Roy (Bengal): Mr. President and gentlemen, at this moment I suffer from a grievous handicap; I find myself called upon at a stage when

Mr. Chintamani has resumed his seat after a very eloquent and moving address. I can honestly say there are few men in this country who have studied the White Paper as closely as Mr. Chintamani and who feel so strongly about it. And I wish to be pardoned if in my remarks I appear to be following in his foot-steps in a very inadequate manner. The time that has been granted to me is very limited, and following an arrangement arrived at last evening, I will confine myself to only one section of this long resolution. I confine myself to section 20 (b):—

“ This Federation urges that there should be no departure from the policy of transference to the Provincial Governments of all departments of the administration.”

Mr. Chintamani a few moments ago and Mr. Gokhale earlier discoursed to you on the nature of provincial autonomy adumbrated in the White Paper and afterwards elaborated by Sir Samuel Hoare. I wish to draw your attention to a few features. Sir Samuel Hoare's evidence, and I might also add Sir Malcolm Hailey's evidence are now being regarded as an authoritative official commentary on the actual working of the White Paper, and I am quite sure that you are all agreed with the two preceding speakers that the commentary puts a rather sinister complexion on the picture as given in the White Paper. Sir Samuel Hoare when he was being cross-examined admitted that although the different Provincial Governors would be given the same instrument of instructions, nevertheless the Secretary of State would have the power to give special instructions to particular Governors. That opens the door to differential treatment of particular Provinces. Mr. Gokhale made it clear to you that although there might be a formal transfer of law and order in the Provinces, the Governor would be enabled in the exercise of his special responsibilities, to keep to himself several departments, for example the Intelligence Branch. Now my reading of the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare makes me draw an even more unfavourable conclusion. It seems to me that the Governor would be empowered, in the exercise of his special responsibilities, not only to reserve to himself from time to time, as he thought, powers in the Intelligence Branch, but also any department at random, in respect of any of the subjects made over to the ministers. That seems to me to open the door further to differential treatment of particular Provinces. At the first Round Table Conference, so far as I can ascertain from the published proceedings, the idea of an official minister was given up. But it has been revived by Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir Malcolm Hailey. We have now been informed by these two high priests of the new constitution that it would be possible if a particular ministry in a Province so desires, to have a co-opted member who would not have to undergo the trouble of becoming elected by any constituency. Not only that; in Provinces which would have two chambers it would be possible for the Provincial Governor to nominate a nominated member as a minister. This new proposal again seems to me to open the door to arrangements which are bound to be every unfavourable to certain Provinces. Lastly, so far as I remember, all the Indian delegates at the first Round Table Conference were emphatic that ministers in the Provincial cabinets should work on the principle of joint responsibility. Cross-examined on that point, Sir Samuel Hoare found himself unable to commit himself one way or the other. The idea at the back of these official minds is this—

joint responsibility if possible, but there is no serious objection to any such responsibility residing in the cabinet as a whole. Those of us who have studied the working of the dyarchic constitution during the last ten years or so know it for certain that without joint responsibility the working of any form of Government in the Provinces would be reduced very much to farcical conditions. The nature of this resolution makes me traverse a part of the ground covered by Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Gokhale.

I crave your indulgence for a minute or so to refer to the position of the services in the Provinces. The services will not be under the control of the ministers. The ministers will have no say in their posting, in their transfer; they will have no power to censure the officers serving under them. They will have no control over the All-India services and even the Provincial services. The Public Service Commissions which might be established in the various Provinces will have only an advisory say in questions regarding their promotions. The final power will always reside in the Governors, and as seems probable, if the Governors of some of the most important Provinces happen to be recruited from the I. C. S. we can well imagine what shape the new Provincial autonomy will take.

My submission is this, that the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir Malcolm Hailey have made the prospects of real provincial autonomy recede farther and farther, and we must be on our guard day in, day out, under the leadership of the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri, Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Basu to see that our demands are met to the farthest extent possible before the new Constitution Bill is drafted and put on the Parliamentary anvil. With these words I support this important resolution.

Mr. C. M. Gandhi.

Mr. C. M. Gandhi (Gujarat) further supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President and Brother Delegates, we have our councils under ordinances. We all hope that now that quiet has been restored by ordinances, government will do something to maintain that quiet by conferring upon us a satisfactory constitution. I bear testimony to the fact that some dissatisfaction is prevailing all over the provinces on account of this unsatisfactory constitution. I have nothing more to add. I have only come to add my testimony.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras) in further supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates. In supporting this resolution moved, seconded and supported already, I shall confine my observations to the topic of commercial discrimination. You have all heard that in the twenty two paragraphs in which we attack the White Paper proposals we have got to deal with proposals which delay and are calculated to defeat entirely the Dominion Status at which we aim. There are proposals which are calculated to make responsible government in any sense impossible. There are again proposals under the head of reservations and safeguards which have the same effect. I am taking one of these, commercial discrimination, only because it is a matter of considerable importance from other points of view and also from the point of view of the Englishman. It seems to me that if everything else goes the

Britisher would at least like to have commerce in his hands. He would of course delay the giving of responsible government all along the line but on the question of commerce the Englishman's mind is always fixed and if that could be secured to him, he may not mind other things going from him. That is why I have taken commercial discrimination as calculated to reserve in his hands commerce in this country and the fact is that it enables the government in this country to advance England's interest in the matter of industry and commerce and makes it impossible for the government of this country to advance the interests of commerce and industry so far as the people of this country are concerned. Originally in the Simon Commission proposals you will remember that commercial discrimination was considered to be a topic which was made a subject of arrangement between the two countries and that it should not be made a subject of legislative provision. When we came to the White Paper proposals there were 8 paragraphs which dealt with commercial discrimination and the object was to legislate in such a manner that any statute passed in the country having the effect of commercial discrimination should be capable of being held by the courts as illegal and unconstitutional. Paragraphs 22 to 24 were not found to be sufficiently explicit and therefore they added a memorandum in the last sitting of the Joint Select Committee which contained 6 paragraphs on the whole and 2 of them are intended to be the preamble to the proposals that are dealt with in paragraphs 22 to 24 and further 3 paragraphs to explain those proposals and the intermediate paragraphs contained 8 proposals in all intended to explain and expand the original paragraphs relating to the commercial discrimination. The first of these paragraphs dealt with the matter of history with regard to public services in this country. In the legislation of 1833 Queen Victoria's Proclamation and in sec. 6 of the Government of India Act there is language indicating that all British subjects will be eligible to hold public offices in this country. I cannot speak for other people. I am speaking for myself. Until the legislation of 1833 was referred by Sir Samuel Hoare in the Joint Select Committee, I understood that legislation to secure to us equal treatment with Europeans in the British Service. I never understood that provision to be a promise of anything else in the matter of right to public service in this country. A careful examination of the Secretary of State's evidence has disclosed that the provision of 1833 legislation is the basis upon which the 8 proposals are now made saying that for public services all subjects to whatever country they belong should be entitled. In the course of the examination of Sir Samuel Hoare it was pointed out that to-day Dominions would not admit any of us into their services. If for example a person in Ceylon was admitted into the Indian Civil Service there was no corresponding provision that Indians might be admitted into the Ceylon's service. The only answer given by Sir Samuel Hoare was that he did not deem the point worth considering. But I cannot imagine that there was a provision more than a century ago under which Dominion people are entitled to come to India although we have no corresponding right to go to the Dominions. Another answer given by Sir Samuel Hoare was that you may prevent them coming to India. For what reason he said so I do not know. But I can say that you have the power to stop entry of colonials. He would not admit that such men could be excluded from India. The next 4 paragraphs I do not propose to deal with in detail. Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 deal with a topic which I might say compendiously have the effect of transporting Britain and

making it part of India. It becomes a part of India in order to confer all advantages to Britishers. They retain their position in Britain and enjoy all the advantages that we Indians enjoy. Correspondingly we get all the disadvantages of their being conferred all the rights conferred on Indians but they do not become part of us and fight our battles for us. The provisions in these paragraphs are that a person belonging to the United Kingdom and trading in India or any British Company carrying on business in India should be allowed to carry on trade and that there should be no discrimination against them whatsoever. This is pleaded as reciprocity between Britain and India. You start a company and establish in Britain any other business in Britain, we shall have no right to discriminate against reciprocity. It is in effect no concession to us at all. It may be noted that in one of the paragraphs they say that if they wanted to change one particular constitution they are entitled to do so and all that India can do is to fall into line with the arrangement made in Britain. You cannot go back on the arrangement so far as we are concerned. One other very important matter is about bounties for the purpose of enabling our infant industry to thrive and prosper. It is stated that an European company started in this country and carrying on business at the time when Bounty Act is passed will be entitled to all the concessions that that Act proposes to Indian companies. Not only that, whatever conditions are imposed, a British company may start subsidiary business in India and it may claim the bounty. To deny a company started at the beginning or starting a subsidiary company fulfilling the conditions will be discriminating. On the question of shipping which has been added Sir Samuel Hoare says, that provision contained all that Britisher is anxious about and for convenience sake they added shipping. There are two matters to which I wish to refer in order to show to you how far this commercial discrimination developed in the memorandum of Sir Samuel Hoare. For example if you call for tenders on any particular matter and tenders are given to the Government by European companies and Indian companies, if any Indian tender is accepted by the minister, it would be open to the Governor acting upon this paragraph about commercial discrimination to cancel the acceptance of the Indian company's tender and substitute an European company's tender accepted by the government. Another thing which I wish to mention is about legislation regarding Coastal shipping reserved to Indian agencies. Sir Samuel Hoare says that it cannot be reserved. He says that he cannot say what a Dominion does or does not, but that he cannot allow India to do it. If you take the provisions as regards commercial discrimination and the detailed evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare regarding it, one comes to the conclusion that if it were to be legislation its validity is to be tested in courts, that the powers of the Governor and the Governor-General to veto any measure taken by the future government are conditions under the new reforms which will be much worse than the conditions under which we are at present. While I confess that I have not been always of the opinion that Mr. Chintamani mentioned just now, when I studied the whole of the White Paper plan from the point of view of commercial discrimination, it is clear to me that it is better to remain under the present constitution than accept the White Paper proposals according to the provisions contained therein regarding commercial discrimination and explained by the evidence given by Sir Samuel Hoare.

Moulvi Abdus Samad M. L. C.

Moulvi Abdus Samad, M.L.C. (Bengal) : Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, we are discussing Resolution No. 15, dealing with the provisions of the White Paper. A certain gentleman, whose name I do not remember now, described the White Paper as a palace of fine words. In going through the White Paper you come across many high-sounding words such as constitutional ministries, federal responsibility and so on. But on a close examination it will be found that these proposals give us only the shadow of self government and not the substance. The previous speakers have dealt with certain aspects of these proposals. I have neither the capacity nor the time to go through all these resolutions. But I shall briefly confine myself to one aspect of the White Paper proposals, viz., communal electorate. It is clause 16, it reads thus:

“The Federation reiterates the resolutions passed at its previous sessions against separate communal electorates...”

Now gentlemen I do not like to discuss the merits and demerits of joint *versus* separate electorates. The question during the last four years has been threadbare discussed both in the public press and on platforms, and it is sufficient to say that it is admitted by all, even by the advocates of separate electorates, that the system of separate electorates is the negation of democracy and is inconsistent with the responsible form of government. But it is demanded on the ground that it is necessary to protect the interests of Muslim minorities. We have up till now never been told how a system of separate electorates can protect the interests of Muslims. A man who knows the A B C of politics knows that the only and the best safeguard for the protection of the interests of minorities and backward communities is the system of joint electorates, because unless the majority community have to go to the minority community for help and votes, they will be quite independent of the minority community; and the minority community without the help and co-operation of the majority community can never prosper and progress. That is a truism which does not require any argument. But in spite of this fact, the Prime Minister has been pleased to give an award sanctioning separate electorate to the Muslim community, and the ground alleged on page 18 of the White Paper is, “This award was given by His Majesty’s Government in order to remove the obstacle to further progress in the framing of a constitution which was presented by the failure of the communities in India themselves to reach agreements on the subject of the method and quota of representation of the communities in the Provincial legislatures.” I cannot allow this allegation to go unchallenged. In the first place the Government took every possible step to see that the communities did not come to an agreement, and I shall show that in spite of the obstacle the communities, 90 per cent of the entire Indian people, came to an agreement, a most equitable and just agreement. But still the Government refused to take cognizance of it.

I shall first of all show how the Government wanted that the communities should not reach an agreement. The policy of the Government is indicated in the first place in the choice of personnel of the Muslim delegation. We all know that these gentlemen, who are called Muslim delegates, were not elected by the people but nominated by the Government, and their nomination was confined to only one group of people who, under the leadership of the Aga Khan, met at Delhi and formulated 14 points, known as Mr. Jinnah’s 14 points.

They pledged themselves to support separate electorate, and it must have been under the inspiration of the bureaucracy. When they went there the Prime minister told the Muslim delegates and all the delegates of India to meet and discuss and come to an agreement among themselves. There was discussion. At first they stuck to their demand of separate electorate. When they saw they were confronted with the Simon Commission report which recommended that if Muslims wanted separate electorate they must get it on the basis of the Lucknow Pact, whereas if they gave up separate electorate they can get representation on the basis of population—when they were confronted with this fact they were inclined to come to terms with Hindu leaders, and a stage came when it was thought there was the prospect of settlement being reached. I hope the President will bear me out that the Hindu delegates, at least the Liberal section led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, were willing to concede 51 per cent of the seats with joint electorate in Bengal and the Punjab, and the Muslims were about to accept. At that psychological moment came the decision of the Government that the Muslims were entitled to get 46 per cent in Bengal and 49 in the Punjab with separate electorate. This came when the delegates were on the point of reaching an agreement. This despatch came and had the desired effect. It stiffened the back of the Muslim delegates and they resiled from that position and refused to negotiate on the basis of joint electorate. Sir Muhammad Shafi told the Hindus point-blank: "Here is the despatch of the Government of India and we stand on it; only on this basis can we come to an agreement." Of course patriotic Hindu delegates could not agree.

The solution of the communal problem was thus wrecked on this rock of communalism. This mentality displayed by the Muslim delegates roused Nationalist Muslims at that time to their sense of responsibility and also roused the Congress and all other communities to their sense of duty; and there were meetings all over India of Nationalist Muslims. There was one meeting held at Lucknow under the Presidentship of Sir Ali Imam. It was a representative meeting. There they passed resolutions accepting joint electorate. There was a meeting in Bengal also, of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. They accepted joint electorate. Then there was a meeting of the All-India Shia community which was presided over by Rajah Nawab Ali. They represent about one-third of the total Muslim population in India. They unanimously accepted joint electorate as the basis of settlement. There was a meeting of Hindu leaders and the scheme of the All-India Congress Committee was formulated. This was accepted by the entire Hindu community consisting of the Maha Sabha, the Liberal Federation and by Nationalist Muslims, Bengal Provincial Muslim League and the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind. But the Government refused to take notice of it, because they had other delegates, who were merely hirelings of the Government and who consisted of officers, ex-officers, ministers, ex-ministers, executive councillors, ex-executive councillors, knights and other title holders. These were set up by the Government as representatives of Muslims, whereas the All-India Congress Committee Scheme, which was accepted by at least 70 per cent of the Muslims, the entire Hindu community, the entire Sikh community, the entire Christian community, the Parsi community, was not regarded by the British Government as an agreement between the different parties. In this way this scheme was not accepted.

I shall only with your permission place the appeal which was issued under the signatures of Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Syed Muhammad and 700 other Muslim leaders. " True, the Muslim minority has fallen into two groups. The Delhi conference has spoken in terms of such close communalism that it would discard all Reforms if its 14 points are not conceded. The Lucknow conference on the other hand has pinned its faith on nationalism. Delhi reserves to itself a communal political life. Lucknow upholds common citizenship. Which of them is right? The answer should be based on reason and not sentimental obscurantism. If the Delhi demands are conceded, a sanction to enforce them must be found outside and not in India. The 14 points of Delhi are but a plain confession of incapacity and distrust of the majority. They predicate political isolation and subservience to extraneous authority in lieu of protection. This is perpetuation of bondage and negation of sovereignty of the people. The Lucknow creed seeks political salvation for the country. It believes in the freedom of the country and has an abiding faith on the future of Indian brotherhood, broadbased upon a common territorial patriotism. Communal hostility steeped in bitterness there is and will continue to be so long as legislative barriers are thrown between people and people rather than right perceptions of a common internationalism. Such a fatality can prove itself to be far more hurtful to the minority than to the majority. The spirit of give and take between community and community will be killed. The minority and the majority will be too armed, as they are at present, with potential Cawnpore tragedies, ever ready to break out. We therefore earnestly appeal to the people to adopt the spirit of Lucknow and the Faridpur creed and save India and ourselves from committing political harkari. (It refers to a meeting then held at Faridpur, Bengal, under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari.) A solution of the communal problem has been just reached between the Nationalist Muslims Party and the Congress Working Committee. The Congress has accepted almost all the demands of every communalist Muslim with one or two exceptions. This is the best solution of the problem and we appeal to our co-religionists to accept this solution."

Then I want to quote a passage from the speech of Rajah Nawab Ali who presided over the conference of the All-India Shia community. " Ultimately both Hindus and Muslims are bound to realise that unity of purpose alone will bring salvation to the country as a whole. The Muslim community also must realise that no minority can by any strategy deprive the majority of its undoubted position and status. Once this simple proposition is learnt by heart all the extravagant aspirations and apprehensions will be confined to practical limits."

We know what subsequently happened. In the second Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi was invited—sent as a delegate and armed with the All-India Congress Committee formula, and his modest request to include Dr. Ansari as one of the Muslim delegates was rejected because these reactionary Muslim leaders objected to him. They were afraid that if Dr. Ansari went and explained the real situation to the British Parliament their position would be disclosed and they would be detected. Therefore they were afraid to include Dr. Ansari's name in the delegation. So Dr. Ansari could not go. You know that the Muslim reactionaries entered into an alliance,

an unholy alliance, with the British diehards and one Dr. Ambedkar also entered into an agreement known as the Minority Pact. After this pact this award was given. It is pretended that this is in the interests of the Muslims.

But I hold that the Muslims can never benefit by separate electorate. We have been enjoying this privilege for the last 14 years; can the advocates of separate electorate point out any benefit derived by the Muslim community? On the other hand what do we find? The enmity and tension between the two communities is gradually increasing. Hindus and Muslims have been living as brothers for thousands of years. On sudden provocation they have fought—even Hindus with Hindus, Muslims with Muslims. That does not show that there was any difference of interest between them. They may fight to-day, they will be in peace tomorrow. But since the inauguration of the Reforms the communal riots have got a peculiar feature. It continues for months and there is a determination in each party to exterminate the other. That is the present feature. I shudder to think of the consequences which will follow if this tension is perpetuated in the future;—Agra and Cawnpore riots will fade into insignificance. There can be no responsible self-government unless there is communal unity. Apart from the differences between Hindus and Muslims, there is the problem of the depressed classes wanting separate electorates. On the next occasion the Shia community will want it, next time the Sikhs. In this way communities are divided into water tight compartments. I do not mind whether the Reforms are sufficient or not. But at the sacrifice of communal unity I would refuse to accept any Reforms. It contains the germs of its own self-destruction. The two are contradictory—self-government and communal electorate. With these words I support the resolution.

After luncheon interval.

The Conference re-assembled at 2-30 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastry to support the resolution.

C. L. Narayana Sastry.

Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastry (Madras) in further supporting the resolution said:—Mr. President and Delegates, I am exceedingly glad to be given the opportunity to associate myself with this resolution. The White Paper scheme as can be seen from the clauses is very imperfect and unsatisfactory. Instead of making responsible government they demonstrate the negation of responsible government. I do not think it is desirable after the lengthy speeches that have been made and the lengthier speeches that will come after me to take much of your time. The proposals demonstrate the very powerful and formidable struggle that Indian public opinion have had to wage against the workings of the British beauracracy. I remember reading in my student days a speech of the late Prof. Gokhale in the old Imperial Legislative Council in commending the necessity for early reforms in respect of doses and doles that Indian beauracracy is unreceptive to public demands and the activities of Indian politicians are something like breaking their heads over a stone wall. Gentlemen, in spite of the professions of British public men starting from the Prime Minister of England downwards that every effort would be made to

transfer responsibility and power to Indian hands the very little things we have enjoyed are going to be taken away. You know the agitation launched in regard to the appointment of Chief Justice. Hitherto the public have been protesting against the exclusion from the office of Chief Justice of High Court Vakils who have practised in India and it has been the case that no civilian appointed to the High Court Bench has been eligible to the office of Chief Justice. While Indian public opinion has been stressing the necessity of not restricting the post of Chief Justice to Barristers and its being thrown open to Vakils in India, the proposals here show that hereafter the Chief Justiceship of the High Courts is open not merely to the Barristers and Vakils but also to the Civilians. You see what a commentary it is upon Indian Civil Service which is so unwilling to part with power. You have heard it said that the power reserved and proposed to be continued to the civil service under the control of the Secretary of State as a sign of British control is a commentary upon the liberality of these provisions. After the labours of the Simon Commission and the criticism engendered then, we had the result of the Round Table Conferences. All this is due to the temper prevailing in England. It is not a surprise to us nor is it a cause of despair that it should prevail in England. Especially my lawyer friends would have read a book on the new form of despotism in England where instead of Parliament getting control of the services and taking work from them, it has been the aim of British Civil Service, as Lord Harcourt has complained, to get real power into their hands. Where is the surprise that the Indian Civil Servant with the spokesmen of the Tory party should try and absorb what little power there is in the hands of the people. It is unnecessary that I should take you through the various clauses which disfigure the proposals in the White Paper. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru (U. P.): Mr. President and Gentlemen, you have spent the whole of this morning in listening to the criticisms levelled against the White Paper by different speakers. Yet it would be true to say that not all the evil features of the White Paper have yet been exhaustively described. Perhaps it would be too much to claim that they are exhausted even in the long resolution placed before you. It will be impossible for me to deal with all the points contained in that resolution. It would be also superfluous, as many of them have been already dwelt upon by men whose knowledge and competence no one in India will dispute. I will therefore confine myself only to the consideration of those provisions that relate to the executive agency, on which the preservation of all governments depends.

I will grant for a moment that there are no constitutional safeguards in the White Paper, and that in theory all that you would ask for has been conceded to you by a generous nation and parliament. We shall still have to see who will carry out policies, the power to frame which has been given us by the constitution. Proceeding on the assumption that our constitution enables us to achieve Dominion Status, we have yet to enquire what means we have of enforcing our will. We pass the best laws, we frame the best policies; but if those in whose hands lies the execution of policies are not in sympathy with our views, are not in sympathy with the people with whom they come into contact daily, our laws and our policies will come to naught.

Now all those who have any knowledge of the political history of the last 50 or 60 years know very well that the earliest fighters for Indian freedom took up the question of the appointment of Indians to the higher services. It is on that issue they joined battle with the British Government. They thought, if they could Indianise the higher services they would thereby be able to change the spirit of the administration and to acquire control over it. It would perhaps be true to say that for some three quarters of a century India has demanded that the imperial services in general and the services connected with the maintenance of law and order in particular should be manned entirely by Indians and brought under Indian control. But what is the situation at present? How does the White Paper deal with this all-important question? The demand for the Indianisation of the services dates from a time when Indians not even dreamt of Dominion Status or responsible self-government. But today the British Government have declared their adhesion to a policy of constitutional reforms leading ultimately to Dominion Status. If this is to be made a reality it is obvious that the servants and the agency of the Government ought to be brought under Indian control. But what is found under the White Paper as it is today? The services, instead of being placed under the control of the Federal Government, will continue to be under the control of the Secretary of State for India. It is reasonable to require that when a subject has been transferred, the services dealing with it should also be transferred to popular Ministers. The British Government say that law and order will be transferred to the Provincial Ministers. What argument can there be then in retaining control over the recruitment of members of the Indian Police and Civil Services? When the Lee Commission reported, it generally accepted the principle that the services relating to the Transferred Departments should be controlled by the Ministers in charge of those departments. One would have thought that when constitutional powers were being conceded to Indians, this principle would be acted upon in a fuller measure and that Provincial Autonomy would imply a transfer of the control over all the services, particularly those relating to law and order, to Ministers responsible to Indian public opinion.

Then again the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which considered this question at length and which consisted of men of different political persuasions, who agreed perhaps scarcely on two or three subjects throughout the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, agreed that so far as the recruitment of the Indian Civil and Police Services was concerned, it ought to be transferred to the future Government of India. If the Sub-Committee, with the composition of the kind that I have just described, could come to the conclusion that the services connected with law and order should in future be controlled by the Government of India, it would be hard to convince anybody that there is any valid argument for retaining the present state of things.

Yet this is precisely what the Secretary of State has done. He claims that during the initial period both the Indian Civil and Police Services should continue to be recruited as at present. And what is the ground given by him for coming to this conclusion? There were a great many questions put to the Secretary of State on this subject when he appeared before the Joint Select Committee. The main reasons given by the Secretary of State were that

transfer responsibility and power to Indian hands the very little things we have enjoyed are going to be taken away. You know the agitation launched in regard to the appointment of Chief Justice. Hitherto the public have been protesting against the exclusion from the office of Chief Justice of High Court Vakils who have practised in India and it has been the case that no civilian appointed to the High Court Bench has been eligible to the office of Chief Justice. While Indian public opinion has been stressing the necessity of not restricting the post of Chief Justice to Barristers and its being thrown open to Vakils in India, the proposals here show that hereafter the Chief Justiceship of the High Courts is open not merely to the Barristers and Vakils but also to the Civilians. You see what a commentary it is upon Indian Civil Service which is so unwilling to part with power. You have heard it said that the power reserved and proposed to be continued to the civil service under the control of the Secretary of State as a sign of British control is a commentary upon the liberality of these provisions. After the labours of the Simon Commission and the criticism engendered then, we had the result of the Round Table Conferences. All this is due to the temper prevailing in England. It is not a surprise to us nor is it a cause of despair that it should prevail in England. Especially my lawyer friends would have read a book on the new form of despotism in England where instead of Parliament getting control of the services and taking work from them, it has been the aim of British Civil Service, as Lord Harcourt has complained, to get real power into their hands. Where is the surprise that the Indian Civil Servant with the spokesmen of the Tory party should try and absorb what little power there is in the hands of the people. It is unnecessary that I should take you through the various clauses which disfigure the proposals in the White Paper. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

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Yet this is precisely what the Secretary of State has done. He claims that during the initial period both the Indian Civil and Police Services should continue to be recruited as at present. And what is the ground given by him for coming to this conclusion? There were a great many questions put to the Secretary of State on this subject when he appeared before the Joint Select Committee. The main reasons given by the Secretary of State were that

when an important constitutional change was about to be made the first few years after the introduction of reforms would be difficult years and it would be unwise during this period to take a new risk by changing the basis of recruitment of the most important services in India. It was best, in his opinion, that for some time the services should continue to be recruited as at present. There would be an enquiry a few years hence but—I use now the words of the Secretary of State himself—“in the meanwhile both in the interests of India and in the interests of this country (i.e., England) which has still got many great stakes in India, as few changes as possible should be made during this initial period.”

It is of course customary for British politicians to speak of Indian interests whenever they wanted to put a brake on Indian Ministers. They always invoke the interests of India in order to check the pace of reforms. But the real reason is that Britain feels that, no matter what the future form of the government in India may be, its interests in this country are too vital to be controlled by a purely Indian Ministry responsible to a wholly Indian electorate.

But that is not the whole of the case. If the Secretary of State had to retain control over the services, this feature, however objectionable, would not have entitled anybody to say that there had been any actual set-back. But I shall place before you certain considerations which will enable you to see that in spite of the fact that the Round Table Conference was held in order to advance the constitutional status of India, in the matter of control over the services we have actually gone back. Hitherto progress with regard to the Indianisation of the services could be made by means of executive orders. The most important case of this kind is that which occurred in 1919. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Act was on the anvil, Mr. Montagu issued instructions that in future one third of the annual recruitment to the Civil Service was to take place from Indians and that this proportion was to be increased annually for ten years by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This radical change so far as recruitment of the Indian Civil Service was concerned, was introduced by the Government of the day without any reference to Parliament. But under the White Paper no Minister would be able to make any change in regard to the recruitment of the Indian Civil and Police Services without obtaining the approval of both houses of Parliament—mind you, not the approval of one house, i.e., the House of Commons; for it is feared that a Government with a majority in the House of Commons would have found no difficulty in getting the House to agree to any policy approved of in regard to the recruitment of the Services. There was a fear therefore that if a Liberal or Labour Government came into power, a democratic House of Commons might be persuaded to agree to a rapid Indianisation of the Civil and Police Services. A brake therefore has been put on the British Cabinet itself by requiring that it should get the approval not only of the House of Commons but also of the House of Lords for making any change in regard to the recruitment of the services that I am dealing with. In reality, if you look at the procedure laid down for future changes in regard to this important change, it would be true to say that something like legislation would be needed in order to advance the position of Indians in regard to the services.

You thus see that it is not merely that the situation is as unsatisfactory as before but that the chances of our speedily controlling the services connected with the maintenance of law and order have been made as small as possible and that every contrivance that could be devised has been made use of in order to delay the Indianisation of the security services.

This is the position so far as the constitution and control of the services is concerned. The Secretary of State continues to make recruitment for them and any change in them can only be made with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. But what is the position with regard to the proportion of Indian recruitment in the immediate future? In what proportions will Indians and Europeans be recruited to these services when the Reforms come into effect? We are told that the Lee proportions will continue. What are the Lee proportions? Generally speaking, the Lee Commission laid down that after a certain number of years Indians and Europeans were to be recruited in equal proportions to these important services, and this position is to continue notwithstanding the claim of British statesmen that a radical change is being made in the constitutional status of this country.

I would like just to pause for a moment and ask you to go with me a little more into the history of this question. I have just told you what the Lee proportions are. I wish to place a few facts before you which will enable you to see that the Lee proportions are nothing more than the proportions laid down by Mr. Montagu in 1919. I have just told you that Mr. Montagu decided in 1919 that, to begin with one-third of the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was to be from Indians and that there was to be an addition of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to this percentage every year up to ten years. That is, in ten years 48 per cent of the recruitment was to be Indian, *i. e.*, by the end of ten years Indians and Europeans to be recruited in equal proportions. This was the proportion maintained by the Lee Commission, and this is the proportion maintained by the Secretary of State today. We can thus claim that although nearly 15 years have elapsed since the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms were passed the angle of vision of British statesmen has not changed even on the morrow of constitutional changes. They are unwilling to go beyond the policy laid down by Mr. Montagu with regard to the recruitment of the most important security services in this country. Some people may say that although we have not got all that we wanted still there are some services which are at present under the control of the Secretary of State, which will be placed under Indian control, for instance irrigation service and forest service. Even if this be true it would be no consolation to us, we are not asking for a few posts, we are not hankering after the loaves and fishes of office, but we want that power in our hands which will enable us to work out our own destiny. But even here the situation is not quite as satisfactory as a superficial reader of the White Paper might be inclined to think. Those who want to find out the true implications of the White Paper ought to go into the evidence tendered by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee. The British members of the Select Committee were greatly uneasy in their minds at the thought that such important services as those connected with irrigation and forests, on which the economic development of India depends, should be made over to Indian Ministers, and the Secretary of State was repeatedly asked whether it would

not be wise to ensure that a certain percentage of the officers chosen every year should be Europeans. The Secretary of State resisted this demand for a long time. But subsequently he said in reply to a question by Sir Austen Chamberlain that he had perhaps not given adequate thought to the matter and that he would consider it further. So there is a possibility that the Lee percentages in regard to the proportion of Indian and European recruitment might be maintained not merely in the security services but in what I may call the economic services, on which, in the opinion of our sympathetic British friends, the future economic development of India depends. These gentlemen who have done precious little for the economic advancement of India during their rule of 175 years have now suddenly become anxious for the welfare of those departments on which the economic advancement of the country depends, and determined that Parliamentary control shall be retained over a portion of the services connected with it.

There is a good deal connected with these services that I could place before you, but there is no time, and I have yet to deal with the most important agency connected with the preservation of the authority of governments, viz., the army. I will therefore conclude this part of the subject by saying that, no matter from what angle you look at this question of recruitment to the services—whether you consider it in its constitutional aspect, whether you consider it in regard to the proportion of Indians in the higher services, whether you look from the point of view of the efficiency of administration of the Transferred Subjects, whether you look from the point of view of promoting harmony between Ministers and the agency responsible for the execution of policy—you will have nothing but condemnation and strong condemnation for the reactionary policy that has inspired the provisions relating to the services contained in the White Paper. And with this remark I will pass on to the army.

With regard to the army, apart from any question of immediate reform we have to consider the broad question of nationalising the whole of the Indian army within a reasonable time. That is a demand which most responsible Indian politicians have put forward from time to time ever since the introduction of the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms. If I may say so without presumption in the presence of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, no Indian has taken so prominent a part in educating public opinion on this subject as our distinguished countryman who is here this afternoon. (Cheers.) With a knowledge and pertinacity that will be rare in any country, he has kept this question to the forefront and every time to prevent either the Government of India or the public from forgetting that no Reforms can be a reality unless the Indian army is placed under the control of an Indian government and is manned entirely by the nationals of our country. Now we say that in order to achieve the purpose that we have in view, whatever the situation might be in the immediate future, a programme of nationalisation ought to be chalked out. We realise that owing to the past policy of the Government we are unable to produce sufficient officers to command the various units that form the army in India. We must wait till a sufficient number of officers is trained before we can acquire complete control over the army. But we are anxious, and rightly anxious, that even during the transitional period a clear policy should be laid down which would lead to complete nationalisation of the army. It is not enough, in my

opinion, to leave the thing to the sweet will of the British Government. We have waited for about fifteen years for the British Government to produce a scheme of its own, and if we were to leave the thing to them, I have no doubt we shall have to wait indefinitely.

But what is the sort of programme that we want? We have been told repeatedly that a programme that is to be rigidly adhered to is impracticable in all human affairs and particularly impracticable in the case of a department like the Indian military department. Every pace in the Indianisation of the army has to be properly tested. The entire security of the country, indeed its very existence, depends on the condition of its army. It is necessary therefore that we should have a little patience and that we should allow the military authorities to decide in accordance with the efficiency of future Indian officers what the pace of progress should be. Well, we are not putting forward this demand for the first time. Students of this question know that as far back as 1922 Lord Rawlinson, who was then Commander-in-Chief in India, appointed a committee to consider the question of Indianisation of the higher ranks of the army. That committee produced a report which laid down that the entire army could be Indianised in about 42 years. The committee was asked to reconsider its recommendation and see whether a smaller period cannot be prescribed for the purpose in view; and after going into the subject again the committee came to the conclusion that if the factors were favourable the entire army could be Indianised within a period of 20 years. This report was accepted by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and by the Government of India and forwarded to His Majesty's Government. It is true that it has not been carried out, but that is quite different. The mere fact that a programme for the Indianisation of the army was worked out and that it met with the approval of the military authorities shows that our demand is reasonable and can be satisfied if only the British Government are sincerely desirous of making Indians masters in their own house.

What is to be done with regard to the immediate future? With regard to the policy I have already told you that we desire that a scheme should be prepared which would ensure the nationalisation of the army within a fixed period. But what is the progress to be made immediately in regard to this question? It is not possible for me to go into the details of this question. But I will only say that the recommendations of the Chetwode Committee have not satisfied any class of people and that if the recruitment agreed to by the Commander in Chief is all that the British Government are prepared to grant, no section of opinion in India can believe in the sincerity of British desire to enable India to achieve Dominion Status within a reasonable distance of time—Sir Sivaswami Aiyar says, within any conceivable period of time. I entirely agree. If the Commander in Chief of India has said the last word on the question of the military policy, we must despair ever of bringing the Indian army under our control and having Dominion Status.

There is just one other question in this connection that I would like to touch, before passing on to the last portion of the resolution. That concerns the number of Indian officers we have to provide for. At present the Indian army contains only about 3,200 officers,—the Indian section of the army; *i. e.*, the

infantry and cavalry units contain about 3,200 King's Commissioned officers. But a change is now proposed in the system of officering the Indian units which would increase the number of officers from 3,200 to about 7,000. I will point out in the first place that the committee of 1922 in laying down a programme for the complete Indianisation of the army within 20 years had proceeded on the assumption that it had to provide for 7,000 officers, so that even if we are now required to provide, not 3,200, but 7,000 officers, it would still not be unreasonable on our part to demand that the nationalisation of the army should be completed within a generation. But we would like to know why it is at this moment when the Indian army is being Indianised we are asked to provide double the number of officers, the King's Commissioned officers that there exist in the Indian army. We are asked to provide a sufficient number of officers not merely to replace European King's Commissioned officers but also to replace Indian officers who have received less training and a lower education. Whatever the grade of these Indian officers may be their replacement by Indian officers of a higher calibre is not part of the policy of Indianisation. In other words, let the Viceroy's Commissioned officer remain in the position that he occupies today. Do not be in a hurry to replace him by Indian King's Commissioned officers. The supply of such officers is low. You have deliberately limited it by limiting recruitment to the Indian Sandhurst. What reason is there for not utilising the entire output of this military college for the replacing of British officers? The question of replacement of Viceroy's Commissioned officers by Indian King's Commissioned officers may arise when British officers have been displaced. But so long as the present state of things lasts, every man who passes out of the military college should in our opinion be utilised to replace a British officer.

Another aspect of the policy of nationalisation consists in having an Indian army which consists of Indian soldiers only. In other words, the replacement of British soldiers by Indian soldiers, an entire elimination of British soldiers, is also an important aspect of the policy of Indianisation. It is not enough that Indian units should be commanded by Indian Officers. It is also necessary that the entire army, the cost of which is defrayed by Indian revenues, should consist of Indians. This part of the question however will be dealt with in a separate resolution. I will not therefore say anything with regard to that now. I merely wish to draw your attention to this important matter, so that whenever you consider the question of nationalisation of the army you may look at it in both its aspects.

There is only one more point that I should like to place before you in regard to the military policy that should be pursued in future by a Government desirous of developing the martial spirit of the people of this country and making themselves sufficient in matters of defence. There was a time when this martial spirit, if I may say so, was almost equally distributed over the whole of India. Those who are familiar with the history of the last 200 years know that there was no part of the country which was devoid of the martial spirit. Soldiers whether from northern India or from the south had to their credit exploits that would do honour to the army of any country. We are all familiar today with the deeds of soldiers recruited from the north. But students of Indian history know of the endurance and gallantry displayed by

soldiers recruited in the Madras Presidency during the earlier period of British rule. It may not be possible to utilise material from all Provinces in an adequate measure. But we must from now carry out steadily a policy which will widen the area of recruitment and enable the entire country to feel that its army is a national army. To ask for Dominion Status and to make the safety of the country depend merely on a few races or a few Provinces is to invite disaster. At the present time a large portion of our army is recruited from the Punjab. If you exclude the Gurkhas, about two-thirds of the army is recruited from this one Province. Is it consistent with the future interests of India that the area of recruitment should be so narrow? Should one Province be allowed to acquire that influence which it will certainly claim if it is regarded as the sword-hand of India? Besides, is it desirable that in the interests of the military safety of India our future defence should depend entirely on the material that can be supplied by one Province? Let us suppose for a moment that India is invaded by a foreign foe. Supposing the chances of war go against us and the enemy advance so far as the Punjab, we are dependent only on this Province, we shall have no means left of driving out the invader and preserving the freedom of the country. It is desirable therefore both on democratic and on military grounds that the area of recruitment should be widened, that the martial spirit of the people should be developed, that any future disturber of the peace, any nation that may be casting longing eyes on India, should be made to realise that not one or two races, not one or two Provinces, but the entire country would rise as one man in defence of her honour and freedom.

This in short is the demand put forward in the last part of the section relating to the army. The British Government has done us a grievous injustice by confining recruitment to a few classes and a few Provinces. Mr. Gokhale used to complain that one of the most grievous results of British rule in India was demartialisation, and I for one am prepared to go so far as to say that if that was the only indictment that could be brought against British rule it would not be able to claim at the bar of history that it had been guided in all its dealings with this country by the interests of the country. For, what is of greater importance? Is it wealth, is it privilege, is it power, or is it freedom and self-respect? What would an educated and high-souled man desire first of all? Would he desire wealth and power and privilege, or would he first ask for opportunity to call his soul his own? If our future depends on the extent to which every Indian is imbued with a proper sense of self-respect, if the future progress of this country depends on the extent to which every Indian can feel that he can rise to the full height of his stature, then whatever things we may get or not get it is our bounden duty to work for the change of that system that keeps us as slaves in our own country.

The resolution relating to the army is therefore the corner-stone of all our schemes for future progress, and I hope that this House will not merely pass the resolution that has been placed before it by acclamation but make it clear to the British Government beyond a possibility of doubt that their sincerity in the matter of constitutional reforms will be judged by India by the extent to which it is prepared to nationalise the army of India and transfer military control in the hands of Ministers responsible to her people. (Cheers).

Mr. G. Venkatraman.

Mr. G. Venkataraman (Coimbatore) in further supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates and Gentlemen: The Chair has prescribed ten minutes for me and I shall not exceed that limit. I intend to deal with that problem that is before you which relates to the question of defence, and which has been spoken to so ably by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru. You will easily realise that the problem of defence is an acid test of the sincerity of British government. If it is true that the natural desire of India's aspiration is the attainment of Dominion Status, it naturally depends upon the policy of the army which the British government is going to employ in India. What is the policy they envisage in the White Paper? It is true that in the Instrument of Instructions proposed to be issued to the Governor-General there shall be a reference that India's right will be realised. You all remember that the sub-committee for defence presided over by Mr. Thomas confirmed the principle that India's interests will be the concern of the Indian People and they would approach the problem from a two-fold point of view. Firstly the confirmation of principle that it is the concern of India to consider India's military problem is not enough. It has been rendered vague. Another point which is more vital is for India herself to determine her military policy. They say that this is not only to be the concern of India but the concern of England as well. In determining the control of the army policy if England shall share the responsibility of determining the policy, we shall be giving the case away. If Dominion Status means that we should determine our military policy I submit that England will have no voice in the matter. If England also has a voice in the future of the Indian military policy it will be dangerous to act upon it. I consider that the recent proposal made to contribute to the Indian Exchequer for the maintenance of the Indian army is an assertion of the principle that England also shall have a voice in the determination of India's military policy. The proposal enunciated in the White Paper that England shall also have a voice in the determination of the Indian Military policy should not be accepted. The second aspect of the question is that to which a reference has already been made and that is that the British government has recently decided not to reduce the British troops in India. It has been assumed and recognised by Mr. Thomas during the deliberations of the defence committee that the Indianisation of the army carries with it the implication of reduction of British troops. The British government fear that there cannot be an immediate reduction of British troops. When then can there be reduction of British troops is not indicated and there is a clear statement to the effect when and under what condition British troops can be eliminated so that the Indian army can be manned by Indian sections. We cannot be sure what the policy of the Indian army is going to be in the future. My friend Mr. Kunzru referred to the fact that recruitment to the army is confined to certain classes and certain provinces. The Punjab alone contributes 54 per cent to the army whereas 46 per cent is contributed by the provinces adjacent to the Punjab. If the entire country is to bear the defence in the future it is only just that a policy should be devised whereby there will be equal distribution in the recruitment from all parts of the country. We have asked in this resolution that a fixed period of 20 years must be fixed and a definite policy pursued both with Indianisation as well as reduction of British troops so that the entire army can be composed of Indian element. Nationalisation of the army is another aspect of the question.

The entire army and the ranks should be composed of Indians. Because it has a vital bearing on the constitutional status of the country we attach the greatest importance to this aspect namely, that unless we have a complete control over the army policy in the future, Dominion Status will be a mirage. We have to fix a definite period of transition for the transfer of army to the Indian control. We are agreed that it shall be a reserved subject provided steps are taken to enable us to assume control over the army after the expiry of the transition period. If it is merely left vague as incorporated in the White Paper, there is no hope of our ever assuming control over the army. I have therefore great pleasure in commending this resolution for your acceptance.

Moulvi Mahboobul Huq.

Moulvi Mahboobul Huq (Bengal) in further supporting the resolution said:—Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates: After what you have heard from distinguished speakers this afternoon, it is unnecessary for me to make a long speech. What has struck me is that the destinies of a nation of 350 million of people are being shaped on the anvil of Joint Parliamentary Committee and ultimately of both Houses of Parliament in England which is several thousand miles away from us. Never in the history of the world you will find a vast country like India with teeming millions of people that a constitution is being framed where the voice of the people themselves is not a determining factor. Delegates to England came back to India after witnessing the reaction on the interests of Britain and communal interest. What is the root cause of the change in the angle of vision of British statesmen is apparent to-day. The idea of granting Dominion Status was uppermost some years ago in the minds of British Statesman but with progress of time and with a gradual evolution of ideas amongst ourselves there took place a similar change in the minds of the British people. British Statesmanship is like rubber, yielding to a strong pull but retracting when the pull is relaxed. The British people thought that the atmosphere of India is now calm and placid as water and that this is the opportunity when whatever was promised from the mouth of His Majesty and the Viceroy downwards should not be given effect to. If we were able to present a united front from all elements in India, the situation would have been different from what it is to-day. When you were there with appealing hands there is a wild scramble in Hindustan. You are now fighting after a shadow. The substance has gone. The British people are tenacious as a steel frame. The communal award is an apple of discord and has created differences amongst the people here. Now to the liberals here there is an opportunity of telling the people of India "Unite Unite, settle your communal differences and make a united demand". What is going to be given to us is nothing but a shadow and not substance. Settle your differences and make a united demand. The question is not a question of prejudices or idiosyncracies but of liberal ideas. The Liberal Federation has a golden opportunity to show that in the near future you will have a vista of the promised land.

Mr. M. D. Shahane.

Mr. M. D. Shahane (Nagpur. C. P.) in further supporting the resolution said:—Mr. President and Fellow-Delegates, Even the patience and optimism of the liberal party has been sorely tried by the White Paper proposals. We have relied upon the goodness and good will of the British people towards this

country. The White Paper is a black spot in the relations of England with India and is the last straw on the camel's back. The speeches you have heard here must have convinced you that even the Liberals can at times become emotional (laughter). The White Paper proposals which are under fire to-day have been made to us as the last word of Britain's goodwill towards India. It has to be borne in mind that the White Paper does not leave us any scope for either automatic or legislative development. It has to be borne in mind that the White Paper transfers powers into the hands of nominated representatives of hereditary bureaucrats in this country. I am a recruit to the liberal party and my outlook on the future and the outlook of my friends is likely to be a little different from the outlook of our leaders. We look to the democratic government with different hopes and aspirations and animated by a disinterested outlook and reasoned arguments put forward by our older leaders. Let us see what the British Government gives us in the White Paper. Does it give us a control over the defence of the country? Does it give us any chance to unite and hold together the different peoples of this country into one people? Does it allow us any scope to control any sections of our services? Does it at least allow us to educate that portion of the electorate which has so far remained outside the influences of interested parties into believing that they should fight and elect their representatives not on communal or party basis but on the basis of Indian nation? I am concerned with Section 17 of this resolution which deals with franchise and communal electorates. No body has so far referred to the evil seeds that have been sown in the White Paper in dividing women also into communal electorates. We know the effects that are apparent in the male electorates of this country and the division of the people into different communities. We had some hopes after the unanimous protests made by women's organisations all over the country against their divisions that the British government will at least leave our sisters free from these pernicious influences and weld together Indian people into one united country by their wholesome influence. No, the British government had not listened to their protests and with other communities has tried to divide the women also into different communities. Leaving aside the position of the male electorate of this country which prevent Muslim friends from voting for their Hindu friends or the Hindu friends from voting for their Muslim friends, even the woman who have been so far outside the influence of communal leaders are being forced into compartmental electoral groups. This one example is enough to show that White Paper proposals are not meant to transfer honest, straightforward democracy to India. They are meant to transfer the shadow of democracy leaving all leading strings in the hands of Whitehall. It is not possible for me to improve upon the arguments which have been placed before you by the revered leaders like Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. Chintamani, Pandit Kunzru and others. Sec. 20 of the resolution deals with provincial autonomy. You are aware that it is not only the Governor-General of India who will be vested with autocratic powers but the White Paper seeks to create in the different provinces almost the state of affairs which to-day exists in the states. It invests the Governor of the province with almost the same autocratic powers with which the Governor-General is vested. If any minister is actuated by the motives of his country's interests, of minority communal interests all checks have been given to the Governor to check the activities of the minister. I ask if we are going to

accept these proposals with equanimity. I know it is useless for us to talk of rejection. Our revered friend has said that a Hindu wife may as well talk of divorce after refusing food to her husband but as long as a Hindu husband is free and can secure scores of others to provide him with food, so long a Hindu wife cannot talk of divorce or similar sanction. In the same way Indian leaders and parties cannot talk of the rejection of any constitutional advance that might be given or forced on India. As long as non-co-operation is not going to be started by every man and woman in this country, so long it is futile to talk of rejecting any proposals or constitutions whether they are democratic or autocratic. Non-co-operation has so far played only into the hands of reactionary and autocratic bureaucrats. All we can do to-day is to create vast public opinion in this country against Sir Samuel Hoare's constitution in India. It is in the fitness of things that this resolution follows the resolution as regards co-operation with other party organizations. This resolution is the least that the Liberal Party demands as the common programme referred to in the resolution 14 on which all parties in India may come and act together. As a young Liberal it is my desire that from this session onwards through this resolution the Liberal party should cease to be a mere bridge and transform itself into a road on which all people may walk towards the goal of freedom. We have been theorists too long. We have been in an invidious position, spurned by the people, distrusted by the government and suspected by the foreigner. Sir, let us now join together and ask other parties to join us in fighting Sir Samuel Hoare's proposals regarding the White Paper and future Indian Constitution.

Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan.

Rao Bahadur Ramaswami Sivan (Madras): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, We are coming to the close of our proceedings, and I believe I am the last speaker. But I am not going to speak for more than the time allotted, for several reasons. First of all, as I said the other day, being the latest recruit, I tried to read up so much that my head got cramped with so many ideas, and I have forgotten all that I read, and I put away all the books that I was reading the whole of last night and this morning.

What I am going to place before you are not the views of experienced politicians, ex-Ministers, ex-Executive Councillors, members who sat at the Round Table Conference,—not the experience of men like the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri or his famous lieutenant, Pandit Kunzru, who must have devoted several years to study the problems to present them in the manner he did. What I propose to do is what a layman, who is not a finished politician, has to say on the White Paper,—a man with ordinary commonsense—without legal quibbling.

I want you to go back to the 4th of August 1914. That was the day when Earl Grey declared war against Germany. India supplied men and money without any stinting whatever. The people of India did not ask for any conditions or stipulations or any kind of bargain when men and money were supplied. The chief reason was, some people may say, it was due to the extreme loyalty which we owe to the British Government. It may be true. At any rate it was true with people like me who were then in Government service. (Laughter). But the one point which appealed to the whole of India at the time was that Britain, with its sense of justice, was prepared to stand by and help a very weak,

small nation against the big German State. It is the defence of the weak against the strong that appealed to the majority of people in our country, without any stipulation whatever, to render help in the great war. We did not ask, as I said, for any reward. But the English statesmen of the period apparently felt that they must show their gratitude to India for the money and men that we sent from here—the money to be spent and the men to be slaughtered in the fields of France and other places.

So, unasked by us, on the 20th of August 1917, Mr. Montagu said: "We must do something for these Indians" and the famous declaration was made that the people of India were going to get self-government for all they had done. This pronouncement, made in August 1917, resulted immediately after the war closed in the famous Act of 1919. It looked as though H. M. the King Emperor wrote from his mind, without consulting the people by his side; he said: "The Indian people are going to have real responsible government"—something like that flowed from his heart, and he wrote his message. It was received here with jubilation. But there was a certain man, Sir Malcolm Hailey; he said, "Oh, that is not what was meant; probably His Majesty used the words but he did not know his own mind." The Englishman always prides himself on being a sportsman and a cricketer, and used to say that the battles of England were fought from Eton and that statesmen were produced at Eton. So the general idea is that the Englishman is a sportsman. I have been something like a cricketer. A sportsman plays the game, and when a man plays the game he is not supposed to resort to evasions, equivocations or mental reservations of any kind. There is no mental reservation so far as H. M. the King Emperor is concerned. But Sir Malcolm Hailey said: "No. This is the next step; when the last step comes God knows." It was rather surprising.

Anyhow when the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly were opened, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, who came to open, said: "I am the bearer of a message from H. M. the King Emperor. It is this. 'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To day you have the beginning of Swaraj within within my empire and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.'" If this is not really a promise or pledge of Dominion Government, I do not know what else is. Let that be.

In the teeth of opposition of the Indian people the Lee Commission was set up. I happened to be an employce of Government at that time. I thought along with my other colleagues that we should have more and more rights. When a man gets a particular salary he wants more. But what we generally wanted was an equal treatment with our European colleagues. But the Lee Commission said to the Englishmen: "We will give you more salary, passages for yourself, your wife and children every three years." They gave very much more than what the officers wanted, but said there was no need for All-India officers except in the Political and Police departments. The Lee Commission gave something like a redress at a time when prices were very high immediately after the war. You know what the prices now are. Are the salaries being then reduced? For poor clerks you reduce, not for Europeans; it is not in their bond.

Then there was an all-parties' conference, to which the greatest men of India devoted their attention. There were Congressmen, there were Liberal politicians, there were the Justice Party, Sikhs, Muslims, everybody. Although previously the Congress had asked for complete independence, as the Nehru Constitution was then framed, all the parties were prepared, the Congress included, to accept Dominion Status, and it was for the purpose of Dominion Status that the report was drafted. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has said in his memorandum, it was for drafting a Dominion Status Bill that they met and not for the purpose of considering whether Dominion Status has to be ever given or not. We asked for bread and were expecting something, but something else not useful for eating has been given and that is called the White Paper. You are all thinking that the White Paper is coming, but even what is contained in the White Paper is not going to be given. Because immediately the White Paper was published, certain people in England were aghast and declared that if these powers were given, India would be lost. You know, within 10 or 20 years the political outlook of India has changed out of recognition. People who left India 20 or 30 years ago—in those days you could not go along certain roads where a European was living, holding an umbrella—people who don't know the condition of India say: "We know all about India, and we are qualified to tell you what amount of reform you can give to Indians." I want to speak on the Services only, my reason being that I gave evidence before three Royal Commissions on the Services. But Pandit Kunzru has spoken all that I wanted to say. Giving evidence before the Lee Commission, not only myself but all my friends of other departments asked for Indianisation of the services for the reason that retired men will be in the country and their knowledge and experience would be useful to the country. Secondly Indianisation meant that a lower scale of salaries will be enough. We are not going to shut out any European. All those who gave evidence said that there was no reason why the Government of India should not control us, fix our conditions and so on. But the Englishman is not satisfied. He is not quite sure if the new Government will pay his pension, so he asks "will you invest 15 million pounds in Britain, so that from the interest thereon our pensions may be secured?"

There was my young friend from Nagpur and another from Berar. I am old in age, but I don't yield to these two. I feel that unless, with due respect to the leaders here, there is a militant, aggressive policy adopted by the Federation, unless there is work to be done from day to day, I don't think we will be able to achieve much.

Mr. P. Narayana Kurup.

Mr. P. Narayana Kurup (Madras): Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I know the value of brevity in speech and I shall not take much of your time. With regard to the White Paper I have only this much to say. The White Paper Proposals are inadequate, incomplete, inefficient, insufficient. They symbolise a kind of suspicion on the part of Great Britain that perhaps India is slipping out of her hands and should be reconquered. That is why the Viceroy's position has been strengthened and Governors have also been given Ordinance powers. I do not want to say anything more on the White Paper.

I take this opportunity to refer to a matter which is not altogether irrelevant to the subject before the House. I am a new member of this Party. I am one who for a long time refused to join the Liberal Party because I found the Liberals were not advanced enough for me; and also one who refused to join the Congress because I myself was not advanced enough for that. About the middle of last year I contemplated along with some of my friends to start a new party which would be more advanced than the Liberals and less advanced than the Congress, for diplomatic reasons. The reason was, on account of the great disappointment caused by the White Paper itself, the greater disappointment caused by the Liberals not advancing, the greatest disappointment caused by the Congress not adopting a statesmanlike policy, we thought of a political party on the lines just now referred to by me. The response we got was encouraging. Hundreds wrote to me that a party like that should be started. I had correspondence with men like Mr. Sachidananda Sinha and others. I had a talk with Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, and he suggested that we should rather wait and see what the Liberals themselves would be doing. Now when I joined the Liberal Party, my friends asked why I did so when I wanted a new party. Well, my answer is that while I would prefer a home of my own, if I cannot get one immediately I don't mind living in a rented house. I said I was having a rented political house. "When are you going to shift?" I was asked. The moment I find the Liberal Party is in repairs I would leave. The pronouncement made by Mr. Chintamani is certainly symbolic of a great unexpected advance on the part of Liberals. If that pronouncement is to be followed by legitimate action there is no necessity for any new political party. I always consider that the Liberals in a sense, though not in every sense, are a second string in India's political bow, the first being the Congress. Whenever that string is broken the other string was kept intact. If the second string in the political bow can become the main string the duality in the matter of strings will vanish.

I came on the platform to support the resolution. I have referred to something personal. I am in full sympathy with all that has taken place here, and through the medium of this session I tell my friends with pride that many want to join, the war-weary Congressmen, the nationalists, all want to join the Liberals, and the only thing you have to do is to translate into action the policy indirectly announced through the medium of Mr. Chintamani's speech.

The resolution was put to vote and declared carried unanimously.

XVI. EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY POLICY.

Mr. A. D. Shroff.

Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay) moved the following resolution :—

The Federation condemns the present currency and exchange policy of Government which, in its opinion, has largely accentuated the economic distress in the country and accords its fullest support to the Country-wide demand for an immediate review of the Rupee Sterling ratio and the adoption of prompt measures to meet the present situation entirely in the interest of India.

In doing so he said :—Mr. President, this subject has received so much attention recently in different parts of the country that I do not think it needs any elaborate arguments or a long speech from me to commend it for the acceptance of this House. I shall however like to refer to one or two arguments which I saw advanced in different quarters and which I saw repeated yesterday in the Subject's committee also. When we asked the government to relieve us from the acute economic distress in the country we drew the attention of the government to the fact that though the economic distress of India is partly due to world causes beyond the control of the country that distress has been accentuated by the Currency and Exchange policy followed by the British government in India. I am one of those who feel that the British administration in India has conferred a number of benefits but I am also one of those strongly convinced that all these benefits have been severely outweighed by the systematic exploitation of the country which has been carried on for generations past through the Exchange and Currency policy of the British rulers of this country. The drain which is caused from this country as a result of that policy is so invisible that it has not been fully appreciated by the average citizen of this country. The drain is there but if I am asked to put my finger I would refer to the Currency and Exchange policy of the government for a number of years past as the main cause of this drain. The demand we are making is that there should be an immediate review of the position. I am aware of the fact that there are different opinions as to what should be the correct step for the relieving of the present acute situation. To my mind the most scientific thing to do is to leave the rupee alone and allow it to find its own level. Some people say that if it is left alone it might enhance the silver value of the rupee but advocates who want the rupee to find its level mean that there will be a mental reservation that it has to be allowed to find its level upto the position where the value of the rupee would seek adjustment with a substantial rise in prices in this country. I want you to remember that the prices prevalent are something like 25 to 30 per cent less than in April 1927. Government argue that there was substantial adjustment between exchange value and the price level in India. If we grant that Sir Basil Scott was right that the price is so substantially low as to make out a case for immediate devaluation of the rupee in India the demand is so patent that it hardly needs any argument. Sir George Schuster has not tried to allay the people of this country by saying that the only class of people that will benefit in India by devaluation of the rupee will be the speculators. I am one of those whose lot is cast in the money market and I am really surprised to hear that any utterance on the part of Sir George Schuster that people have been speculating in buying and selling rupees for a number of years past is because of their growing conviction that the value given to the rupee is an artificial value and whenever

shrewd people felt that the government even after fixing the ratio at 18d. there should not be better inducements to businessmen not to speculate in the future value of the rupee. Granting even that speculators will benefit, is it an argument? Possibly speculation may lead to profits but what is that profit compared to the advantage that will accrue to the country of trade and industries running into crores of rupees? The case for a change in the value of the rupee is too patent. What stands in the way is only prestige on the part of our government. Sir Basil Scott said that the value of a rupee shall be 1 sh. 6 d. It has not been maintained. It was brought down in 1931. Adherence to that policy is so insistent that there is an unanswerable case for a change. They will not yield to our demand and they say that when the international position is changed they will consider the question. When you talk of international conditions that only means that when England and America and possibly France get together and decide upon the future ultimate value of currencies that will be considered as stabilisation of international situation. Would Great Britain and America take India into confidence when they have reached stabilisation? Whenever stabilisation is reached Sir George Schuster's successor will say that it is an accomplished fact and that the government cannot do anything about it. What is wanted is continued insistence from all parts of the country of the demand that the rupee shall be immediately devalued. If unanimity of opinion cannot be reached amongst us an interim step may be taken to reduce the ratio from 18 d. to 16 d. till we see a future when a permanent revaluation of the Rupee may be undertaken. There is another point on which I wish to dwell. We have always been told that we enjoy fiscal autonomy in this country. Our experience of the moving and fluctuating exchange in the 35 countries of the world and the severe cut throat competition with Japan during the last three years bears ample testimony to the fact that no country can enjoy fiscal autonomy without a control over the currency and the exchange policy. Unless you have the right to determine your exchange, tariff walls cannot be raised to the height to reach currency manipulation. Japan by a clever manipulation of yen has been able to raise the tariff wall. 75 per cent duty imposed by the government of India has not been able to meet the Japanese competition. The yen has been so systematically lowered that goods from Japan are much cheaper than our goods. Fiscal autonomy is therefore nothing but a snare and a sham and I hope this House will agree with me in emphasising the demand for immediate devaluation of the rupee which will create for us a situation which is bound to result in rise in prices which will allay wide spread economic situation in the country and put new life into our struggling and paralysing industries (cheers).

Mr. Jamal Mohamad Sahib.

Mr. Jamal Mohamad Sahib (Madras) seconded the resolution and in doing so said: I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I am glad of one thing. Hitherto we were complaining that political leaders and traders were not joining together in discussing fiscal questions. I believe, and there are many among commercial people who agree with me, that the leaders of the country are now giving a little more attention to fiscal questions than hitherto. The main problem so far as this question is concerned is that agriculturists who are the back bone of the economic system of the country are in a very bad plight. It cannot be said that all the country's ills are due to depression but it has been very much aggravated by the monetary policy of the government

for the last few years. The real problem so far as I could see in the country seems to be—I do not know what the position may be in other countries—but so far as India is concerned it is not over production but under consumption. What I mean is this that exchange having reduced the commodity prices to a very low level it has spoiled the consuming power of the masses not only for industrial products but for also agricultural products. Our agriculturist does, not produce all the products that he consumes. He produces a certain quantity, consumes a portion and sells the rest to others and with the proceeds he buys other agricultural products necessary for his family life. Since he is not able to get as much money as he requires, the result is that he is forced to consume less and less of agricultural products. That is the reason why there is very much under consumption. That is why while there is plenty on the one hand there is side by side starvation also. That is an aspect of the question to which I would focuss the attention of our leaders. In a sense I am also an agriculturist. I come from an agricultural family and I hold lands. There is no exaggeration when I say that we are not able to meet the cost of production. The Agriculturist, the main stay of the country, is running into heavy debts and much of the reserve accumulation of generations are going out in the shape of gold. The government seems to welcome it. They can welcome it when we are producing gold but it is not so. I will just give a little illustration. Suppose there is a jewel show. Supposing there a well to do family of jewellers take a stall, you won't call it a healthy sign. It is a sign of distress. Supposing we have a crisis again like this, what are our resources to fall back upon? Everything must be done to improve the position of agriculturists on whom industry, commerce and everything else depend. Our export trade has suffered very much. We are a debtor country. Whether we are fairing well or ill there are certain home charges and remittances to meet. Unless we have a large balance of trade in our favour we cannot meet those charges and remittances as we have been doing so far. This exchange has put us in a difficult position. But for the export of gold the position of government would have been very bad. The government would have been forced to reduce the ratio and alter their policy. We know that unless the export trade is healthy we cannot get good prices for our articles. It is only natural that along with the rise in prices we must see to it that our export outlets are not affected. There is no other possible way by which we can raise internal prices and keep our outlets intact. As Mr. Shroff suggested the only way is to devalue the rupee. The export disparity will be cured. Our internal prices will be better and give a relief to our agriculturists. If there are better prices the consuming power will be increased and the position will improve. Now a red rag is being dragged across our view, namely, that England having done it herself and so many other countries having done so, it is good for us also. The American experiment is doubtful. Let us wait and see the result. Why single out America and not take England which by devaluation has prospered? Take Japan against which we all complain. Devaluation it is said will lower the prices. It will reduce the price not in the country which reduces the currency but in the countries to which those articles are exported. That is what we want. We want a movement for our export trade and better prices for our commodities. It is a misleading argument to quote American analogy and say that the American devaluation is a failure. As regards American experiment I would like to point out one or two aspects.

America by depreciating her currency has increased her local prices. But American affair has become complicated by certain features which have nothing to do with devaluation or depreciation. The object of the present American experiment is different from ours. What we want is not anything of that sort. But some relief resulting in increased consuming power of the people. What we want is to refer to our own position. Since the war every country in the world has depreciated the currency in the world. Our country is the only one which has appreciated our currency. Let us go back to our old position if we do not improve. The goal of 1906 may or may not come. America had a very large unemployment problem. With depreciation of the dollar, America reduced the number of hours of employment and increased the wages. So it has in another way increased the cost of production. The American experiment can never be cited as analogy to our position. India has nothing in common with that country. Even if America fails it has nothing to do with us. This question has become more serious than anything else. Not only Japan has depreciated her currency and has become a serious rival in our market, America by depreciating her currency is going to be also our rival in agricultural market. America is a large agricultural country. America will be a rival in our agricultural market. If the full effect of American depreciation will come to play I do not know what will be our position. The matter has become urgent. This question does not require much elucidation. It has been before the public recently on account of the Reserve Bank Bill and it has become much easier. The public seem to realise the importance of this question much more than they did three or four years ago. They used to think that it is a question for tradesmen alone. They now realise that every ordinary man is affected by this question. Personally I feel and I think there are many who feel with me, that no other question in the country has shaken the confidence of the people in the bona fides of the government as this question has done. It is a great political blunder to have committed it and to continue it. People have got their own common sense. They are actually suffering and waiting for relief. In their own interest and in the interest of very important interests in the country I would urge upon the British government to look into this question immediately. I purposely say British government because in this matter the Government of India or the Viceroy have no discretion. It is an open secret that it is so. The whole thing is controlled by the Secretary of State who is influenced by the City Leaders in London. Neither the Viceroy nor the Government of India has real power in this matter. Whatever methods are applied for putting up the exchange I would urge that in their own interest the government should shape it now as an act of statesmanship and whatever purpose might have been served by keeping it at that rate hitherto, that purpose does not exist now. The agriculturists consuming power having dwindled down he is not able to consume as much as he did before. I do not really see for what purpose it is being resisted at the present rate. Perhaps it is the old question of prestige. The sooner they get rid of this the better. With these words I second the resolution.

Mr. M. D. Altekār.

Mr. M. D. Altekār (Bombay) : Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I am standing here to support this resolution because of the particular form in which it has been put. That form, as you will notice, is different from the

interpretation that has been put upon it by the two speakers that preceded me. It is very unfortunate that in supporting this resolution I have to look at it from an angle which is different from theirs. It cannot be helped. I have as strong views in the matter as they do; many other people have, and I think it is fair that their views should be known.

I am as critical of the currency and exchange policy of the government as any one else. The whole of that policy—not a particular part of it like the exchange ratio—has been always run in a manner in which the interests of India were not consulted. It was run in a manner that suited to the dictates of the Government in England. There I entirely agree with the previous speaker.

At the same time I must say that the world-wide depression that you witness to-day and its effects in this country also—no country has escaped from it—indicates definitely that certain notions of economics that have been held for the last 150 years have collapsed. And one of the most important notions is that there should be a continuous rise in prices if we are to be prosperous. To measure prosperity by the measuring rod of prices has failed to-day, for the one simple reason that there is a limit beyond which consumers consciously or unconsciously refuse to pay higher prices. The reason why people don't purchase in these days is this that though they do not know definitely, they have found out that they have to pay very much more than what they had to pay 30 years ago, 40 years ago, 60 years ago. I would ask you to study whatever material is available with regard to prices. Unfortunately in our country it is not very reliable, it is not very good. But from whatever material is available from 1867 onwards you will find that prices have multiplied 3 or 4 times, and there was a steep rise in the post-war period. If prices have gone down it will be good at least for those who have a student's mind to find out what the prices were in 1927 in comparison with those of 1914.

I want a thorough review and an immediate review of the exchange and currency policy of India in order, as it is stated in this resolution, that it should be entirely in the interests of India. And allow me to say and do not misunderstand me when I say that I am as much proud of our industrial people as anybody else. They have done a great deal for our country and I am sure they will do much more. At the same time the interests of a particular class do not constitute the interests of the whole country. We have to see that the masses of our country, the consumers of our country, are not always sacrificed at the altar of this collapsed notion of a continuous rise in prices.

Secondly I want to point out—I have been given very little time and must manage within that—this confusion of agriculture with the ratio controversy is most misleading. I am very sorry to say that. But let me point out, during the six years from 1927 to 1933 our agriculturists have not been quite well off. If an impartial study of the economic conditions during this period is made it will show that our agriculturists were never unhappy till 1914 and all the troubles to the agriculturists came after 1927 or so. I for one have found that it is not so. Therefore it is no use confusing certain things in the country with a particular controversy. Let us keep to its proper borders.

If I were asked my personal opinion—as a personal opinion it has no more value than that of a layman—I would say with all this trouble of ratio between England and India, why is it not possible to adopt a straightforward, sound, full-blooded gold standard for this country and take away this question of comparison between sterling and rupee? The rupee is the most unfortunate thing. It is not a respectable coin. It is legal tender because it has been enforced by law. It depends on the pound for its position in the economic world. It is not silver. It is a note printed on silver, of no more worth than Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 note paper. That is the fact. Why keep such a coin? Why make such a coin legal tender? Why not agitate about that? But Sir George Schuster and our mercantile friends are unanimous that it is impracticable. Why should it be impracticable when soon after the war was over the gold standard was adopted by many countries? We have heard about export just now. Just imagine now a position in which every country wants to export and every country wants to put up tariff barriers. Every country wants to export, and no country wants to import. What is going to happen? What is going to happen is exactly what has happened. There is over-production all over the world. Every country wants to send out goods to other countries, and no other country is prepared to take that goods. The result will be very soon, as we see signs everywhere, jingling of the war dance in order that there should be spheres of influence where they can sell. We are a poor people, not a political power, and probably we cannot find a sphere of influence. Japan and Germany may. But my point is, even in this question of stimulation of exports, there is a limit to it. You cannot sell to people who are not prepared, whatever your exchange rate. Why stop at 16 d.? You can go still lower. I want to place before you certain other considerations than what my friends of the Currency League have been telling the country for the last three or four months and in the previous agitation, which I was studying as a student. There are other arguments, and in conducting this controversy let us remember that what we want is a thorough change in the policy of the Government and the control of this policy to be entirely in our hands. I have not the slightest objection to giving that control to my friends Mr. Shroff and Mr. Jamal Muhammad, because you might think I am suspicious of those people. But there are people who hold other views in this matter. We need not say that because those people are not noisy, they do not exist. I have read the criticism in certain papers—‘there is only one public man in Bengal; no newspaper in the country says any other thing.’ That is not the criterion of truth. This is a matter which should be studied impartially, and students are better judges than interested parties, both Government and mercantile people. With these words I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

THE PRESIDENT: You have got the resolution placed before you from different points of view. The resolution is in general terms. It wants an enquiry, and that immediately, and action in the best interests of the country. Whether the action will be on the lines that the proposer and the seconder have laid down or the line that is sketched by Mr. Alteker is a matter that can be only known after the enquiry is completed.

I put the resolution to you.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

**XVII. REDUCTION OF BRITISH TROOPS AND REPORT OF THE
INDIAN DEFENCE EXPENDITURE TRIBUNAL.**

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao then said:—Mr. President and Brother Delegates. The very powerful and brilliant speech of my friend Pandit Kunzru announced to you that there will be a separate resolution dealing with another aspect of the question of finance. The resolution that I now move deals with that aspect of which the Pandit was making a reference. It reads as follows:—

(a) The Liberal Federation enters its emphatic protest against the decision of the British Government not to reduce the number of British troops in India, and strongly urges that immediate steps should be taken to nationalise the army in India within a fixed period of time.

(b) The Federation, while recognising that the recommendations of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal will lead to some reduction in the capitation charges, regards these charges as utterly unjust and objects on principle to their continuance.

(c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that relief should be given to Indian revenues not by means of Imperial sub-ventions but in the following ways:—

1. The size of the Indian army should be strictly determined by Indian needs;
2. The number of British soldiers should be progressively reduced with a view to their speedy elimination;
3. Capitation charges, which India should never have been required to pay, should be abolished.

Gentlemen, I think most of you would have read recently the report of the Tribunal appointed by His Majesty's Government to settle some questions with reference to defence expenditure in dispute between the war office and the air ministry and the Government of India. This committee was appointed almost immediately after the Second Round Table Conference to decide certain questions and they referred to the financial aspect of the Indian army. My friend Pandit Kunzru has entered into the plea to nationalise the Indian army even after a certain period of time. This question of the nationalisation of the army is important not only from the point of view of national self respect but from the point of view of Indian finance. The resolution concentrates our attention on the financial aspect of Indianisation and records our protests against the findings of the committee that enquired into these questions. It urges that British troops should be reduced gradually so as to eliminate the British element in the Indian army and secondly that Training institutions should be established in this country as early as possible so that Indians may be trained to shoulder their responsibility for the defence of the country without any further delay. If the British element is reduced our army takes its place. These two questions have been urged before the Legislative Assembly for many years. Our distinguished countryman Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer moved a series of resolutions for training institutions and for reduction of British troops. This is one of the subjects insistently pressed in the Legislative Assembly and at the time the

Round Table Conference assembled these questions were referred to the defence sub-committee of that committee and as a consequence of the recommendations of that committee a special committee was set up to consider whether there can be a reduction of British troops in this country. The report of that committee has not been published but we gather from the reports published in the papers that the recommendations of that committee are to the effect that there would be no reduction of the British troops in this country at any rate for an indefinite period. What is the consequence? You know very well that at the time the East India company went out and India came under the rule of Her Majesty Queen Victoria the British troops in India were about 28,000 and Indian troops 160,000. The proportion of British troops was one to eight. After that the British element has increased. It is 58,000 as against 158,000 Indians. The proportion is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. I need not go into the reasons of this increase. Some are due to the Indian Mutiny, suspicion and mistrust. Another determining factor was that Great Britain wants always in the East a portion of her army for her Imperial purposes to take measures to bring the British Empire in various parts of Asia. That was one of the contributory causes. Under these circumstances the military expenditure in India has gradually grown up. It has grown up to Rs. 34 crores and went up Rs. 62 crores in 1890-91. The retrenchment committee reduced it to 50 crores and now I understand it is Rs. 47 crores. I am not quite sure of the figures. But there has been a certain amount of reduction. In these circumstances when we have been always complaining that large portions of our revenues are consumed by the Indian army, the question of reduction of British troops is of vital importance from the point of view of Indian finance. We have always pressed that this should be done. This report of the Special Tribunal says that this cannot be done. The military experts say this. There are many distinguished people who have said that the British army in India is kept not for Indian purpose but for Imperial purposes, not for the government of this country but to protect the British Empire. Both Indian and British army have been sent outside India and our request is that the British army in India should be reduced as early as possible and that immediate steps should be taken to nationalise the army. My friend Pandit Kunzru has referred to the ways in which the Indian army can be Indianised. The question is whether the steps taken in consequence of the report of the defence committee are adequate. All I can say is that the masterly minute of Sir Sivaswami Iyer which contains all that is possible to say shows the inadequacy of the steps which Great Britain has taken to train Indians to shoulder the defence of our country. No body can say that it is possible for us to defend our country with the present strength of Indians in the army. As I have said there are many other points dealt with in the report of the Special Tribunal. Capitation charges have been levied by Great Britain from India for the training and equipment of the British army which remains in this country. The British army in India is part of British military system and they do not specially train these people for India, and they have been levying a portion of the charges of training on Indian revenues. We have been protesting that this is not a legitimate charge. It is a matter of greatest regret that we cannot derive great comfort from the recommendations of this committee. The British army comes here. This army being a part of the British army, allowances, pay, pensions and the subsidiary charges are all on the same footing

as those of the British army in England. That has been one of the disturbing factor in our finance. Therefore we protest against these capitation charges. There has been a dispute as to the method of calculating these charges. The Government of India has been asking for a reduction of the period of training. The British authorities have been urging that if the training is to be good it should be adequate. But who is to pay the charges? The British army is a part of British Military system and it is Great Britain that should pay the charges.

As regards the question of capitation charges I understand that the Government of India have accepted the reasonableness of the charges. It is a great pity that this should have been so. It is our duty to enter our protest. This committee on which sat Sir Sulaiman and Justice Shadilal have recommended that in view of the admitted fact that the army is here to discharge certain Imperial functions it should be compensated by the payment of one and half million pounds to Indian revenues on account of the fact that this army is here not only for Indian purposes but for Imperial purposes. We have a feeling that once India accepts a system of grant-in-aid, subvention or subsidy, we are sure that the control of the British government on the Indian army will never be relaxed. That has been our experience in local self-government. A system of doles and payment of subsidies involve an amount of control by the authorities who pay contribution. That is our objection to the payment of this contribution. I do not know how this contribution has been arrived at. Several methods have been suggested on behalf of India. One was that a fixed amount of £18 million should be paid to us. Another method was that the extra cost of the training the British troops in India should be paid to India. That comes to £10 million. Each British soldier costs four times as much as an Indian soldier and it comes to £10 millions. Yet His Majesty's Government have said that we should get one and half a million pounds. None of these methods have been adopted and we are not in a position to say how His Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that one and half million pounds is adequate compensation to India. But whatever may be the thing, we maintain that the only way in which relief should be given to us is not by emans of subvention or subsidy but by means of a gradual reduction of British troops India. It would not be wise on our part to accept a system of contribution from Great Britain. Therefore the Federation says that relief should be given to Indian revenues not by means of Imperial subventions but by the three ways mentioned in the resolution. The British army is not here solely for the purpose of Indian defence. Capitation charges should therefore be abolished. I do not wish to detain you at this hour of the day and I therefore commend this resolution to you for your acceptance.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru (Allahabad):—Mr. President and Gentlemen, I apologise for coming before you once again. But I will not detain you for more than five minutes, as most of what was to be said on the subject under discussion has already been said by Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao. As Mr. Ramachandra Rao has said, this question has two aspects—one political and the other financial. The political aspect will become apparent to you immediately. The Indian army consists of about 1,50,000 Indian soldiers and 60,000

British soldiers. If the British Government were to-day to double the strength of the Indian army, does any one doubt that the additional recruits would be immediately forthcoming? What is the reason then that 60,000 soldiers are brought here from England when there is plenty of martial material available in this country? The reply is obvious. The soldiers are maintained here as a bulwark of British rule. They are here not because an adequate number of Indian soldiers cannot be found in this country, but because the British Government have been pleased to think that unless they have a garrison of their own in this country, there can be no security for the continuance of their rule. The consideration is obvious, but our opponents will, I am sure, deny the most obvious thing. It is desirable therefore to clinch the question by a reference to British authorities themselves.

When the Indian army was re-organized in accordance with the recommendations of the Peel Commission of 1859 the question of the composition of the army was very fully considered. The Commission came to the conclusion that the British element in the army should be considerably strengthened. It said that experience of the mutiny led to the conclusion that an irresistible British force should be maintained in this country and it laid down certain proportions for the various presidential armies that existed in those days. There is only one army now for the whole of India. But the old proportion is still maintained. *i.e.*, the proportion of one Britisher to 2½ Indian soldiers. Other Commissions since 1859 have examined the matter and all of them have come unanimously to the conclusion that the British army must be maintained in this country as an instrument of Imperial policy. I admire the refreshing candour of these Commissions. Perhaps not realising that their reports would be published, they spoke the truth and the whole truth, and since those reports have been published we come to know the true reasons which these Commissions advanced for the maintenance of a British force in this country.

What are we to do in the present situation? We are also striving to achieve Dominion Status. I said this morning that one of the necessary preliminaries to the attainment of Dominion Status is the training of a number of officers to lead the Indian soldiers. Another aspect of the same question, with which I was unable to deal this morning, is the creation of a wholly Indian and homogeneous force which will be led by Indian officers, whom we wish to train. It is perfectly obvious that so long as there is a British element in the Indian army either in the shape of officers or soldiers, the British Government will never consent to relinquish its control over the Indian army or over the military policy of this country. This fact has been candidly recognized by the Simon Commission.

In view of these considerations it was inevitable that the subject should be discussed at the Round Table Conference. The Indian delegates brought it forward at the meeting of the Defence Sub-Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference; and when this question was mooted Mr. Thomas, who was the President of this Committee, said. "It is of course impossible to talk of Indianisation without bearing at the same time in mind that it involves a reduction of British troops." The Committee in its report recognised the importance of this question from the Indian point of view and said that a committee

of experts be appointed. That committee of experts was appointed, and as Mr. Ramachandra Rao has told you, the experts have come to the conclusion, after examining the duties assigned to the Indian army, that the British force cannot be reduced at present. We know very well the grounds for this decision. It is customary to say that the presence of British soldiers in this country enhances the efficiency of the Indian army. But it is singular to find at a time when there is no pretence of adding to the efficiency of the army and when it was openly admitted that British troops are maintained in this country in order to maintain British rule, a certain proportion of British to Indian soldiers was prescribed and that the same proportion should be in existence now. Is it not curious that the argument of military efficiency should have led the British Government to maintain the same proportion of British soldiers as they decided to maintain when they decided to have British troops merely for the sake of upholding the British raj? This fact is sufficient to show that whatever arguments may be used the real reason for the maintenance of the British force today is what it was 75 years ago. The report of this committee of experts has not been published. We had to depend therefore only on the communique of the Government of India for the reasons that led the committee of experts to decide against the Indian contention that British troops should be reduced. One of the reasons given by the Government of India in their communique is that before reducing the strength of the British army here it is necessary to know the probable effects of the programme of Indianisation. You understand what this argument leads to,—Indians are unfit, they are a doubtful quantity, it is yet to be seen whether they make good as officers; is it desirable when we are taking one risk simultaneously to make a change in the composition of the forces and take another risk? The experts say that it would be wholly unwise to undertake these two risks at the same time and that the probable effects of the programme of Indianisation must be known before the strength of the British army is reduced here.

There is no Indian here who would not indignantly repudiate the soundness of the contention put forth by the Government of India and the committee of experts. The history of India, not in the remote past, but in the immediate past, is a conclusive testimony to the martial spirit and the capacity for initiative that survives in the people notwithstanding the obstacles placed in their way, notwithstanding the means adopted during the last 75 years to crush their military zeal and to make them incapable of leadership.

Another argument that has been advanced by of the Government of India to console Indians is that although the decision of the experts has for the present gone against us, it must be remembered by Indians that the British army is less by 20,000 soldiers than it was in 1914. The British army was maintained at a very high figure in 1914. It was a constant source of complaint before the War that the strength of the British army had been increased to such an extent that instead of there being 1 British to 2½ Indians there was at the time 1 British to 2 Indians. After the war when the cost of the army increased and the Expenditure Commission recommended a drastic retrenchment in military expenditure, the Government of India was compelled to reduce the strength of the army and in this connection to reduce the strength of the British forces. But what we have to see is that the proportion of British to Indian soldiers is still at the figure at which it was laid down 75 years ago. If

the British Government increase the strength of the British army and then because of their inability to keep up that army, reduce the strength, they cannot claim that as a credit to themselves. That can be no consolation to the Indian people. What we are concerned with is that the prescribed ratio of British to Indian soldiers must be reduced, especially at the present time when India has been promised Dominion Status and when we are told that big steps are being taken on the road to that goal. It is ever our right to demand that our army, at least in the lower rungs of the ladder, should consist entirely of Indians. But our argument is considerably reinforced when we take into account the professed policy of British statesmen to enable India to manage her civil and military affairs herself.

As regards the second point, capitation charges, that is concerned with the expenditure incurred on the British army. The maintenance of the British army is not merely hurtful to our self respect, is not merely a glaring symbol of our subjection, but it also imposes at the same time a crushing financial burden on the people of India. We ask that this burden should be reduced, that the number of British soldiers, each of whom costs about 4 to 5 times as much as an Indian soldier, should be cut down. There are many aspects of this question and some of them were considered by the Committee known as the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal. It really considered two main questions—(1) whether India was entitled to demand any contribution from Imperial revenues towards military expenditure, and the other, whether the cost of initially training the British soldier in England before being sent out to India should be borne by Indian revenues. These latter charges are, as Mr. Ramachandra Rao has told you, known as capitation charges. They have already told us that the British army in India is maintained for political reasons and not because the necessary material is not available. You maintain the British army for your own purposes; have at any rate the decency to bear the cost of its training in England; you have no moral right to throw any part of the cost on Indian shoulders. It is a matter of profound regret to us that the principle that these capitation charges are wholly unjust and that India should be exempted from payment has not been accepted by the Tribunal and that the Government of India has also promised to pay them on the new basis. The recommendations of the Commission will lead to a slight reduction in those charges. But in the first place they will afford no substantial relief to us and in the second place the question of principle that India should not be asked to pay for the training of these soldiers kept here on political grounds still remains where it was. We say therefore that we are not satisfied with the recommendations of the Tribunal and that in our opinion the capitation charges should be entirely abolished. Of course Indian military expenditure is heavy, much too heavy for us. We are entitled to ask for relief. But there are other ways in which relief can be given. Those ways have been mentioned in our resolution, and we say that if England is sincere in its desire to give financial relief to India, it is open to it to adopt anyone of the expedients mentioned by us. But it is not open to it to say that out of its generosity it is making a contribution to Imperial revenues and then use that, as it inevitably will use that argument to tighten its control over the Indian army and Indian military policy. It is because we believe that Imperial control will follow in a stricter form Imperial grants that we

object to the acceptance of Imperial grants. We do not ask for Imperial grants. We make it clear that we do not ask Britain out of charity to give any relief to India. We ask that the burden of expenditure should be alleviated in certain well known ways that we all know. The self-respect of India must be taken account of, whether the strength of the British army is concerned or a reduction in its expenditure is concerned. We who want to make India self-supporting in every matter, we who wish to be able to uphold Indian honour without the help of any external agency, cannot consent to any arrangement which will enable outsiders to claim that they have a right to decide the strength of the army here or to have a share in the control of military policy. It is for these reasons that I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution, and I have no doubt that you will carry it.

The President: The resolution has been duly proposed and seconded. Is it your desire that it should be carried?

Carried unanimously.

XVIII. MEETING PLACE OF NEXT SESSION.

Mr. K. S. Jatar.

Mr. K. S. Jatar (Poona) moved the following resolution :—

Resolved that the Sixteenth Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Poona during the Christmas week of 1934.

Gentlemen, this is a simple resolution and does not require any speech. When my friends left Poona for this Federation they had no idea of asking you to hold the next session of the conference at Poona. Poona is emerging just now from a visitation of plague. On arriving here there was a general feeling that it was the turn of Poona for the next session. We also discovered that our friends here are willing to accept the invitation. Under these circumstances we thought that our friends in Poona will be delighted to take advantage of the opportunity and extend to you such hospitality as Poona can afford. Some of our veteran friends are not here for unavoidable reasons. On their behalf and on behalf of other liberal friends I venture to invite you to hold your next session in Poona and hope you will accept the resolution.

Mr. A. V. Patwardhan (Poona) said :—Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

XIX. COUNCIL AND GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1934.

The President :— The next resolution is about the constitution of our council and the appointment of General Secretaries for 1934. Since the subjects committee met last evening certain proposals have been going on and from the speeches in the Subjects committee and from the speeches delivered to-day particularly from the younger section of the House, it is apparent that we require a large executive. A part of the executive will be concerned purely with the work of the Federation and another part of the executive should direct the propaganda and publicity work about which we have heard so much in the

course of the discussion. It is therefore suggested, and I have accepted it, that besides Messrs. S. M. Bose and Nibaran Chandra Roy two other gentlemen should be added as Secretaries of the Federation during 1934. I therefore move the following resolution :—

(a) That the following gentlemen be the Vice-Presidents for 1934 :—Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Messrs. C.Y. Chintamani, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, The Rt. Hon.V. S. Srinivasa Sastry and R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Moropant Joshi, Sir Pheroze Sethna and Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.

(b) The following will be the Joint Secretaries of the Federation;—Messrs. S. M. Bose, Nibaran Chandra Roy, T. R. Venkatrama Sastry and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

(c) Resolved that during the year 1934 the council of the Federation do consist of undermentioned members.

(Vide Appendix C.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir. P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer :—I now call upon Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer to propose a vote of thanks.

YOTE OF THANKS.

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer said : Gentlemen, I rise to do a pleasant duty and that is of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to our respected President for his able conduct in the chair. Those of us who have been privileged to be present in the subjects committee must have been struck with the patience, the courtesy, the genial good humour, the ability and tact which he has been able to bring to bear upon others so as to conduce to a very successful close of the Session of this Federation. Naturally the bulk of our attention in this conference has been directed to the White Paper proposals and it is in connection with that that he has given a very acute criticism and if I may say so has raised the level of discussion here. It is my humble and considered opinion that if there is one body which has the right to claim to be the successor of the Congress of the last century it is our body and not any other (Cheers). It is we that have been keeping up the traditions that have grown up ever since the congress was initiated and was continued. If I may respectfully say so our President has kept up that high standard of morals that generally characterise the Presidents of the congress. We have a great deal to be thankful for to Bengal in the matter of the way in which the congress has been started, maintained and kept up. The latest contribution that we have had from Bengal is our President. We may assure ourselves that in this most crucial period of the history of the country our interests are perfectly safe under the guidance and control of our President for the coming year. With these words Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to our President (Cheers). It was originally intended that Mr. N. Subba Rao the Doyen of public men in this province should have the honour and privilege of proposing the vote of thanks. He has taken suddenly ill and I have been shown the honour of taking his place. It is unfortunate that both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. N. Subba Rao should have taken ill at a somewhat crucial time and I hope that they would soon be

restored to health, and in saying so I am echoing the feelings of every one here. There is another pleasant duty that has been entrusted to me rendering our need of thanks to the volunteers for the attention and the kindness that they have been invariably showing us. The Captain, the Vice-Captains and the whole rank and file of volunteers are entitled to our most sincere thanks. If this conference has been a success it is due to their efforts and I have therefore very great pleasure in proposing another vote of thanks to the volunteers from Captain downwards and I hope you will carry the motion with acclamation (Cheers.)

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer said:—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer put the resolution to vote and declared it carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

President's Concluding Speech.

The President, in responding to the vote of thanks, said: Brother-Delegates, the time has come for us to part. But I trust that though the hour of parting has come and the present sessions have come to a close, we will all go forth from here with the determination to carry out the various resolutions that, after mature deliberation, the Federation has thought fit to adopt.

The 15th sessions have come to a close, but everyone of us feels that the work ahead of us is going to commence. It is a work that everyone of us has felt in the course of the discussion, is a work of great difficulty and will have to be carried on in ways of obstruction and disappointment. But in spite of all that, we should be determined in mind to take up the work and carry it on until success crowns our endeavours.

Gentlemen, you have resolved to strengthen your organisation and to widen it. You should keep that in mind, go forth from here to the different Provinces from which we all come, inspire the people that we are passing through a critical period of our history, when it is necessary that their attention and endeavours should be directed to the solution of the problems that face us, in order that the solution may be according to their desires, aspirations and ideals.

Gentlemen, we have increased the staff of General Secretaries. Some of our most distinguished colleagues have agreed to take up the work. We trust our work is clean and clear; it is straight-forward work. We can face the whole world with our programme, and that programme is based on the soundest of modern political principles. Keeping that in mind, with publicity and with due propaganda, I think it will be possible for us in the near future to bring together all the elements in the population some of whom are now divided in different contending factions, into one united whole until the pressure of a united public may impinge itself on the events of the present and the vision of the future.

Gentlemen, we should have before our mind's eye the various ideas that so many eloquent speakers have placed before you—ideas as to how our future may be shaped in the best interests of our country in various fields of our life, in various fields of our political future. We must go forth and there should be a

propaganda of instructing the people on the right lines and methods and about the ideas that we have set forth. Other ideas are now floating in people's minds, ideas which mean a much shorter cut. But we have decided that though the path for the attainment of our objects may not be as short as we might desire or others might desire, though the path may be strewn with thorns and may be lengthy, it is a path that will have to be trodden, and the sooner we start the march onward the better in the interests of the country; and in order that the march may be an effective march we must get together as strong an army as we can, that marching shoulder to shoulder we can attain our object.

Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for the very kind terms in which Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar and Sir Sivaswami Aiyar have spoken of the work that I have been privileged to do in connection with the sessions. The work has been done by the representatives assembled here. The President has been sitting in his seat no doubt, but the actual work, the thinking out, the responsibility for the propositions—they have been yours, and I attribute the success of this conference to the delegates, so far as the educative part, so far as the deliberative part of it are concerned.

So far as the organisation and the arrangements for these meetings are concerned, we are deeply grateful to the Reception Committee. (Cheers). It has been one of the keenest regrets of all of you and myself that the President of the Reception Committee, the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, has been unable to attend our sittings. We all hope and trust that he will be soon restored to health, and we all desire that he will take such care his health that he will be spared many, many years to guide us the difficult times ahead. His place has been taken by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar with his practised ability and his great experience. He has satisfied all, and he has been ably assisted by the staff of Secretaries of the Reception Committee amongst whom I may name Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, Mr. N. Ranganatham and last but not least Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao. (Cheers). Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri has assisted the Reception Committee particularly in the matter of making arrangements and in suggestions regarding the framing of the draft resolutions, and his help has been invaluable. Mr. S. R. Venkataraman as Assistant Secretary has done great service. He is a member of the Servants of India Society to whom the delegates assembled at this sessions should be grateful for allowing their rooms to be used for the office of the Reception Committee. We also have to thank Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer for their lavish hospitality to the delegates. The lunches and the teas which they have supplied to the delegates during the last three days enabled the delegates to do exacting work sometimes till late hours with the feeling of mental and physical refreshment. Last but not least, we have seen the work done by the splendid body of volunteers who organised themselves for service of this great national cause. My thanks and your thanks are due to the Captain, Mr. Rajasekharan, and the Vice-Captain, Mr. Alladi Ramaswami, and the large number of volunteers who stood under their behests and did the exacting work that was required of them. I thank Mr. Vinayaka Rao who sat up with me almost till midnight to go through the draft resolutions before they could be sent to

the press, and the Vice-Captain had to stay the whole night to see the draft resolutions printed, so that business might not be delayed.

Gentlemen, I convey the thanks of all of us not only to those connected with the Reception Committee, to whom we are specially grateful, but to the many others who have assisted us in every way in smoothly conducting the deliberations of this conference.

The conference then came to a close with three cheers to the President.

VANDE MATARAM.

APPENDIX A.

XV Session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

LIST OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

1. Rao Bahadur K. V. Sesha Iyengar, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore.
2. C. A. Srinivasa Iyer Esq., Emigration Depot, Avadi.
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8. Manian Natesan Esq., Asst. Editor, The Indian Review, George Town, Madras.
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10. T. E. Subramaniam Esq., B.A., 10A-, Luz, Mylapore.
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16. N. Subba Rao Pantulu, Rajahmundry.
17. K. Sundaravaradachariar Esq., B.A., B.L., Vakil, 16, Big Maniagar Street, Chenglepet.
18. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiyar of Chettinad, The Chettinad House, Adyar.
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20. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, 49, Mowbray's Road, Madras.
21. Nilam Ranganatham Esq., B.A., Sweta Griha, Saidapet.
22. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, B.A., M.D., Kanti Nivas, Basuvangudi, Bangalore City.
23. Rao Bahadur Ati Narayana Pantulu, B.A., B.L., Retired Dist. Judge, Malleswaram, Bangalore City.
24. M. Subbaroya Aiyar Esq., B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore.
25. K. Parthasarathy Iyengar Esq., B.A., L.T., Luz, Mylapore.
26. C. Venkataramana Aiyar Esq., B.A., B.L. Advocate, Chittoor.
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28. N. Ramaswami Mudaliar Esq., B.A., L.T., 15, Sunkurama Chetty St. Madras.
29. T. S. Natesa Sastrigal Esq., B.A., B.L., 201, Mint St., Madras.
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31. V. Venkatasubbiah Esq., B. A., Member, Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.
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44. Rao Bahadur C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar Avl., Retired District Judge, Mylapore.
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56. K. Balasubramania Aiyar Esq., B.A., B.L., Advocate, The Ashramam Luz, Mylapore.
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63. V. Govindarajachari Esq., M.A., B.L., Advocate White House, Luz, Mylapore.
64. N. V. Raghavan Esq., Retired Accountant General, Edward Elliots Road, Mylapore.
65. R. Sitarama Rao Esq, Advocate, Brodies Road, Mylapore.
66. Dewan Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar, Vardhini, Kilpauk.
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68. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar K.C.I.E., The Grove, Cathedral Post, Madras.
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75. Rao Bahadur N. Thiruvengadathan Iyengar, Advocate, Kumbakonam.
76. Abdul Hakim Sahib, 5, Jafer Syrangi St., Madras.
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83. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., "Swagatam" Mylapore.
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APPENDIX B.

XV Session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

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8. Manian Natesan Esq., Asst. Editor, The Indian Review, George Town, Madras.
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49. K. Kunjuthapadam Esq., B.A., B.L., Vakil, Negapatam.
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52. N. Sri Rama Esq., Theosophical Society, Adyar.
53. Sir M. Vasudeva Rajah, K.C.I.E., Rajah of Kollengode, Gouri Bagh, Cathedral P.O., Madras.
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58. Alladi Ramaswami Esq., M.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore.
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83. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri "Swagatam" Mylapore.
84. Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Ed. Elloits Road, Mylapore.
85. E. Vinayaka Rao Esq., Advocate, Mylapore.
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89. R. Krishnaswami Iyengar Esq., Advocate, Cuddalore.
90. K. M. Narasimha Iyengar Esq., Advocate, Mylapore.
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96. S. Natesa Aiyar Esq., Madras.
97. N. S. Sivasubramaniam Esq., M.A., Servindia Rural Centre, Mayanur, Trichy.
98. C. N. Narayana Sastri Esq., Vizagapatam.
99. G. V. Nagesvara Aiyar Esq., B.A., B.L., Vakil Gobichettipalayam, Coimbatore.
100. K. M. Koshi Esq., B.A., L.T., Madras.
101. P. N. Somanatha Rao Esq., B.A., B.L., Tanjore.
102. V. Sakharamarao Esq., Madras.
103. V. R. Nayanar Esq., B.A., Servants of India Society, Calicut.
104. K. V. Narayan Esq., Madras.
105. R. Rajangam Iyer Esq., B.A., Madras.
106. M. Lakshmanaswami Esq., B.A., Madras.
107. Doctor P. C. Patel M.B.B.S. Madras.
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122. H. G. Gharpuray Esq., I.C.S., (Retired,) Poona.
123. A. V. Patwardhan Esq., B.A., Servants of India Society, Poona.
124. K. B. Sheory B.A., B.L., Dhantoli, Nagpur.
125. Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma Esq., C.I.E., M.B.E., High Court Pleader, Amraoti Camp, Berar.
126. R. S. Gupte Esq., Servants of India Society, Nagpur.
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135. Jagannatha Doss Adhikari, Religious Preceptor, Howrah.
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140. Amiyath Mukerji Esq., Solicitor, No. 5, Hastings St., Calcutta.
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142. Pandit Jagadish Chander Chatterji, B.A., Director, India Academy of America, New York, No. 9, Hathibagan Rd., Entally Calcutta.
143. B. K. Ghose Esq., B.A., Solicitor 9, Srinathdas Lane, Calcutta.
144. C. Y. Chintamani Esq., Editor, The Leader, 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
145. Dr. V. S. Ram, M.A., Ph. D., Professor Lucknow University, Lucknow.
146. S. P. Andrews Dube Esq., M.A.L.T., Servants of India Society, Lucknow.
147. Pandit H. N. Kunzru B.A., B. sc., Servants of India Society, Allahabad.

APPENDIX C.

XV Session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

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