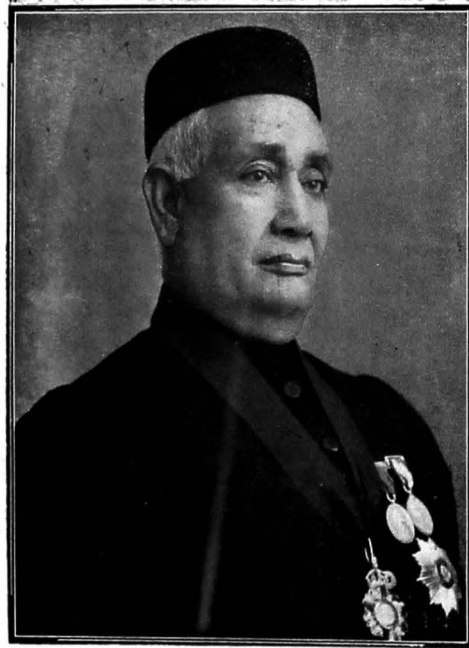


REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India
HELD AT LUCKNOW
On December 29, 30 and 31, 1936

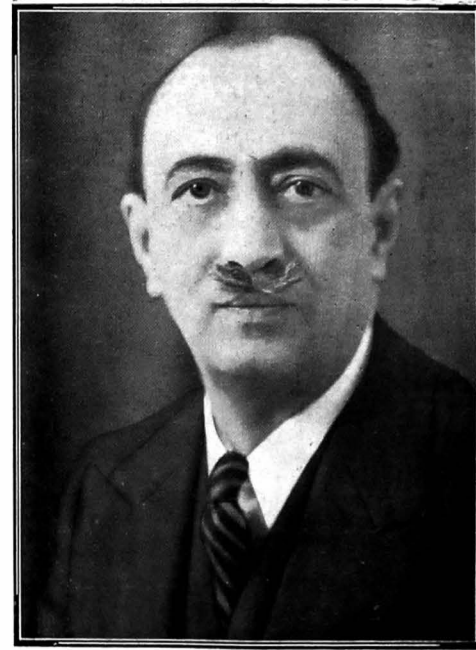


ALLAHABAD :

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Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.,
Chairman of the Reception
Committee.



Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart.,
K.C.I.E., M.L.A.,
President.

DEDICATED

By his Sorrowing Colleagues

TO THE HONOURED MEMORY

OF

RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH, K. C. I. E.,

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Eighteenth

Session of the National Liberal Federation of

India held at Lucknow in the December

of 1936,

Who as President of the National Liberal Association of Oudh had invited the Federation to hold the session at Lucknow and keenly interested himself in its success notwithstanding continued ill-health which prevented him from taking part in the deliberations and carried him away in the first week of April 1937, leaving the Liberal Party and the United Provinces much the poorer without him.

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SESSIONS.	

INTRODUCTION

Addressing the seventh session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in 1891 Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress, expressed a sense of thankfulness that the Congress had lived to hold its seventh session. This he did because of the activity of opponents and the apathy of supporters against which it had to contend. The Congress—although not that Congress—has now completed nearly 52 years of existence. The members of the Indian Liberal Party have much greater reason for thankfulness that their organization is still living after 19 years of existence. This is so because of the circumstances in which it lives, moves and has its being. Mankind has perhaps a weakness for extremes. This may be the reason why at present a moderate party appears to have little chance in almost any country. On the continent of Europe popular allegiance seems by choice or necessity to be divided between the two extremes of fascism and communism. In England the Liberal party, which stands for the maximum liberty of the subject and equal opportunity for all, is almost crushed between the upper millstone of toryism which stands for privilege and prescription and the nether millstone of socialism which is all for the masses against the classes. This tendency of people to fly to either of two opposite ends is accentuated in India due to alien domination. A people once awakened to national consciousness and adjured in the name of national honour to throw off the foreign yoke, is naturally prone to prefer such an appeal to counsels which take account of what is feasible as they do not flatter the national vanity. When this sentimental consideration is strengthened by dire poverty which is attributed to the nature of the government under which the people live, the chance of middle opinion is further reduced. It is not that such opinion is condemned on the merits. But human nature in politics is least swayed by reason. At present the principles and policy of the Liberal Party are approved by vastly larger numbers than are represented by the attenuated ranks of the party itself. After years of wandering in the wilderness of whirlwind agitation the popular body which has endeared itself to large numbers by the boldness and novelty of its programme, its partiality for demonstrations and the voluntary suffering of thousands of its votaries in the pursuit of its policy, has at last come to believe in parliamentary action and is today in office in seven out of 11 provinces of the country. What actually the Congress ministries will achieve will not be known for some time to come. Prophecy is futile and nowhere more than in the sphere of politics. But if a reasoned anticipation of probabilities is permissible, it may be doubted whether the ministries will find the effectuation of their large and reckless promises to the electorate to be at all practicable. At the moment the British element in provincial governments has been cast into the background. Governors have so far betrayed no disposition to interpose by the exercise of special powers between the ministries and their programmes. Whether the financial limitation will not prove almost fatal to the execution of substantial parts of those programmes and whether a struggle

between the haves and have-nots, of which the small beginnings are already visible, will really become a serious affair, cannot now be said. Everyone will hope in the interests of the nation that for once fears instead of hopes may prove to be dupes and that everything may turn out well in the end. That will be the greatest vindication of the principles and policy for which the Liberal Party has faithfully and continuously stood in the face of persistent calumny and misrepresentation. The triumph of Liberalism, which is what this will be in effect, will be gratefully acclaimed by Liberals even if the Liberal Party as such may perish. It will be the modern illustration, if on a small scale, of captive Greece triumphing over victorious Rome. If, on the other hand, the more extreme doctrines of the section of Congressmen known as Congress socialists—not a few of them are in reality communists—should prevail over more moderate counsels inside that organization, what the end may be nobody can foresee now with any degree of precision, but there is a general fear that it will be more disastrous than beneficial to the country. The remedy may easily prove worse than the disease even if it may not kill the patient.

When the 18th session of the National Liberal Federation of India assembled at Lucknow in the Christmas of last year the first elections under the new Government of India Act had not been held and it was uncertain what the Congress might do where it was returned to the legislature in a majority. This circumstance will render clear the nature of its proceedings. It was the fourth session of the Federation held in the United Provinces and the second at Lucknow. The invitation to Lucknow was extended principally by Raja Sir Rampal Singh, the leader of Oudh Liberals. Unfortunately he was confined to his bed of sickness during the major part of the year and actually he was not able even to be present at the session. He was the unanimously elected chairman of the reception committee but his address had to be read for him by his brother, the venerated Thakur Hanuman Singh, a most faithful Liberal who acted as chairman in his brother's absence. It is a public misfortune that since then Raja Saheb has passed away. He was a friend and supporter of many good causes and the talukdars, the Liberals, the Hindus and the province generally are much the poorer for his death, which is mourned by large numbers. Raja Sir Rampal Singh in his speech struck a decisive note in favour of the Liberal Party and made a fervent appeal to his fellow-landlords to give up both their isolation and their helpless dependence on the Government. The landlords are at present feeling acutely the hostile attitude of the Congress towards their class and fearing what Congress ministries may not do against their interests. It is unfortunate that still they continue to be disorganized and consequently ineffectual in action. The middle class Liberals seem to be almost paralyzed by their powerlessness before the mass appeal of the Congress. Liberals stand equally for the classes and the masses. But the upper ten of society continue to be stagnant and purposeless while the lower million are living in the fond hope of witnessing the new heaven and the new earth promised to them by the Congress.

The President of the session was Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a highly respected citizen of Bombay and the head of a family which has rendered itself illustrious and honoured by its many public benefactions. Sir Cowasjee is honest, public-spirited and responsible-minded. His address

reflects these qualities and may be commended for its genuine expression of the thoughts and aspirations of reformers as distinguished from revolutionaries as well as reactionaries.

In its resolutions the last session of the Federation, while keeping steadfastly to the principles and the policy of the party, at the same time took note of circumstances as they were at the time of its deliberations. Lovers of the theatrical may condemn them as being of the humdrum variety. But it is of the essence of Liberalism that it does not believe in heroics and does not do things merely for winning the applause of the market-place. Liberals rather wish that their programme and policy should be judged by the standard of what is right and wrong, what is practical and what is only visionary, what really does good to the people instead of merely pleasing them. Judged by these tests, no Liberal either fears or doubts that the conclusions recorded in the Federation's resolutions will not commend themselves to competent and impartial judges of matters political, social and economic.

If nothing succeeds like success, the counter-part of this proposition is unfortunately equally true. Do what they may, there does not appear to be an early chance of popular success for the Liberal Party any more in India than in England. Luckily the same may not be said of Liberalism as distinguished from the Liberal Party. If Liberals, instead of yielding to despair, keep their flag flying and remain steadfast in their convictions and faithful to their principles, they can still serve their country and— who knows? stranger things have happened—may even win back the confidence of their countrymen. God grant that this may happen.

APPENDIX A
MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.

The following letter was addressed to Raja Sir Rampal Singh by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer :—

I have received an invitation on your behalf from our friend, Mr. Chintamani, to the session of the Liberal Federation to be held at Lucknow. I regret that my poor health prevents me from attending the session. I have no doubt that under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, with his wide and varied experience and his faith in the principles of the Liberal Party of which he has been a staunch member for so many years, the deliberations of the Liberal Party will be guided by wisdom and practical idealism.

Wishing every success to the 18th session of the Federation,

MADRAS,)
Dec. 25, 1936. }

Yours sincerely,
P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

Dewan Bahadur G. A. Natesan

I wish this year's session success.—(Madras).

Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar,

Principal, Benares Hindu University.

I regret that I am detained owing to indisposition. I wish the Conference success.

Mr. Sankata Prasad Bajpai

Ill-health detains me. I wish the Federation unqualified success.—(Kheri).

Mr. Badri Datt

I am exceedingly sorry for my unavoidable absence and express my sincere wishes for the success of the Liberal Federation, the only sound political organization in India—(Almora).

Rao Krishna Pal Singh

I much regret my absence, but wish the Federation grand success.—(Etah).

Mr. Kittur, Belgaum

I am unavoidably detained. I regret my absence and wish success to the session.—(Bagalkot).

Mr. Gadgil

I regret, due to illness, my inability to attend the session over which Sir Cowasji Jehangir is presiding. I hope that the veteran Congressmen who are now Liberals and are meeting at Lucknow will give a clear lead to the country by securing a united political front and by exposing at present the futility of monstrosities like the Constituent Assembly, declaration and notice to the Britishers of complete independence amidst communal dissensions and the implantation of a Soviet State on the top of Swaraj. Concentrate on army, navy and air force reform for India. Long live the Federation, our old Congress. I wish all success.—(Poona).

Mr. B. S. Kamat

I regret my inability to attend and wish every success to the session of the Federation.—(Poona).

Mr. Jathar

I regret my inability to attend and wish the session all success.—(Poona).

Mr. Keshav Rao Pradhan

Pleader and president, East Khandesh Liberal Association, Jalgaon.

Severe cold prohibits my personal attendance. I am mentally attending the Conference though not physically.

Mr. G. K. Chitare (Advocate, Jalgaon)

Ill-health prevents my attendance. Yet, my heart is with the Conference and I wish our Conference every success.

Mr. T. G. Dhaneshvar

The following letter dated Dec. 27, 1936, was received by Mr. Chintamani from Mr. T. G. Dhaneshvar, Ahmednagar :—

Your kind invitation to hand. I am grateful to you for the same. I, however, very much regret that I am unable to attend the session of the Federation as my health does not permit me to undertake the journey. At the present critical juncture, I feel certain the Liberals will give a proper lead to the thought and action of all those who are alive to their duty to the country. I wish every success to the Federation.

Mr. S. K. Shindkar

Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Inamdar, Bhor, addressed the following letter dated Dec. 24, 1936, to the secretary of the Reception Committee :—

On behalf of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 18th session of the National Liberal Federation, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, and you all, I received a letter from our veteran leader, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, asking me to attend the Federation to be held at Lucknow by the end of this month. I too had a great mind to do so. But as I am suffering from lumbago for the last three weeks, I am extremely sorry to inform you that my doctor advised me not to risk the journey and the cold weather there. I, therefore, hope you all will excuse me.

I am sure, under the able guidance of the President-elect, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the country will receive a proper and definite lead in the present political situation. So also no pains should be spared to reorganize our limited party once again and make it more active.

I wish the Federation every success.

Mr. A. S. N. Murti

Mill-owner, Rambha, and President of the National Liberal Association of Orissa, wrote as follows :—

On account of heavy election work about my candidature for the Orissa Provincial Assembly, I am unable to be present. But kindly convey my sincere wishes for the success of the session.

Though I cannot be present personally to do it, I write to invite the next session to this Province. Please place the proposal before the meeting, and let me know the decision.

APPENDIX B

Members of the Reception Committee

The following is the list of the members of the Reception Committee :—

1. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., 11, Clyde Road, Lucknow.
2. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, 11, Clyde Road, Lucknow.
3. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, Montgomery Road, Lucknow.
4. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Lucknow.
5. Raja Bahadur Suraj Baksh Singh of Kasmanda, Park Road, Lucknow.
6. Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak, Nabiullah Road, Park Road, Lucknow.
7. Mrs. Prem Nath Dass, Isabela Thobarn College, Lucknow.
8. Miss Chako, Isabela Thobarn College, Lucknow.
9. Mr. J. N. Mukand, Nazarbagh, C. M. S., Havelock Road, Lucknow.
10. Mrs. Mukand, Nazarbagh, C. M. S., Havelock Road, Lucknow.
11. Mr. Habib Ali Khan, Wazirganj, advocate, Lucknow.
12. Kunwar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
13. Mr. Om Prakash Gupta, Badshah Bagh, Lucknow.
14. Mrs. Gupta, Principal, Kashmiri Mohalla Girls' High School, Lucknow.
15. Prof. N. C. Sarcar, West Cattganj, Nazarbagh, Lucknow.
16. Miss E. M. Dube, Principal, Mahila Vidyalaya, Lucknow.
17. Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Wazirganj, Lucknow.
18. Rao Raja Rai Bahadur Pt. Shyam Behari Misra, Golagunj, Lucknow.
19. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Golagunj Lucknow.
20. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Pershad Varma, Katchery Road, Lucknow.
21. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, O. B. E., Taluqdar Press, Ganeshganj, Lucknow.
22. Mr. E. Thomas, retired deputy collector, Lucknow.
23. Pandit Parmeswar Nath Sapru, advocate, Suraj Bhawan, Fyzabad.
24. Pandit Krishna Parsad Kaul, G. P. Varma Memorial Hall, Aminabad.
25. Rai Bahadur Babu Shambhoo Dayal, retired district and sessions judge, 4, Havelock Road, Clay Square, Lucknow.
26. Thakur Udaya Pal Singh, chairman, Educational Committee, Partabgarh district board, and honorary first class assistant collector.
27. Pandit Uma Shanker Misra, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
28. Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Pershad Mehrotra, Biswan, district Sitapur.
29. Rai Krishna Pal Singh, Taluqdar, honorary magistrate and chairman, Partabgarh district board, Birapur, P. O. Jamtab.
30. Mr. A. L. Mahindra, retired magistrate and collector, 3 Oliver Road, Lucknow.
31. Pandit Bal Krishna Pande, Principal, Kanyakubja Intermediate College, Lucknow.
32. Raj Kumar Lal Shiva Amber Singh, honorary magistrate, Khajurgaon, district Rae Bareli.

33. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
34. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society Allahabad.
35. Dr. N. P. Ashthana, Canning Road, Allahabad.
36. Mehta Krishna Ram, Editor, The LEADER, Allahabad.
37. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, advocate, Allahabad.
38. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, General Manager, The LEADER, Allahabad.
39. Babu Vishun Nath, advocate, Allahabad.
40. Mehta Mahipat Ram, News Editor, The LEADER, Allahabad.
41. Rai Bahadur Lala Behari Lal, M. L. C., Allahabad.
42. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, advocate, Allahabad.
43. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Anapur estate, Allahabad.
44. Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal, Benares.
45. Babu Gauri Sanker Prasad, advocate, Bulanala, Benares.
46. Rai Bahadur Pandit Gur Sewak Upadhya, Benares.
47. Rai Bahadur Babu Brajendra Swarup, advocate, Cawnpore.
48. Rai Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Principal, Benares Hindu University, Benares.
49. Rai Bahadur Ram Narain, Cawnpore.
50. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra.
51. Rao Krishnapal Singh, M. L. C., Castle Grant, Agra.
52. The hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Albert Road, Allahabad.
53. Mr. Ayodhia Dass, bar-at-law, Gorakhpore.
54. Babu Kunwar Bahadur, Gorakhpore.
55. Pandit Baij Nath Misra, Azamgarh.
56. Babu Bodh Raj Sahnay, advocate, Jhansi.
57. Babu Brindaban Lal Varma, Jhansi.
58. Raizada Shanker Dayal, Jhansi.
59. Babu Dalipman Singh, advocate, Fatehpur.
60. Babu Gendan Lal, advocate, Farrukhabad.
61. Mr. Brijnandan Lal, bar-at-law, Farrukhabad.
62. Rai Sahib Radha Mohan, advocate, Jaunpur.
63. Dr. Chandra Mohan, Aligarh.
64. Mr. Dwarka Nath Bhargava, Muttra.
65. Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad, Muzaffarnagar.
66. Babu Kishori Prasad, Banda.
67. Rai Bahadur Pandit Badri Dutt Joshi, Almora.
68. Rai Bahadur Pandit Tara Dutt Gairola, Pauri.
69. Babu Pirthi Nath Bhargava, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
70. Pandit Katyayani Dutt Trivedi, Kuri-Sudhauhi (Rae-Bareli).
71. Rai Bahadur Lala Tirlok Nath Kapoor, Tanda, District Fyzabad.
72. Thakur Rajendra Nath, M.A., LL.B., Bara Banki.
73. Pandit Kalika Pershad Tirvedi, advocate, Sitapur.
74. Pandit Raj Narain Shukla, advocate, Lucknow.
75. Radha Krishna Srivastava, A.P. Sen Road, Lucknow.

76. Messrs. Sunder Lal and Co., Sadar Bazar, Lucknow.
77. Dr. Jai Karan Nath Misra, Bar-at-law, Lucknow.
78. Dr. B. N. Varma, Katchery Road, Lucknow.
79. Babu Nawal Kishore, Hallasia Buildings, Lucknow.
80. Rani Jaswanti Kumar of Gonda.
81. Kunwar Dalipat Shah, Singhai House, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow.
82. Sirdar Gur Baksh Singh of Lucknow, Gangni Shukul ka Talab, Lucknow.
83. Rai Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Cawnpore.
84. Mr. Devendra Swarup, Cawnpore.
85. Dr. J. U. and Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Madras.
86. Dr. J. Williams, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
87. Mr. J.B. Tantra, Qaisarbagh Circus, Lucknow.
88. Mr. Daya Narain Mehta, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
89. Mr. Govind Behari Lal Mathur, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
90. Mr. Kishan Chand Agrawal, Narhi, Lucknow.
91. Mr. R. N. Mehrotra, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
92. Messrs. Lakshmi Fruit Mart, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
93. Mr. H. Nauraji, Proprietor, Nowraji & Co., Hazratganj, Lucknow.
94. Messrs. Mathura Dutt & Co., Hazratganj, Lucknow.
95. Messrs. Ram Lal Bros (Banwari Lal), Hazratganj, Lucknow.
96. Messrs. Oudh Motor Works, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
97. Mr. Mustausar Ullah, contractor, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
98. Mr. Ram Kumar Bhargava, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
99. Mr. R. S. Mathur, Havelock Road, Lucknow.
100. Mrs. Irawati Mehta, Allahabad.
101. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
102. Rai Bahadur Dr. R. N. Banerji, Allahabad.
103. Babu Bishwavati Pershad, Allahabad.
104. Pandit Mool Chand Malaviya, Allahabad.
105. Rai Krishnaji, Benares.
106. Mr. Rukn Uddin Khan, advocate, Partabgarh.
107. Pandit Tirlok Nath Rai, advocate, Partabgarh.
108. Pandit Onkar Nath Rai, advocate, Partabgarh.
109. Babu Girja Shanker, Partabgarh.
110. Thakur Amaq Bahadur Singh, Partabgarh.
111. Thakur Madho Pershad Singh, Partabgarh.
112. Pandit Ajab Narain Sharma, Partabgarh.
113. Thakur Suraj Bux Singh, Partabgarh.
114. Thakur Bindra Prasad Singh, Partabgarh.
115. Thakur Ram Pratap Singh, Partabgarh.
116. Babu Sri Ram Sinha, Partabgarh.
117. Mr. Hira Lal Chatterji, Hewett Road, Lucknow.
118. Rai Bahadur Dr. Balbhadra Singh, Agra.
119. Thakurain Sahiba of Dhanawan, 7, Hilton Lane, Lucknow.

120. Khan Bahadur Haider Khan Sahib, Mainpuri.
 121. Raja Rampal Singh Sahib, Itaunja, Lucknow.
 122. Kumar Rajendra Singh, Harba Raj, Barabanki.
 123. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sankatha Prasad Bajpai, Kheri.
 124. Rajmata Sahiba of Ram Nagar, Dhamerai Raj, Bara Banki.
 125. Thakur Ram Pratap Singh, Narendrapur Charuhar, Rae Bareli.
 126. Thakur Muneshwar Bux Singh, M.L.C., Hardoi.
 127. Mohammad Ali Sahib, Radauli, Bara Banki.
 128. Raja Indrajit Pratab Bahadur Sahi, Tamkahi, District Gorakhpur.
 129. Raja Sayed Mohammad Mehdi Saheb, Pirpur House, Lucknow.
 130. Rao Bahadur Kunwar Chain Singh Sahib, Royal Hotel, Lucknow.
 131. Pandit Shiva Shanker Tripathi, advocate, Rae Bareli.
 132. Kunwar Dewakar Prakash Singh Sahib, Kamlapur, Sitapur.
 133. Major Raja Durga Narain Singh, 5, Way Road, Lucknow.
 134. Thakur Narendra Bahadur Singh Sahib, Paho, Rae Bareli.
 135. Raja Bahadur Vishwa Nath Saran Singh Sahib, Tiloi, Rae Bareli.
 136. Pandit Dev Datt Bajpai, Ganeshganj, Lucknow.
 137. Rai Bahadur Pandit Mahraj Narain Chakbast.
 138. Pandit Bishwa Nath Tholal, Cawnpore.
 139. Dr. Mrs. Panth, Ruttlege Road, Lucknow.
 140. Mr. C. J. Adams, Helins Buildings, Ruttledge Road, Lucknow.
 141. Mr. E. H. Canteenwala, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
 142. Pandit Jagat Narain Sahib, Golaganj, Lucknow.
 143. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad.
 144. Mr. A. S. David, Head Master, St. Joseph School, Lucknow.
 145. Pandit Brij Narain Tankha, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow.
 146. R. S. Nanak, Chowkapur, Partabgarh.
 147. Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Journalist, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
-

APPENDIX C

List of Delegates

1. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay ; 2. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, Calcutta ;
3. Mr. Jatendra Nath Basu, M. L. C., Calcutta ; 4. Mr. S. M. Bose, M. L. C., Calcutta ;
5. Mr. Nirmal Kanta Mitra, Calcutta ; 6. Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Mitra, Calcutta ;
7. Mr. Burjor I, Shroff, Bombay ; 8. Mr. Ram Chandra Goswami, Calcutta ; 9. Mr. Sailendra Nath Goswami, Howrah Bally ; 10. Mr. Harish Chandra Goswami, Calcutta ;
11. Dr. Rabirod Lal De, Calcutta ; 12. Babu Kalika Prasad, Shahjahanpur ;
13. Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal, Benares ; 14. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad ;
15. Babu Hira Lal Chatterji, Gwalior State ; 16. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Fyzabad ;
17. Mr. A. S. David, Lucknow ; 18. Pandit Iqbal Shanker Kaul, Lucknow ;
19. Pandit Triloki Nath Kaul, Bahraich ; 20. Pandit Daya Shanker, Fyzabad ;
21. Babu Hazari Lal, Fyzabad ; 22. Babu Chedi Lal, Fyzabad ; 23. Mehta Krishna Ram, Allahabad ; 24. Rev. J. N. Mukand, Lucknow ; 25. Mrs. Mukand, Lucknow ;
26. Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Lucknow ; 27. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Lucknow ; 28. Rai Bahadur Babu Shambhoo Dayal, Lucknow ;
29. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad ; 30. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Lucknow ; 31. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra ; 32. Rai Sahib Radha Mohan, Jaunpur ; 33. Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Allahabad ; 34. Pandit Sri Ram Bajpai, Allahabad ; 35. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Sholapur ; 36. Mr. N. A. Dravid, Nagpur ;
37. Babu Mahabir Prasad Agarwal, Fyzabad ; 38. Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Lucknow ; 39. Dr. Narain Prasad Asthana, Allahabad ; 40. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad ; 41. Rai Bahadur A. L. Mahendra, Lucknow ; 42. Kunwar Rajendra Singh of Tikra, Lucknow ; 43. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Bombay ; 44. Mrs. Indra Bai Gokhale, Bombay ; 45. Mr. S. P. Karandika, Bombay ; 46. The hon. Mr. Prakash Narain Sapru, Allahabad ; 47. Pandit Kailash Narain Dube, Jhansi ;
48. Mr. A. P. Nagar, Banda ; 49. Rai Bahadur Babu Brijendra Swarup, Cawnpore ; 50. Mr. A. D. Shroff, Bombay ; 51. Mr. N. C. Bhamaha, Bombay ;
52. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Bombay ; 53. Mr. Zafar Ahmad, Fatehpur ; 54. Babu Devendra Swarup, Cawnpore ; 55. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh of Anapore, Allahabad district ; 56. Mr. Ramesh Nandan Sinha of Anapore, Allahabad district ;
57. Rai Ram Charan Agarwal, Allahabad ; 58. Rai Govind Chandra, Benares ; 59. Major Raja Durga Narain Singh, Farrukhabad ; 60. Pandit Uma Shanker Misra, Lucknow ; 61. Mr. B. P. Mathur, Allahabad ; 62. Rai Amarnath Agarwal, Allahabad ;
63. Mr. Sate Nath Ghosh, Calcutta ; 64. Mrs. Subarnafata Ghosh, Calcutta ; 65. Mr. B. K. Aga, Dehra Dun ; 66. Babu Dalip Man Singh, Fatehpur ; 67. Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Biswan, Sitapur district ; 68. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad, 69. Mrs. Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad ; 70. Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, Madras ; 71. Thakur Ram Adhar Singh, Fyzabad ; 72. Mr. D.L. Sahasrabuddhe, Poona ; 73. Mrs. Yamunabai Sahasrabuddhe, Poona ; 74. Mr. Suraj Baksh Singh, Partabgarh ; 75. Mr. Onkar Nath Roy, Partabgarh ; 76. Mr. Girja Shanker, Partabgarh ; 77. Mr. Devi Persad, Rae Bareli ; 78. K. S. Negi, Allahabad ;
79. Mr. E. Thomas Chawdhree, Lucknow ; 80. Mr. Bodhraj Sahney, Jhansi ; 81. Mr. Bhola Nath Mehra, Jhansi ; 82. Babu Dwarka Nath Bhargava, Muttra ; 83. Mr. Kedar Nath Gupta, Allahabad ; 84. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Allahabad ;
85. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, Allahabad, 86. Mr. B. B. Roy, Calcutta ; 87. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Nagpur ; 88. Mrs. Sarswati Bai Brahma, Nagpur, 89. Mr. R. K. Brahma, Amraoti ; 90. Mrs. R. K. Brahma, Amraoti ; 91. Mrs. Jankibai Brahma, Amraoti ; 92. Mr. V. T. Despande, Teotwal, Berar ; 93. Mr. M. D. Shahani, Nagpur ; 94. Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, Benares ; 95. Thakur Udaipal Singh,

Partabgarh; 96. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Madras; 97. V. Venkatasubbiya, Madras; 98. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, Madras; 99. Mr. S. G. Gokhale, Poona; 100. Dr. D. L. Dubey, Meerut; 101. Mr. Bal Krishna Pandey, Lucknow; 102. Mrs. P. L. Asam, Lucknow, 103. Mr. N. M. Joshi, Bombay; 104. Mr. V. B. Sathi, Sholapur; 105. Mr. M. T. Chati, Sholapur; 106. Rai Bahadur Chain Singh, Jodhpur; 107. Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Varma, Lucknow, 108. Mr. G. V. Gaur, Bombay; 109. Mr. S. B. Kotwal, Dhubia, West Khandesh; 110. Mr. V. M. Apte, Dhubia, West-Khandesh; 111. Mr. B. B. Kirtane, Dhubia, West Khandesh; 112. Mr. V. R. Bhide, Bombay; 113. Mrs. Santinbai Bhide, Bombay; 114. Mr. Vishun Nath, Allahabad; 115. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Lucknow; 116. Mr. Radhey Shiam Rastogi, Lucknow; 117. Mr. M. D. Altekar, Bombay; 118. Mr. Katyayani Dutt Trivedi, Rae Bareli; 119. Dr. S. N. Ghosh, Lucknow; 120. Rai Saheb Jai Narain Misra, Lucknow; 121. Mr. P. S. S. Tupatta, Rae Bareli; 122. Mr. E. H. Canteenwala, Lucknow; 123. Mr. Lalta Prasad Srivastava, Allahabad; 124. Mr. B. K. Dar, Agra; 125. Babu Mani Lal, Hardoi; 126. Rai Sahib Nanak, Chaukapur, Partabgarh; 127. Dr. M. H. Syed, Allahabad; 128. Mrs. Janak Sapru, Allahabad.

APPENDIX D

Council for 1937

President

1. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Bombay.

Vice-Presidents

2. Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Madras.
3. Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C.H., LL.D., Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Lucknow.
6. Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Nagpur.
7. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Bombay.
8. The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna, O. B. E., Bombay.
9. Mr. J.N. Basu, M.L.C., Calcutta.
10. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad.
11. Mr. T.R. Venkatrama Sastry, C.I.E., Madras.

General Secretaries

12. Mr. A.D. Shroff, Bombay.
13. Mr. B.N. Gokhale, Bombay.

Nominated by the President

14. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., Lucknow.
15. Dr. Heramba Chandra Mitra, Calcutta.
16. Dr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Allahabad.
17. Mr. K.S. Jathar, C.I.E., Poona.
18. Mr. R.R. Bakhale, M.L.C., Bombay.

Elected Members

Madras

19. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
20. Janab C. Abdul Hakim Saheb Bahadur, Hakim House, Jaffer Sirang St. G. T., Madras.
21. Janab Jamal Mahomed Saheb Bahadur, 16, Thambu Chetti St., Madras.
22. Rao Bahadur Dr. C.B. Rama Rao, Kanthi Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
23. Rao Bahadur G.A. Natesan, Mangala Vilas, Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
24. Raja Sir Vasudeva Raja of Kollengode, S. Malabar.
25. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral, P. O. Madras.
26. Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, B.A., B.L., Advocate, East Mada St., Mylapore, Madras.
27. Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Vizagapatam.
28. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, B.A., B.L., The Ashram, Luz, Mylapore, Madras.

29. Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, B.A., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
30. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
31. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, B.A., Servants of India Society, Mayanur, (Trichy Dist.)
32. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu, Avl. C.I.E., Ritherdon Road, Vepery, Madras.
33. Mr. S R. Venkatraman, B.A., B.L., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
34. Mr. V. R. Narayanon, Servants of India Society, Calicut.

Bengal

35. Sir Bijay Prasad Singh Roy, Kt., M. A., B. L., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
36. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
37. Mr. C. C. Biswas, M.A., B. L., C.I.E., 58, Puddapukur Road, Calcutta.
38. Mr. B.K. Basu, M.A., C.I.E., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
39. Mr. H.M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
40. Mr. B.B. Roy, M.A., Scottish Church College, Calcutta.
41. Mr. Satinath Roy, M.A., B.L., 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
42. Mr. Prabhanath Singh Roy, M.A., B.L., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
43. Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Mitra, 34/1 Elgin Road, Calcutta.
44. Kumar Rajendra Narayan Roy, 79, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.
45. Rai Nagendranath Mukerji Bahadur, M. A., B. L., Ranaghat (Nadia), Bengal.
46. Rai Keshab Chander Bennerji Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
47. Rai Satyendra Chandra Das Bahadur, Dacca.
48. Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara, E. I. Railway.
49. Maharaja Sirish Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar.
50. Rev. B. A. Nag, M.L.C., Congress Exhibition Road, Calcutta.
51. Mr. S.M. Bose, M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
52. Mr. B.K. Chaudhury, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
53. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
54. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashirpur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
55. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
56. Mr. Shiva Prasanna Ghosh, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Bhagwandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
58. Mr. Sew Nissen Bhattar, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
59. Mr. Gostho Behari Mondal, Nawabganj, Barrackpore (Bengal).

Bombay

60. Sir Homi Mehta, Maneckji Wadia Building, Esplanada Road, Fort, Bombay.
61. Sir Byramjee Jeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay.
62. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
63. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

64. Mr. D. G. Dalvi Advocate, Shireen Villa, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.
65. Mr. Vasantrao, S. Ravut French Bridge, Chaupatty, Bombay.
66. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
67. Mr. R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay 2.
68. Mr. N. R. Wadia, 120, Wodehouse Road, Bombay 1.
69. Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Nanpura, Surat.
70. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468 Kalbadevi, Bombay 2.
71. Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhatt, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
72. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
73. Khan Bahadur H. P. Chahewala, Khanpur Road, Ahmedabad.
74. Prof. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Park Road Vile Parle (B. B. C. I. Railway.)
75. Mr. V. P. Kittur, Advocate, Belgaum.
76. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
77. Mr. K. J. Dubash, Solicitor, Medows Street, Bombay 1.
78. Mr. V. B. Sathe, M. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
79. Mr. M. T. Chati, B.A., LL. B., Sholapur.
80. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law.
81. Mr. H. G. Gharpure, I. C. S. (Retd.)
82. Mr. G. V. Ranade, Poona.

United Provinces

83. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
84. The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Bar-at-Law, Albert Road, Allahabad.
85. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M.L.C., Rehwan, district Rae Bareli.
86. Dr. Rajeshwar Bali, O.B.E., Daryabad, district Bara Banki.
87. Kumar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
88. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
89. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
90. Mr. Ayodhya Das, Bar-at-Law, Anand Bhawan, Gorakhpur.
91. Babu Bodh Raj Sahney, Jhansi.
92. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Lucknow.
93. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Clive Road, Allahabad.
94. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
95. Mehta Krishna Ram, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
96. Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M.A., LL.B., Fatehpur.
97. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, Stanley Road, Allahabad.
98. Babu Vishun Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
99. Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunj, Lucknow.
100. Rao Krishnapal Singh, Castle Grant, Agra.
101. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunj, Lucknow.
102. Rai Bahadur Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Biswan, district Sitapur, Oudh.
103. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
104. Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhuwan, Fyzabad.

105. Rai Bahadur Babu Brijendra Swarup, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
106. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, Principal, Benares Hindu University.

Punjab

107. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
108. Mr. R. Jlia Ram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore.
109. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
110. Lala Kesheo Ram Shekri, M. L. C., Vakil, Civil Lines, Lahore.
111. Mr. Manoharlal, Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
112. Mr. Hardatta Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, Machagan Road, Lahore.

C. P. and Berar

113. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M. B. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
114. Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Advocate, Nagpur.
115. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.
116. Mr. N. A. Drawid, M. A., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
117. Mr. V. G. Mandpe, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
118. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
119. Mr. A. Shahane, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
120. Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
121. Rao Bahadur R. M. Khare, Amraoti Camp.
122. Mr. Shankerrao M. Bhalchandra, Yeotmal.
123. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal.

Behar

124. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh (Anapur, Allahabad district).

Orissa

125. Mr. A. S. N. Murthi, President, National Liberal Association of Orissa, Berhampore.
126. Mr. Laxmi Narayan Sahu, M. A., Cuttack.

Assam

127. Mr. Chandra Dhar Barua, Jorhat, Assam.

APPENDIX E

Working Committee for the year 1937

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bart), K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Chairman,

Madras

Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.,
The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H. LL.D.,
Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, B.A., B.L., C.I.E., and
Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, B.A., B.L.

Bombay

Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Mr. H. G. Gharpure,
Mr. M. D. Altekar, and
Mr. M. S. Sirdar.

Bengal

Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.A.,
Mr. S. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, and
Mr. N. C. Ray, M.A., B.L.

United Provinces

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani,
The hon. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, and
Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh.

C. P. & Berar

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M.B.E.,
Mr. N.A. Dravid, M.A.,
Mr. V. T. Deshpande, and
M. M. D. Shahane.

Punjab

Pandit Hardatt Sharma.

Orissa

Mr. A. S. N. Moorti,
Messrs. A. D. Shroff and B. N. Gokhale, Secretaries (ex-officio).

APPENDIX F

Resolutions Passed at Previous Sessions

FIRST SESSION (BOMBAY)

1. Loyal Homage

This Conference offers its loyal homage to the throne and person of his Majesty the King-Emperor and expresses its gratification at the announcement by his Majesty of the intended visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, where, the Conference is confident, a warm and enthusiastic welcome assuredly awaits him.

2. India and the War

The Conference rejoices at the decisively hopeful turn which the great war has taken in favour of Great Britain and her gallant allies and fervently hopes that the war will soon end in the complete triumph of the ideals for which the allied powers were compelled to unsheathe their sword, and expresses its determination to ensure that until the final victory is won, India will continue to render to Government unstintedly and whole-heartedly whatever assistance and service she can in the successful prosecution of the war.

3. The Reform Proposals

This Conference cordially welcomes the reform proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India as constituting a distinct advance in present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the provincial Governments and also a real and substantial step towards the progressive realization of "responsible government" in the provincial Governments in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As such this Conference records its hearty support to those proposals and, while suggesting necessary modifications and improvements therein, expresses its grateful appreciation of the earnest effort of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to start the country on a career of genuine and lasting progress towards the promised goal.

4. Rejectionists and Reactionaries

This Conference regards all attempts at the condemnation or rejection of the reform scheme as a whole as ill-advised and, in particular, protests emphatically against the reactionary attitude assumed towards it by the Indo-British Association and some European public bodies in this country which is certain to produce, if successfully persisted in, an extremely undesirable state of feeling between England and India and imperil the cause of ordered progress in this country. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly urges his Majesty's Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions of the scheme and the suggestions of its supporters in regard thereto as early as possible by suitable legislation.

5. Government of India

- (a) This Conference, while making due allowance for the necessities or drawbacks of a transitional scheme, urges that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917, and in order that the progress of India towards the goal of a self-governing unit of the British Empire may be facilitated and not unduly delayed or hampered, as also with a view to avoid the untoward consequences of a legislature containing a

substantially elected popular element being allowed merely to indulge in criticism unchecked by responsibility, it is essential that the principle of "responsible government" should be introduced also in the Government of India simultaneously with a similar reform in the provinces. There should, therefore, be a division of functions in the central Government into 'reserved' and 'transferred' as a part of the present instalment of reforms and the committee on division of functions should be instructed to investigate the subjects and make recommendations.

- (b) While, as suggested above, some measures of transfer of power to the Indian Legislature should be introduced at the commencement, provision should be made for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India by specifically authorizing the proposed periodic Commissions to enquire into the matter and to recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be deemed necessary or desirable in that behalf.
- (c) This Conference recommends that the composition of the Council of State should be so altered as to ensure that one half of its total strength shall consist of elected members.
- (d) This Conference urges that legislation of an exceptional character, having the effect of curtailing ordinary rights such as the freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial, should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly of India, except in a time of war or internal disturbance, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the scheme, unless such legislation is of a temporary character and limited to a period of one year only, the said legislation being in any case made not renewable without such approval in the last resort.
- (e) The power of certification given to the Governor-General should be limited to matters involving the defence of the country, foreign and political relations, and peace and order, and should not be extended to "good government" generally or "sound financial administration".
- (f) The Indian element in the executive Government of India should be one half of the total number of members of that Government.

6. India and Fiscal Freedom

Saving such equal and equitable imperial obligations as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the governments of the self-governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy.

7. Provinces

- 1 (a) The status and emoluments of Ministers should be identical with those of Executive Councillors, and the Governor should not have greater power of control over them than over the latter.
- (b) Whatever power may be given to the Governor in Council to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on the administration of the reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to the Governor and Ministers in respect of decisions of the Governor in Council affecting directly or indirectly the administration of the transferred subjects.

- (c) The proposal to appoint an additional Member or Members, from among the senior officials, without portfolios and without vote, for purposes of consultation and advice only, but as *Members of the Executive Government* in the provinces, should be dropped.
- (d) Heads of Provincial Governments in the major provinces should ordinarily be selected from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.
- (e) No administrative control over subjects vested in provincial Governments should be "reserved" in the central Government, particularly in respect of "transferred" heads.
- (f) The Government of India should have no power to make a supplementary levy upon the provinces; they may only take loans from the latter on occasions of emergency.

TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS

(2) This Conference recommends that the largest possible number of subjects should be included in the "transferred" list in every province as the progress and conditions of each province may justify and that none mentioned in the illustrative list No. II appended to the report should, as far as possible, be "reserved" in any province.

8. Franchise, electorates, etc.

- (a) The franchise should be as wide and the composition of the Legislative Council should be as liberal as circumstances may admit in each province, the number of representatives of the general territorial electorates being fixed in every case at not less than one half of the whole Council.
- (b) The elected element in the provincial Legislative Councils should be four-fifths of the total strength of the Councils, at least in the more advanced provinces.
- (c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of taxpayers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of those communities or groups of communities in Madras and the Bombay Deccan and elsewhere who at present demand special electoral protection should be adequately safeguarded by introducing a system of plural constituencies in which a reasonable number of seats should be reserved for those communities till the first Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry.
- (d) Mahomedan representation in every legislature should be in the proportions mentioned in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.
- (e) In the case of any community, for which separate special electorates may be deemed at present necessary, participation in the general territorial electorates, whether as voters or candidates, should not be permitted.
- (f) It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community, which is given separate representation, to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.

9. Some other Suggestions

- 1 (a) It should be provided that when the Legislative Assembly is dissolved by the Viceroy or the Legislative Council is dissolved by the Governor, a fresh election should be held and the new Council summoned not later than four months after the dissolution.
- (b) Some provision should be made for the appointment and co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic commissions proposed to be appointed.

every 10 or 12 years and it should further be provided that the first periodic commission shall come to India and submit its recommendations to Parliament before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the reform scheme comes into operation and that every subsequent periodic commission should be appointed at the end of every 10 years.

- (c) The Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should have the right to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS.

- 11 (a) This Conference thanks the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for recommending that all racial bars should be abolished and for recognizing the principle of recruitment of all the Indian public services in India and in England instead of any service being recruited for exclusively in the latter country.
- (b) This Conference strongly urges that Indians should be nominated to 20 per cent. to start with, of King's Commissions in the Indian Army and (2) that adequate provision for training them should be made in this country itself.
- (c) All racial inequalities in respect of trial by jury, the rules made under the Arms Act, etc., should be removed and the latter should be so amended as to provide for the possession and carrying of arms by Indians under liberal conditions.
- (d) A complete separation of judicial and executive functions of all district officers should be made, at least in all major provinces, at once and the judiciary placed under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the province.

10. India Office and Parliament

This Conference, while generally approving of the proposals embodied in the report regarding the India Office and Parliamentary control, urges

- (a) that the administrative control of Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State should continue except in so far as the control of the legislature on the spot is substituted for the present Parliamentary control ;
- (b) that Indian opinion should be represented on the committee appointed to report upon the organization of the India Office and the evidence of Indian witnesses invited ;
- (c) that at least a major part of the cost of the India Office should be borne by the British exchequer, and
- (d) that until the India Council can be abolished by substituting Indian control for the control of Parliament over the affairs of India, it should be a mere advisory body with its strength reduced to eight members, four of whom should be Indians.

11. Deputation to England and Organisation in India

- (a) This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to select a deputation to proceed to England, at a time to be determined by the committee in consultation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the press and the British public generally, the wisdom and

necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme and giving legislative effect to it at an early date with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested in the foregoing resolutions.

- (b) The said committee, with power to add to their number, should also take steps to form a properly constituted permanent organization of the party with branches in the various provinces with a view (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people, (2) to give combined expression from time to time to the considered opinion of the Party on matters of public interest, and (3) to inform and educate public opinion in this country in support of its views, methods and policy.

COMMITTEE

1. The hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea—*Chairman* ;
 2. The hon. Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha—*Vice-Chairman* ;
 3. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar—*Vice-Chairman*,
 4. The hon. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee,
 5. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar,
 6. Sir Binode Chandra Mitter,
 7. The hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj,
 8. The hon. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose,
 9. The hon. Sir Gangadhar M. Chitnavis,
 10. Sir Hormusji A Wadya,
 11. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar,
 12. Mr. M. V. Joshi,
 13. The hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi,
 14. The hon. Pandit Jagat Narain ;
 15. The hon. Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali Chowdhuri,
 16. The hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,
 17. The hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru,
 18. The hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter,
 19. The hon. Dr. A. Surahwardy,
 20. The hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay,
 21. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon,
 22. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad,
 23. Pandit Manohar Lal of Lahore,
 24. The hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye,
 25. Babu Satyanand Bose,
 26. Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray,
 27. Mr. D. C. Ghose,
 28. Mr. V. R. Kothari,
 29. Mr. N. M. Samarth, and
 30. the hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani
- } *Secretaries.*

SECOND SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Proclamation of Dec. 23, 1919

This Conference begs to convey to his Majesty the King-Emperor its profound homage and sense of deep gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December, 1919, which opens a new era in the history of British India by inaugurating the beginnings of responsible government. By the exercise of his Royal clemency in favour of political prisoners, by his deep sympathy with our political aspirations and by his confidence in our future, his Majesty has ensured an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill which is bound to contribute to the successful working of the reforms.

2. Visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales

This Conference desires to express its profound satisfaction at the announcement of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India next winter to inaugurate the constitutional reforms and to assure him of a loyal and most hearty welcome.

3. Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha

- (a) This Conference desires to convey to the rt. hon. Mr. Montagu its heartfelt appreciation of the statesmanship, courage and single-minded devotion displayed by him in initiating and carrying the reform proposals and setting India firmly on the road to responsible government.
- (b) This Conference desires to record its proud appreciation of the rt. hon. Lord Sinha's services to the country in his capacity as a member of the War Cabinet, as a representative of India at the Peace Conference and in his conduct of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords.
- (c) This Conference desires to thank the Joint Committee for removing several defects in the original Reform Bill and improving it.

4. Government of India Act, 1919

While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central government, this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as the first definite and substantial step towards the progressive realization of responsible government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and nonofficials, wholeheartedly to cooperate for the successful working of the Act.

5. Settlement with Turkey

This Conference deeply regrets the long delay in the settlement of satisfactory peace terms with Turkey and views with grave concern any political action which may tend to affect the position or dignity of the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa or the guardian of the holy places of Islam.

This Conference earnestly calls the attention of his Majesty's Government to the depth and intensity of the feelings of his Majesty's subjects on this question and strongly pleads for an early and satisfactory settlement in consultation with the allies.

This Conference emphatically urges that any settlement which disregards the sentiments of the Moslem world, with which it is in agreement, will create widespread discontent and may be detrimental to peaceful progress. No settlement of the Turkish question can in the opinion of this Conference be satisfactory which contravenes the principles of justice and national integrity and even fails to redeem the solemn pledges made during the war.

6. Martial Law in the Punjab

This Conference wishes to record its emphatic condemnation of the outrages committed by the mobs at several places in the Punjab and elsewhere and its deep sympathy with the victims and their families.

This Conference, while in no way wishing to anticipate the decision of the Hunter Committee, must express its sense of profound horror and indignation at the manner in which the situation which arose in the Punjab in April and May last was dealt with by the officials concerned as disclosed in their own evidence.

This Conference is of opinion that it is imperatively necessary—

(1) to make amends for the outraged feelings of the Indian nation and that British honour and justice should be vindicated by taking steps to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or to have authorised such acts ;

(2) that reparation should be made for all serious hardship caused by unwarranted acts of severity;

(3) that safeguards should be provided against the recurrence of such things in the future.

This conference authorizes its All-India Committee—

(1) to take such action as may be necessary on the publication of the report of the Hunter Committee;

(2) to consider the necessity of the following safeguards among others and taking such further action as may be necessary :—

(a) that the introduction, exercise and duration of martial law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England;

(b) that martial law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions;

(c) that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers;

(d) that if courts martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting any person not subject to Naval Discipline Act or Military Law who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation should be allowed the option of a trial by the civil court;

(e) that the remedy in the nature of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India.

(3) to further the object of the resolution by arranging for a deputation to England or otherwise.

7. Indian Press Act

This Conference is of opinion that the Indian Press Act should be repealed or at least that the Act should be radically revised so that no security or forfeiture should be called for except on satisfactory proof by the Government before a judicial tribunal that the liberty of the press has been abused and that the conditions entailing forfeiture or deposit of security should be so defined as not to render an application to the High Court an illusory safeguard as shown in practice.

8. Indian Army

This Conference is of opinion that as a necessary preparation for the goal of responsible government in recognition of the just claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence of their country and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, it is essential to take early steps to place the defensive organization of the country on a national basis—

- (a) by throwing open King's Commissions to Indians on a liberal scale not merely to officers who have risen from the ranks and proved their merit but to the members of the educated classes on conditions similar to those obtaining in the British army;
- (b) by throwing open to Indians all arms of the regular defensive organization such as the artillery, the navy and the air force;
- (c) by taking steps for the organization of the territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army and will bear at least the same proportion thereto as the proposed European auxiliary force will bear to the British army in India ;
- (d) by providing adequate military training and instruction in India to the highest standard possible and of the same character as in the case of the British army in all subjects of military instruction, whether technical or administrative, including military and naval engineering, the construction of aircraft and submarine engineering, the knowledge of tactics and strategy, etc.

9. Indians in South Africa

- (a) This Conference strongly protests against the attempts made in South Africa to deprive the Indian settlers of rights hitherto enjoyed by them by means of the Asiatic Trading and Land Amendment Act and by other legislation of a similar character calculated to drive them out of the country.
- (b) This Conference appeals to the Imperial Government to affirm and protect the unrestricted rights of Indians to emigrate to British East Africa and the African colonies which have been taken from Germany and to support the Indian settlers in these colonies and all future Indian immigrants in the unrestricted exercise of their civil, municipal and political rights.

10. Flogging in Army

This Conference is of opinion that the punishment of flogging which was abolished in the British army nearly 50 years ago should be immediately abolished in the Indian army.

11. Boy Scout Movement

This Conference is of opinion that the Government and the people should do all in their power to support and promote the Indian boy scout movement and take steps to bring it into line with Baden Powell's boy scout movement.

12. Subjects of Indian States

This Conference recommends that the subjects of Indian states who have settled in British India or under the British administration in India may be declared eligible for political franchise and for election to the Legislative Councils in the same manner as British Indian subjects.

13. Thanks to Sir Rash Behari Ghosh

This Conference tenders its heartfelt thanks to Sir Rash Behari Ghosh for his munificent gifts to the cause of higher scientific education in this country, and trusts that all wealthy citizens would emulate his noble example.

14. National Liberal Federation

(1) The Liberal Party of India will work for the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of cooperation, and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country. It will aim at a

higher standard of rational efficiency by means of administrative reforms, the wider spread of education, the improvement of public health, economic development, and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of the population.

(2) The organization of the Liberal Party shall be known as the National Liberal Federation of India and the future sessions of the All-India Moderate Conference shall be designated the annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation.

(3) The Indian Association of Calcutta, the Bengal National Liberal League, the National Liberal Association of Western India, the Deccan Sabha of Poona, the Madras Liberal League, the United Provinces Liberal Association, the National Liberal League of the Central Provinces and Berar, and other Liberal Associations or Leagues which may adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and may be admitted by the Council (hereinafter referred to), shall be component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.

(4) The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a Council consisting of not more than fifteen members from each province in addition to office-bearers, elected at the annual session. The office-bearers shall be the President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who will be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-Presidents, who will be the Vice-Chairmen, and two General Secretaries.

(5) Members of the Council shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 25.

(6) The members of Associations or Leagues which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their Committees are eligible for membership of the annual sessions of the Federation. Those who attend the session shall pay a fee of Rs. 5.

(7) The Council shall take all necessary steps to carry on work in India and in England.

15. Instructions to Council

- (a) That the Council be instructed to do all that is necessary and possible in connection with all action that has to be taken under the Government of India Act of 1919 and the reports of the Punjab Enquiry Commission and the Indian Army Commission, as well as to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act and also the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.
- (b) That the Council be further instructed to organize a deputation to proceed to England to urge before the statesmen and publicists there the views of the Conference on the aforesaid subjects, and do such other work as the Council may decide.
- (c) This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the various provincial organizations of the National Liberal Federation should consider the following subjects and frame suitable programmes of constructive work in connection therewith :—
- (1) The placing of the principles of land revenue settlement on a legislative basis.
 - (2) A definite programme of development of irrigation, if necessary, by borrowed capital.
 - (3) Development of provincial railways and reform of the present method of railway administration and of the railway tariff so far as it affects each province.
 - (4) An immediate expansion of free elementary education with the ultimate goal of introduction of compulsory education at an early date.

- (5) Reforms connected with the elementary, secondary and higher education (collegiate and technical).
- (6) Development of agriculture and the improvement of the economic condition of the agriculturists.
- (7) Reform of the excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total prohibition.
- (8) Development and expansion of industries and the organization of better credit for the rural classes.
- (9) The amelioration of the condition of the backward classes and the improvement of the present condition of labour and the housing of the poorer classes.
- (10) Retrenchment of public expenditure and reform of existing methods of administration with specific reference to the improvement of district administration.
- (11) Organization of medical relief and sanitation.

16. General Secretaries

This Conference appoints the hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as general secretaries of the National Liberal Federation for the year 1920.

THIRD SESSION (MADRAS)

1. Welcome to the Duke of Connaught

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to accord a loyal and most hearty welcome to his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on this occasion of his visit to India on behalf of his Majesty the King-Emperor to inaugurate the constitutional reforms.

2. Lord Sinha's Appointment as Governor

This Federation records its satisfaction at the appointment of his Excellency the rt. hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of the province of Bihar and Orissa and tenders its hearty congratulations to him on this mark of high appreciation of distinguished service to this country and offers its best wishes for success of his administration.

3. Indian Military Policy

- (a) This Federation protests against the recommendations of the Army in India Committee, the composition of which was alike inadequate and unsatisfactory in that it included pronounced reactionaries like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Malik Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana and left Indian interests to be represented practically by only one member.
- (b) The Federation expresses strong condemnation of the procedure followed by the Committee (1) in deciding upon the principles governing the future military policy of India before they left England and before the Indian members were appointed or could join them and before they could consult the Government or the people of India; (2) in deciding to examine no witnesses; and (3) in conducting the proceedings *in camera*.
- (c) The Federation desires to record its protest against his Majesty's Government giving effect to, or otherwise disposing of, the recommendations made by commissions or committees on matters of vital importance to the people of India, without affording any opportunity for the expression of their views to the Indian Legislature and Indian public, and the

Federation urges that none of the recommendations of the Esher Committee should in any way be acted upon until the Indian public and Indian Legislature have expressed their views and before the actual cost of the scheme is worked out and made known to the public. The Conference notes with alarm that the Government is even now carrying into effect some portions of the recommendations without consulting Indian public opinion and considers that such action will only deepen the distrust of British military policy already widely prevalent in this country

(d) The Federation is further of opinion that the problems considered by the Esher Committee have been approached exclusively from the standpoint of imperial policy and requirements, and hardly, if at all, from the point of view of the requirements of India, whether with reference to her internal needs or her position as a partner entitled to equality of status with the self-governing dominions, or to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country, or her capacity to bear the financial burdens entailed by the scheme.

(e) The Federation regrets the fundamental assumption in the report that conditions of grave unrest in the Near and Middle East, which have been created by complications of European diplomacy and politics, and for which India is in no way responsible, are matters which must be provided against by saddling India with burdens necessitated by imperial military policy.

(f) The Federation records its emphatic protest against the recommendations of the Committee (1) to allow the Imperial General Staff in England to exercise what the Committee call a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India, which, if carried out, must have the effect of reducing the military administration of India to a position of dependence upon the War Office in England, and depriving the Government of India of their control over Indian military affairs, and (2) to virtually release the Commander-in Chief in India from the supremacy of the civil power.

(g) In the opinion of the Federation the reforms urgently needed in the organization and administration of the Army in India should *inter alia*, include the following :—(1) The position that the Army in India should be independent of the British Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office should be recognized. (2) The Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army, and not a member of the Governor-General's Council and the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a Civilian Member of the Governor-General's Council. (3) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for defensive purposes or in very grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. (4) The King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of his Majesty's forces in India, including the Territorial Army. Not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions should be given to his Majesty's Indian subjects to start with and the proportion raised in 10 years to 50 per cent. by annual increment of 2½ per cent. (5) Adequate facilities should be provided in India for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army by their admission into the existing institutions, as well as by the establishment of new institutions and in all other possible ways. (6) The system of having two sets of commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. All differences of designation between the British and Indian officers of various ranks should likewise be abolished. All invidious distinctions, based upon racial considerations, should be abolished in the army.

(1) So long as the army in India is maintained partly to meet imperial needs and controlled by the British War Office, a fair and adequate share of India's military expenditure determined by the relative interests and capacity of the two countries should be paid by the British.

4. The Naval Defence of India

The National Liberal Federation of India requests the Secretary of State to publish immediately in India the report of Lord Jallicoe regarding naval defence of India, and urges that no conclusions should be reached on the recommendations contained therein until the Indian Legislature and the people of India have had opportunities of expressing their opinions on the same. Any fresh burdens imposed upon India without reference to her needs and requirements and to her existing burdens, will produce great dissatisfaction. No scheme of naval defence which does not provide for the free and unrestricted admission of Indians to all ranks of the Navy will be acceptable to the country.

5. Procedure re. Commissions and Committees

The Federation urges that rules be framed to ensure that no action, administrative or legislative, shall be taken on the reports of any commission or committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India until an opportunity shall have been given to the Indian Legislature to express its opinion thereon and, in regard to matters specially affecting any province, until such an opportunity shall have been given to the legislature of that province. It further urges that, in regard to commissions and committees appointed by local Governments, similar rules be framed ensuring that an adequate opportunity shall be afforded to the local Legislature concerned for the consideration of the reports of such commissions and committees.

6. The Non-Cooperation Movement

The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of non-cooperation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, to incite social hatred and retard the progress of the country towards responsible government; but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the non-cooperation movement is for the Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption.

7. The late Mr. Tilak and Rai Bahadur D. C. Ghose

The National Liberal Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss that the country has sustained in the death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the eminent patriot who devoted his life to the political advancement of the Indian nation.

The Federation also desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Rai Bahadur Devendra Chandra Ghose who rendered distinguished services to the country.

8. Indians Abroad

- (a) Having regard to the historic and honourable connection of Indians with the East African territories which owe not merely their development but practically their very existence to Indian capital and labour and to Indian enterprise and initiative, and to the part played by Indian soldiers in the conquest and pacification of the East African Protectorate (Kenya Colony), the National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the anti-Indian agitation of the European residents of the Protectorate and against the political and economic disabilities imposed upon Indians by the Government of the Protectorate.

- (b) The Federation urges that there is absolutely no justification for the policy of racial discrimination against the Indian subjects of his Majesty in a part of the British Empire the internal administration of which is under the control of his Majesty's Government, and that Indians should enjoy absolute equality with Europeans in the Protectorate (Kenya Colony). The Federation urges in particular that restrictions on the allotment of land for commercial and other purposes to Indians should be abolished and that a liberal political and municipal franchise and adequate representation on the legislative and municipal councils should be granted to them.
2. (a) The Federation invites the urgent attention of the Government of India to the news received from Fiji that 30,000 Indians, despairing of obtaining justice, have been driven by gross oppression to decide to sell all their property and leave the colony in which they have settled and which owes its prosperity mainly to them.
- (b) The Federation would urge, strongly that the Government of India should press for an independent inquiry into the causes of the recent riots in Fiji, the methods employed in suppressing them, with special reference to the treatment of women and the wages of labourers and the conditions under which Indians live, representatives of the Government and the people of India being associated with the enquiry.

9. Racial Distinctions

In the opinion of the Federation, the inauguration of the new regime conferring a measure of self-government on the people of India must be signalled by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of the individual and it urges, in particular, that the provisions in the criminal law of India conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain special privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date.

10. Exchange and Currency

In view of the admitted failure of the efforts of the Government of India to maintain the country's gold exchange at or near the basis recommended by the last Committee on exchange and currency and even at the sterling level fixed by themselves, and in view of the enormous losses caused to the Indian exchequer mainly by the sale of reverse councils against which the public strongly protested, and the utter disorganization and demoralization of the export and import trade of the country which have been accentuated by the said policy of the Government, the National Liberal Federation strongly urges a fresh and immediate inquiry into the whole exchange and currency problem, such a reconsideration of Government's policy having been recommended by the Babington-Smith Committee itself. The Federation further urges that the suggested reconsideration should aim at placing the Indian system of exchange and currency on a self-adjusting basis so as to promote the best interests of the trade, manufactures, industries and finance of the country and to bring India in a line in this connection with the advanced nations of the world.

11. Fiscal Policy of India

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Governor-General in Council in February, 1920, to advise as to the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India, the National Liberal Federation of India urges the immediate appointment of a strong and representative Commission, with power to take evidence in various parts of the country from

representatives of all interests concerned, such as those of importers, exporters, producers, manufacturers and consumers, to examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India.

The Federation further urges that the country should not be committed, in the meanwhile, to any policy of Imperial Preference until a Commission such as the one recommended above has collected evidence and made its report.

12. The Medical Services

The Federation considers the recommendations of the Lovett and Esher Committees as being retrograde and calls upon the Government to set them aside. The Federation is of opinion that the medical service in India should be separated into two divisions, one military and the other civil. The former should be recruited both in England and India, while the latter should be recruited mainly in India. While exchange of officers may be allowed for purposes of training, the two services should be kept strictly separate and to meet military emergencies officers in the civil medical service should be obliged to undergo military training for fixed periods at stated intervals and go on field service when required.

13. The Khilafat

The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January, 1911, has not been redeemed; and strongly urges his Majesty's Government to avail themselves of the developments in Greece and suitably revise the treaty with Turkey.

14. Repressive Legislation

The Federation urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Deportation Regulations.

15. Suffrage for Women

The Federation requests the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils, respectively, to remove the sex disqualification in their respective franchise from women otherwise duly qualified.

16. Trade Unions

The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to legalize trade unions on the lines of the English legislation on the matter.

17. The Punjab

1. The Federation records its conviction that the failure of British statesmanship to rise to the demands of the situation in regard to the Punjab affair, has largely prevented the people from realizing the value of the constitutional reforms.

2. The Federation protests against the failure of the Government to render justice by imposing adequate punishment upon officers who were guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration in the Punjab.

3. The Federation has noticed with surprise that the compensation awarded to the victims of the martial law excesses was extremely inadequate and disproportionately small as compared with the compensation awarded to the victims of mob violence as well as with the losses sustained by them. This Federation further regrets that the heavy fines levied upon certain cities have not been revised and reduced.

4. The Federation again strongly urges that effective safeguards should be provided against a recurrence of such things as happened in 1919 in the Punjab on the lines recommended at the Calcutta session of the Federation.

18. The Factory Act

The Federation is of opinion that, to improve the conditions of labour in this country, the Factory Act should be amended in the following respects :

(1) Work in all industrial undertakings should for the present be limited to 10 hours a day in the case of men, eight in the case of women and five in the case of children between the ages of 12 and 14. (2) Children between 14 and 16 years should be classed as young persons and their hours of work should not exceed six per day. (3) In the case of mines the maximum should be fixed at 54 hours a week. (4) Exceptions under sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Factories Act of 1912 should be removed altogether. (5) A rule should be made prohibiting the employment of women for six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth and provision should be made for maternity benefit. (6) Women and children should, under no circumstances, be employed during night time. (7) Provision should be made for the appointment of special health officers, including women health officers, to supervise health conditions in factories. (8) The minimum age for admission to industrial employment should be fixed at 12. (9) The definition of 'factory' should be so revised that all industrial undertakings employing 20 persons and above even without the use of mechanical power are brought under the Act.

19. The Government of India

The Federation regrets that, instead of consideration being given to the need for reduction of the strength of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, there should have been an addition to the Council even after the devolution of powers to Ministers in the Provinces. The Federation protests against the recommendations of the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee in so far as they relate to the creation of consequent increase in the staff and to the creation of posts of private secretaries to the members of the Executive Council.

20. The Executive Councils

(1) The Federation protests strongly against the fixing of the strength of the Executive Councils in Madras, Bombay and Bengal at 4 instead of 2 as involving waste of public money, as thoroughly unjustifiable in view of the transfer of about one half of public business to Ministers, and as tending to retard the transfer in the near future of more subjects to Ministers.

(2) The Federation notes with regret that the strength of the Executive Council in Bihar and Orissa should have been fixed at three instead of at 2 and that, with the strength of the Executive Council at 3, only one Indian should have been appointed against the express recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, both when they first reported on the Government of India Bill and subsequently, when they discussed the matter at the instance of the Government of India in connection with the Rules.

21. Depressed and Backward Classes

The Federation urges the Reformed Legislatures in the provinces to lose no time in framing a suitable programme for the educational advancement and social uplift of the backward and depressed classes in the country.

22. The Indian Reform Committee of London

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India recognizes the Indian Reform Committee of London as its British Committee, and resolves to contribute a sum of £ 600 per annum for its maintenance, in addition to one half of the delegation fees realized by the Reception Committee of the annual session of the Federation.

- (b) Of the said £ 600, the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras shall each contribute £ 150, the United Provinces £ 100, and the Central Provinces and Berar, £ 50.
- (c) The amount shall be remitted to the Indian Reform Committee in the December of each year in advance for the next succeeding year.

23. General Secretaries for 1912

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1921.

4TH SESSION (ALLAHABAD)

1. The Late Rai Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

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

2 The late Sir Rash Behari Ghose

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

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

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

4. Indianization of the Army

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

5. Civil Disobedience

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people, and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of Government, and so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable setback in the progress of the country.

6. Self-Government.

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

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

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

7. Political Situation

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

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

8. Railway Management

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

9. Moplah Outrages

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

10. Punjab Question

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

11. Khilafat Question

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

12. Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

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

13. Indians Abroad

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

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

14. Non-Cooperation

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

15. Women's Franchise

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

16. General Secretaries for 1922

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1922.

5TH SESSION (NAGPUR)

1. Condolence Resolution

This meeting of the All-India Liberals mourns the death during the last year of Dewan Bahadur Karunakara Menon, Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyer, Sir Bhala-chandra Krishna, Sir Vithaldas Damodhar Thakersay, Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe, Dr. P. D. Gune, Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak and Babu Motilal Ghose, each in his own way a worthy son of India and a devoted worker in her cause.

2. Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu

This meeting of the All-India Liberals records its profound grief at the defeat of the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu at the last general election which deprives India of his services. Mr. Montagu by recognizing the right of India to full dominion status and getting it admitted by the highest authority saved India at a critical time to the Commonwealth of Britain and has thus established a name second to none among the benefactors of India and the champions of the subject nations. The Conference trusts that a future is in store for him worthy of his great services to India and the Commonwealth.

3. Self-Government

This meeting of the All-India Liberals earnestly urges upon the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament the necessity of accelerating the pace for the attainment of complete self-government and towards that end the taking of steps for the immediate introduction of (1) full responsible government in the provinces and (2) responsibility in the Central Government in all departments, except the military, political and foreign.

4. Indianization of the Army

This meeting of the All-India Liberals regards with the gravest concern the delay in the inauguration of the plans for the Indianization of the officer ranks in the Indian army, for the reduction of the British element and for the introduction of other improvements and economies recommended by the Military Requirements

Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and regards it as a crucial test of the sincerity of the authorities regarding India's dominion status and sees no way except through drastic retrenchment under this head of the country's regaining financial equilibrium and calls upon the British Cabinet and the Army Council to restore by speedy action the confidence of the people of India in the oft-repeated promises to grant full responsible government to India.

5. Retrenchment

This meeting of the All-India Liberals earnestly trusts that the Incharge Committee and the various provincial retrenchment committees will recommend material reductions of expenditure and enable the Government of India and the various local Governments to restore their financial equilibrium and thus avert the need for additional taxation.

6. Princes' Protection Act

This Federation is of opinion that the Indian States Protection against Disaffection Act, passed by the Council of State on the Governor-General's power of certification, is not in the interest of British India or the subjects of the Indian States and, therefore, Parliament shall advise his Majesty to withhold his assent.

7. Education of the Masses

While fully recognizing the need for rapid political advance, this Federation emphasizes the great necessity for pushing on the progress of the masses in all directions, educational, social and economic, and for this purpose urges on Government as also on the people, the great desirability of adding to the institutions that aim at the advancement of the masses all along the lines indicated above.

8. Untouchability

This meeting of the Federation is of opinion that untouchability is a great blot on the Hindu community and that therefore it is necessary to remove all the disabilities to which the untouchable classes are subjected.

9. The Imperial Services

This meeting of the All-India Liberal Federation strongly opposes the proposal to appoint a commission to inquire into the alleged financial and other grievances of the Imperial Services and to make further increases in their pay and allowances. (2) In order to enable the Government of India and the local Governments to reduce the expenditure on the overhead charges of the administration and the reserved subjects this Federation urges on the Secretary of State for India the necessity of authorizing the Indian Legislature and the local Legislatures to make laws regulating the public services under clause 2, section 96 (B) of the Government of India Act and in the meantime stop all recruitment in England to the Imperial Services.

10. Secretary of State's Powers

This meeting of the All-India Liberals attaches the utmost importance to the principle laid down with emphasis by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that where an executive Government in India and its Legislature are in agreement on any matter, there should be no interference by higher authority except when Imperial interests are involved. It regards it as an essential condition for the growth of Indian constitution and the preparation of the Legislatures for the ultimate responsibility of the whole government, and it trusts further besides loyally observing the principle, the Secretary of State will give it full scope by releasing the Government of India

from the obligations to consult him previously in such matters, both by liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations on the subject and by modifying these wherever necessary.

11. Indians Overseas

This meeting of the All-India Liberals wishes to convey to the Imperial Cabinet of Great Britain its sense of concern at the undesirable effects produced on the minds of the people of India by the reports that are received here from time to time of the obstacles and difficulties in the way of the application to the Crown Colony of Kenya of the principles embodied in the resolution of the Imperial Conference, 1921, and trusts that the Cabinet which had influential representatives at the Conference, including the then Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary, will be able at an early date to carry out those principles in the letter and in the spirit.

(2) This meeting of the All-India Liberals condemns the anti-Indian policy pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa and by the Provinces comprised in the Union where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating, and while fully acknowledging that the Government of India have fully identified themselves with Indian sentiment in this matter as in the interests of Indians overseas, generally urges that Government to continue to bring pressure to bear on the Union Government to accept the policy enunciated in the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921.

12. Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

This meeting of the All-India Liberals emphasizes its high appreciation of the services rendered to India by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri by his recent tour in the Dominions and thanks the Dominions for the welcome accorded to him.

13. Indian Territorial Force

This Federation earnestly appeals to the youth of India to take the fullest advantage of the Indian Territorial Force Act and to enrol themselves in large numbers in the Territorial Force. It also appeals to the Government to take all possible steps to promote and popularize enrolment in the Force.

14. Liberal Organization

This Federation is of opinion that the time has arrived to make earnest efforts for the better organization of the Liberal Party in the country for the systematic spread of the Liberal principles amongst the electorates and for that purpose appoints an Executive Committee under the Chairmanship of the President consisting of one representative of each constituent body of the Federation with the General Secretaries as ex-officio Secretaries.

That the Secretaries be asked to hold elections for the Executive Committee before January 31, 1923.

That the funds with the General Secretaries be placed at the disposal of the Executive Committee who should also collect additional funds for their work.

That the Executive Committee should present a report of their work to the next meeting of the Federation.

15. Reforms Committee in London

This Federation authorizes the Executive Committee to take necessary steps to meet the liabilities due on account of the Indian Reforms Committee in London, and also to take steps to reconstitute the Committee in view of Mr. Cotton's resignation and other vacancies in the Committee.

16. General Secretaries for 1923

Resolved that Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., and Mr. N. M. Joshi, B. A., M. L. A., be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1923. The Federation thanks the Secretaries who held office last year and made success so far possible.

6TH SESSION (POONA)

1. Condolence

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

2. Self-Government

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

3. Indians Overseas

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

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

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

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

4. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

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

5. Retrenchment

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

6. Removal of the Sex Disqualification

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

7. Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

This meeting of the all-India Liberals deplores the delay in carrying into effect a long over-due reform, *viz.*, the separation of judicial and executive functions and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it.

8. Labour Representation

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

9. Protection to Indian Industries

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

10. Repeal of the Princes' Protection Act

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

11. The Army

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

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

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

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

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

12. Indian Deputation's Work

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

13. The Salt Tax Certification

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

14. Mr. C. F. Andrews' Services

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

15. Uplift of the Masses

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation-building, more strenuous, more sustained and more vigorous efforts must be put forth by the people and Government.

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

16. Mr. H. S. L. Polak's Services

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

17. Indianization of the Services

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. Restatement of the Creed

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

19. Swadeshi

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

20. Indians in Mauritius

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

21. Appointment of office-bearers

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

22. Party Organization

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

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

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

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

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

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

And it further authorizes the Committee to take steps for raising funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the cooperation and support of English politicians and public men. It further directs this

Committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May, 1924, and in consultation with Council to arrange for the holding of a special session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

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

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

7TH SESSION (LUCKNOW)

1. The late Mr. Montagu

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

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

2. Indian Patriots who have passed away

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

3. The Reforms Enquiry Committee

The National Liberal Federation regrets that the scope of the Reforms Enquiry Committee was too restricted for their deliberations to prove of substantial utility.

But it urges the publication without delay of the reports of the Committee and of the evidence, oral and written, received by them together with the dispatches of local Governments, including minutes of Members of Executive Councils and Ministers which may have accompanied those dispatches.

4. Self-Government for India

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

(b) The Liberal Federation holds it to be essential

- (i) that the Control of the Secretary of State for India over the administration and revenues of British India should be curtailed by statute, so that his position may approximate as nearly as may be to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions ;
- (ii) the council of India should be abolished ;
- (iii) the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal civil administration ;

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

5. Provincial Contributions

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

6. Lee Commission

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

7. Military Policy and Expenditure

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

accordingly makes the following recommendations and urges the Government to give effect to them :—

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

(2) That Indians be admitted to all branches of the Army, including Artillery and Air Force, and that they should be admitted into these sections of the Army not merely in subordinate positions but as officers.

(3) That proper and well-equipped colleges should be established, and a definite programme for military education should be prepared.

(4) That all distinctions based upon race between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces should be abolished, and that these forces should be properly organized.

(5) That officers Training Corps should be established in all Universities in British India and that compulsory military training should be made the rule in the case of all University students who are physically fit.

(6) That Selection Boards for selecting young men of all classes of people should be established, and that Indians should be adequately represented on such Boards.

(7) That the question of the financial liability of India to the British Exchequer for British troops should be referred for examination to a Commission on which Indians should be adequately represented.

(8) That the strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to the needs of India for her internal security and safety against foreign aggression, and should not be based upon considerations of the needs of the other parts of the Empire.

(9) That military expenditure be reduced to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, that the possibilities of a further reduction be examined and that the scheme for the Indianization of the Army should be adequately financed.

8. The Depressed Classes

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

9. Economic Development and Swadeshi

(a) The Federation desires to impress equally upon the people and the Government the urgent necessity of measures of economic amelioration, including the improvement of agriculture, the development of co-operation, the organization of capital and the encouragement of manufacturing industries.

(b) The Federation is in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement and urges both the people and the Government to give preference to the products of Indian industry even at a sacrifice.

10. Education

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

(i) making elementary education compulsory for all boys and girls,

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

11. Judicial and Executive Services and Functions

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

12. The Kohat Riots

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

13. Medical Aid in Rural Areas

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

14. Hindu-Muslim relations

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

15. The Liberal Party Organization

- (a) In addition to the associations and leagues mentioned in Resolution no. XIV of the second session of the Federation held at Calcutta in 1919, the Federation recognizes the Berar Liberal League established in Akola in 1923 as one of its provincial organizations.
- (b) The Federation authorizes its Council to set up a working committee to which it may delegate such of its functions as it may deem fit, and further

to constitute from time to time standing or special committees to deal with specific subjects or matters. Standing and special committees may co-opt as members Liberals as well as persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation but do not belong to any Liberal organization. The number of co-opted members may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of a committee.

- (c) In supersession of Resolution XX11 of the third session of the Federation held at Madras in 1920 except in respect of the part reaffirmed below, the Federation instructs the Council to take steps to organize a British Committee of the Liberal Party of India and to make suitable financial provision for it. The Federation reaffirms the decision that the reception committee of each annual session shall hand over to the General Secretaries one half of the delegation fees raised by it.

16. Indians in South Africa and Kenya

- (a) The Liberal Federation strongly protests against the enactment of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance depriving Indians of the Municipal Franchise and thereby not only creating a new civic disability but ruinously hampering them in their occupation as traders.
- (b) The Liberal Federation urges the Government of India to immediately send an officer of theirs and a nonofficial to South Africa to enquire into the Indian situation and to make a full report to them. The Federation urges the Governor-General in Council to move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909.
- (c) The Federation reaffirms its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of his Majesty's Government in Kenya in 1923 and notes with regret that the late Labour Government did nothing to undo the wrong done to Indians by its predecessor.
- (d) The Federation further urges the Government of India to publish the report of the Colonies Committee and the steps which have been taken to implement it.
- (e) The Federation reaffirms its resolution asking the Government of India to take urgent steps to secure a reversal of the anti-Indian policy in Natal and Kenya as well as in other parts of the Empire and not to hesitate to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

17. The Bengal Ordinance

The Federation is firmly of opinion that anarchical crime is entirely opposed to the progress of the country and the Federation would support any reasonable measures for its suppression. But it is not satisfied that the recent measures taken in Bengal were called for and strongly protests against the promulgation of Ordinance 1 of 1924. The Federation is further of opinion that all ordinary means for proceeding in the matter should have been exhausted before the Government had recourse to any special measures.

The Federation is further strongly of opinion that Regulation 111 of 1818 should not have been resorted to as, in the opinion of the Federation, it is an abuse of that Regulation to apply it in the present case.

The Federation is further of opinion that a measure like the Ordinance or the proposed Bill, of such wide extent and giving such arbitrary powers to the executive, especially that of detention of persons without trial for an indefinite period is not justified. In the opinion of the Federation any special measures which may be passed to cope with the anarchical movement should provide for the speedy trial of

persons against whom action is taken under it by a bench consisting of three permanent judges of the High Court.

The Federation is of opinion that Bengal Regulation 111 of 1818 as well as the corresponding Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1819 and 1827 should be forthwith repealed.

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

18. General Secretaries for 1925

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

8TH SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Death of Queen Alexandra

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the loss sustained by the Empire in the death of her Majesty Queen Alexandra and begs to offer its respectful condolence to her devoted son, his Majesty the King-Emperor, and the other members of the Royal family in their bereavement.

2. The late Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other Patriots

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of deep regret at the death of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, its first President, who, during an active and distinguished public life of half a century, rendered signal services to the country and whose honoured memory will long be cherished by the grateful people of India as one of their foremost nation-builders.
- (b) The Federation records its deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the deaths of Desabandhu C. R. Das, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, His Highness the late Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, Sir P. Theagoroya Chetty and Babu Avinash Chandra Mazumdar of Lahore.

3. Constitutional Reform

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it, and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic services rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-Presidents.
- (b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August, respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September, which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.
- (c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below :—
 - (1) Provincial governments should be responsible to the respective provincial legislative councils, which should be wholly elected.
 - (2) The central government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.

(3) The control of the foreign and political relations of the government and of the military, naval and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a commission on which Indian opinion is adequately represented.

(4) During this period a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor-General, who should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.

(5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure, but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.

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

(7) The principles and conditions of recruitment for all superior services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Governments in India; the actual recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commission in England.

(8) All subjects not specifically vested in provincial governments should be under the control of the central Government.

(9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

(10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered, and adequate provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed and labouring classes.

(11) Alike in respect of franchise and of eligibility for membership of legislative and local bodies as well as for the public services, women should be placed on an equality with men.

(d) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that his Majesty's Government should make an early announcement of the appointment of a commission to report on the aforesaid proposals and that Indian public opinion should be adequately represented thereon.

4. Internments, Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulations

(a) The Federation protests against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges in the interests of justice that they should be either set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.

(b) The Federation is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed.

(c) The Federation urges once more that the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 which empower the Government to deport any persons for reasons of state should also be repealed.

5. The Cotton Excise Duty

The Federation gratefully welcomes the suspension of the collection of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods and the assurance of his Excellency the Governor-General that proposals will be laid before the Legislature to repeal the duty from the next financial year.

6. Judicial Reform

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and

prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits.

7. Untouchability and the Elevation of all Backward Classes

- (a) The Federation reaffirms its deep sympathy for the so-called depressed classes, reiterates its abhorrence of the ungodly and unsocial sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable, and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo this grievous and impious wrong against those so treated, and to take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, economically and educationally.
- (b) The Federation is in full sympathy with all legitimate efforts of all backward classes to improve their condition—educational, social, and economic—and urges that the Government as well as relatively advanced classes should give them full support in their endeavours.
- (c) The Federation is of opinion that whenever special facilities are granted to any community either in the matter of representation or in the services or in educational institutions, the backward classes should be allowed to participate in such facilities.

8. Financial Position of Provincial Governments

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassment of provincial governments which has severely handicapped ministers and legislatures in developing beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the reforms in the provinces, and urges the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions and to set up an independent committee to reconsider the division of sources of revenue and taxation between the central and provincial governments, so as to leave to everyone of the latter, adequate sources of revenue for the efficient discharge of their responsibilities.

9. Military Policy, Education and Expenditure

- (a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianization of eight units of the Army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that the opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee on Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.
- (b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence and for all ranks.
- (c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.
- (d) The recommendations of the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefor in the budget for 1926-27.
- (e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon a consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia, and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.
- (f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 5) crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

10. The Civil Services Act

The Federation records its strong protest against the Indian Civil Services Act hurriedly passed into law by the British Parliament in utter disregard of the resolution of the Legislative Assembly and of Indian opinion generally—a measure which not only imposes heavy additional charges on the Indian revenues but takes away from even the very limited financial powers conferred upon the legislature by the Government of India Act, 1919.

✓ 11. Development of Agriculture and Industries

- (a) The Federation again impresses upon the people and the Government the great importance of measures of economic development, including not only the improvement of methods of agriculture but the stimulation of agricultural, manufacturing and cottage industries, the organization of capital and the encouragement of cooperation.
- (b) The Federation also desires to impress upon the people and the different governments—central and provincial—the importance of establishing educational institutions, higher as well as secondary, for imparting agricultural, commercial, technical and industrial education.

12. Indians in South Africa and Kenya

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-Asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government's measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that dominion, and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that, if the Union Government should finally reject the proposal of a round table conference and the Bill be passed, the Government of India should move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow it under section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.
- (b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of his Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce, directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

13. Elementary Education

The Federation urges upon provincial governments the urgency of measures for the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education among both boys and girls of all classes and communities and is of opinion that special encouragement should be given to spread it among women and the depressed and other backward classes.

14. Social Work in Rural Areas

The Federation is of opinion that Liberal organizations, provincial and district, should, wherever possible, do social work for the improvement and uplift of the people in rural areas; and the Federation urges all Liberal Party Associations and leagues to apply themselves to such work.

15. Medical Aid in Villages

The National Liberal Federation impresses upon the Government the necessity of providing adequate medical aid to the rural population by establishing more hospitals and dispensaries in villages.

16. Relations between Tenants and Landlords

The National Liberal Federation recommends that the relations between landlords and tenants in various provinces should be improved so as to give free scope to the advancement of the masses of the country who are dependent upon agriculture.

17. Improvement of Labour conditions

- (a) The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the conditions of labour in India, including wages, housing, care of health, education, provision against sickness, unemployment and old age, and the general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the central and provincial governments.
- (b) The Federation also recommends to all Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes and organize themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

18. Anti-Indian Legislation in Burma

The Federation strongly protests against the anti-Indian legislation recently passed in Burma and urges the Governor-General to withhold his assent from it.

19. Constitution of the Federation

The constitution of the Federation as determined by resolutions passed at its second, third, sixth and seventh sessions, is hereby amended as follows:—

- (1) Among the aims of the Federation shall be included "the promotion of inter-communal unity".
- (2) The Punjab National Liberal League shall be included among the component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.
- (3) For "two General Secretaries" should be substituted the words "one or more General Secretaries."
- (4) Every Reception Committee shall make over to the General Secretary (or secretaries) a sum equivalent to fifty pounds sterling for financing work in England, and shall be at liberty to decide what fee must be paid by delegates.

20. General Secretary

Resolved that in the year 1926 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani be the General Secretary of the National Liberal Federation of India.

9TH SESSION (AKOLA)

1. Swami Shradhanand

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

2. Death of Prominent Public Men

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

3. Indians Overseas

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses the earnest hope that the Conference between the delegates of the Government of India and South Africa may result in the repeal of the Colour Bar legislations and in

securing for Indians settled in the Union the status of free and full citizenship.

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

4. Bengal Internments

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

5. Judicial Reform

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

6. The Hindu-Muslim Relations

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

7. Improvement of the condition of the people

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

8. Military Policy and Expenditure

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

9. Land Revenue Settlement in Berar

The Federation enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Central Provinces Government in giving effect to the proposals for the enhancement of land revenue assessment in some taluks of Berar and in proposing the revision of assessment in some other taluks against the opinions and recommendations of the Berar Legislative Committee and even without obtaining the sanction of the Government of India to the principles of assessment as required by the Joint Select-

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

10. Education of the Electorate

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

11. The Civil Services

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion

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

12. Self-Government

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

- (1) Indian should be accorded the same status as the Dominions.
- (2) Except in respect of foreign and political affairs and of the defence of all the country, for a transitory period, the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India should occupy a position analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions.
- (3) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
- (4) The superintendence, direction and control of the revenues and administration of British India should be vested in the Governor-General in Council.
- (5) While for a transitory period the Governor-General should remain responsible to his Majesty's Government and the British Parliament for the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and for the defence of the country, the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (6) Provincial Governments should be responsible to the respective Legislative Councils and Governors should be constitutional Governors.
- (7) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision should be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
- (8) The Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies with due provision for the rights of important minorities.

13. General Secretaries for 1927

Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., be the joint honorary secretaries of the Federation for 1927.

10TH SESSION (BOMBAY)

1. The Statutory Commission

- (a) The National Liberal Federation is strongly of opinion that the official announcement made about the constitution of the Statutory Commission and the functions of the Committees of the Indian Legislatures is unacceptable as it flagrantly denies the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of the country and that the Legislatures and Indians throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form.
- (b) That the Council of the Federation be authorized to take all necessary steps to give effect to this resolution.

2. Indian Representation on International Bodies

The National Liberal Federation strongly urges that Indian representation on the League of Nations and other International or Imperial Conferences should be by a delegation predominantly Indian in its composition and led by an Indian.

3. A Constitution for India

This Federation resolves that a Committee of the undermentioned persons, with power to add to their number, be constituted in order to formulate, as far as may be in cooperation with similar committees of other political organizations in the country, a scheme of constitutional advance towards Swaraj, and that the Committee do submit its report to the Council of the Federation as early as practicable.

Members of the Committee

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (*Chairman.*)
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.
Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
Sir Moropant Joshi.
Babu Jotindranath Basu.
Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji.
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma.
Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar.
Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.
Mr. C. M. Gandhi.
Babu Bhagvati Saran Singh.
Mr. Manu Subedar.
Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (*Secretary*) and
Messrs. Surendra Nath Varma and Vishwanath Prasad (*Honorary Assistant Secretaries.*)

4. Improvement of the Masses

- (i) This Federation affirms its conviction that the condition of the masses in India is deplorable owing to their poverty, low physical stamina and lack of education.
- (ii) This Federation strongly urges upon the Government and the people of India the urgent need for initiating adequate and suitable measures for the improvement of their moral, material and physical condition and for this purpose it earnestly recommends (a) the promotion of free and

compulsory education among boys and girls alike, (b) the development of agriculture, (c) the expansion of the cooperative movement and other schemes for debt redemption, (d) the initiation of schemes for rural reconstruction, (e) the improvement of village sanitation by a systematic propaganda for spreading the knowledge of the laws of health, and (f) by introduction of organizations like the village panchayats.

5. Inter-Communal Unity

- (a) This Federation places on record its deep conviction that in the interest of the general progress of the country, and in particular for the early attainment by India of responsible government, it is of paramount importance that unfortunate differences of a communal character should be composed; and in order to remove this serious menace to the progress of the country, this Federation calls upon all its members to promote and actively support every movement calculated to bring about a better understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims and to place the relations of the two communities upon an honourable footing of toleration in religious matters and on a basis of unity in political matters by the just representation of the minorities in the Legislatures and with due regard to efficiency in the public services of the country.
- (b) This Federation cordially appreciates the earnestness of the distinguished Muslim leaders who have put forward the scheme for the settlement of outstanding differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities and suggests that various items of the proposed settlement should be discussed at an early date by duly elected representatives of the communities in a spirit of such genuine cooperation as will lead to complete agreement.
- (c) This Federation affirms that national patriotism should be the foundation of representative institutions and that such patriotism can best be developed by a system of joint electorates qualified by a reservation of seats for important minorities until such time as it may be possible with the goodwill of the communities concerned to dispense with the reservation of seats.

6. Military Policy

- (a) While recognizing that the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee do not satisfy Indian aspirations, this Federation deploras the delay and unwillingness of the Government to give effect to them, as they mark a beginning in the Indianization of the higher ranks of the army in India and urges that no time should be lost in carrying them out.
- (b) This Federation further urges that progressive reduction should be carried out in the ratio of British to Indian troops till the army in India is completely Indianized.

7. Industrial Labour

- (a) This Federation recommends to the Government of India to appoint a committee to enquire into the condition of industrial labour such as wages, hours of work, unemployment and unprovided for sickness and to suggest remedial legislative measures when found necessary, such as establishing machinery for fixing minimum wages, for reduction of hours of work, for establishing unemployment and health insurance and establishing machinery for settling industrial disputes.

- (b) This Federation recommends to all Liberals in the country to help the working classes to organize themselves into unions for protecting their interests and for mutually helping themselves by cooperative efforts.

8. Problems of Indian States

This Federation notes with satisfaction that certain Indian States have made a beginning in the direction of introducing representative institutions in their territories and hopes that all the Indian States will take early steps to bring their administration into accord with modern ideas of progressive government.

9. Indian Mercantile Marine

- (a) This Federation while welcoming the establishment of the Training Ship "Dufferin" in Bombay, strongly urges upon the Government of India, with a view to make the Training Ship a success, the necessity for taking legislative action to ensure the compulsory employment on coastal ships of Indians as officers and engineers in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Committee.
- (b) This Federation, moreover, endorses the finding of the Committee that something more is required beyond the provision of training facilities in order to develop an Indian Mercantile Marine and strongly urges the Government of India to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee that the Indian coastal trade should be reserved to ships, the ownership and controlling interests of which are predominantly Indian.
- (c) This Federation further urges the Government of India to (i) help ships, owned and managed by Indians, to participate in the overseas trade of India, (ii) adopt effective measures to develop the ship-building industry of India, (iii) legislate for the abolishment of the deferred rebate system.

10. The East African Problems

- (a) This Federation views with grave concern the declaration of policy contained in the recent White Paper entitled "Future Policy in regard to Eastern Africa (Comd. 2904)," which in the constitutional changes likely to be introduced under the guise of Federation, threatens to place the Indian residents, as well as the African natives under the domination of the European settlers, in complete reversal of the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923 (Comd. 1922). This Federation is opposed to the new policy of "associating the immigrant communities in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government" and urges his Majesty's Government to retain all political power in its own hands and not to advance the political status of either immigrant community till a fair proportion of the natives attain the franchise on a common property and educational qualification and can obtain an effective share in representation by election on a common register.
- (b) This Federation further protests against the non-inclusion of a single Indian member in the East African Commission.

11. Improvement of Untouchables

- (a) This Federation notes with satisfaction the general awakening in favour of urgently removing the evil of untouchability and declares its emphatic opinion that unless and until the equal status of depressed classes in political and social matters is recognized, there can be no real progress in the country.

- (c) This Federation impresses upon all Provincial Governments and local bodies the necessity of allotting annually an adequate sum for the award of scholarships to the children of the depressed classes and of making their education—primary, secondary and higher as well as technical—free. The Federation further urges that the Provincial Governments should at once open the door of all services under them for the admission of fit candidates belonging to these classes and give them preference for employment when fully qualified candidates are available.

12. The Late Hakim Ajmal Khan

This Federation has just learnt with deep sorrow of the sudden death of Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib of Delhi and places on record its tribute to his memory. In his death Delhi loses its premier citizen, the Unani system of medicine its most commanding exponent, and Indian nationalism a leader of rare personal charm whose memory will be always cherished as that of a devoted servant of the country and one whose constant effort was by his personal example and great influence to establish peace and harmony between the Hindus and his co-religionists.

13. Assessment of Land Revenue

This Federation protests against the inordinate delay made by nearly every Provincial Government in carrying into effect the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in a legislation and the Federation urges that this should be done without delay.

14. Bengal Internments

This Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges that all of them should be either set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.

15. Constitution of the Federation

- (a) The following be inserted at the end of Rule 3 :—

“The Council of the National Liberal Federation shall be styled as the National Liberal Council of India,” and,

- (b) the words “and such number, if any, of Assistant Secretaries, as may be appointed.”

16. This Federation re-elects Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru as the Honorary General Secretaries and elects Messrs. Surendra Nath Varma and Vishwanath Prasad as Honorary Assistant Secretaries for the year 1928.

11th SESSION (ALLAHABAD)

(a) Lord Sinha

The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its deep sense of the loss the country has sustained in the death of Lord Sinha, one of the most illustrious Indians who rose to fame by dint of his uncommon qualities of intellect and character and who will long be remembered as a man who demonstrated, in every office he filled, the capacity of Indians to do full justice to duties the most arduous.

(b) Lala Lajpat Rai

The National Federation records its sense of deep sorrow at the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the greatest of Indian patriots, the more keenly felt because of the circumstances in which it occurred. In Lala Lajpat Rai the Motherland has lost a public worker whose love of country was passionate and profound. He bore

much and braved much for winning freedom for his countrymen, and he laboured with equal zeal for the advancement of education, social reform and philanthropic causes.

(c) Other Leaders

The National Liberal Federation expresses its sense of deep regret at, and of the loss the country has sustained in, the death of Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Hormusji Wadya, Sir Ramanbhai Mahipatram and Babu Durga Charan Banerji who all served the country faithfully for her political uplift as well as in other spheres of public utility.

The Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the bereaved families.

2. The Statutory Commission

- (a) The National Liberal Federation urges upon all Indians the imperative necessity of continuing the boycott of the Simon Commission in full vigour.
- (b) The Federation emphatically condemns the police assaults committed in the name of peace and order, which have marked the reception accorded by the officials to the Simon Commission at certain places.

3. Dominion Status for India

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the system of government to be established in place of the present system should be the same as that which prevails in the self-governing dominions which are equal members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and that this step should be taken immediately. Any further delay and postponement is fraught with danger to the mutual relations of India and England.

4. Nehru Committee Report and the Problem of Minorities

- (a) This Federation accords its general support to the report of the Nehru Committee and the resolutions of the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow, in particular with reference to the establishment of complete provincial autonomy without second chambers and of full responsible government in the Government of India with all residuary powers.
- (b) This Federation is further of opinion that if, in addition to or in substitution of the recommendations of the Nehru Committee, the settlement of the problem of minorities is possible by agreement on any other basis, such basis should be accepted in the larger and more abiding interests of the country.
- (c) The Federation appoints a committee consisting of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad), Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer (Madras), and Babu Jitendra Nath Basu (Secretary) to cooperate with the representatives of other organizations for the settlement of communal questions.

5. Indian States

- (a) While in general agreement with the recommendations of the Nehru Committee in regard to Indian states this Federation welcomes the suggestion made recently in some quarters that representatives of British India and Indian states should meet to discuss their points of view to arrive at a conclusion which will be acceptable to both parties.
- (b) This Federation, while appreciating the efforts made by some states to introduce representative government, is strongly of opinion that more systematic and liberal measures should be taken to introduce

responsible government and associate the people with the administration of their own states.

6. Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., be reappointed honorary General Secretaries of the Federation for the year 1929.

12th SESSION (MADRAS)

1. Message to H. E. the Viceroy

This Federation strongly condemns the dastardly attempt to wreck his Excellency the Viceroy's train and conveys to their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin its congratulations on the providential escape of themselves and their party. The Federation places on record its abhorrence and detestation of the crime which is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Indian life and culture.

The Federation authorizes the President to convey this resolution to his Excellency the Viceroy by telegram.

2. Departed Patriots

This Federation places on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the passing away of Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra who were distinguished members of the Liberal Party.

3. The Round Table Conference

The National Liberal Federation of India cordially welcomes the Announcement made on October 31, 1929, by his Excellency the Viceroy as it authoritatively confirms the view that Dominion Status for India was what was intended by the Declaration of 1917, as it definitely recognizes that British India and the Indian states should together form a Greater United India and as it concedes India's claim to a right to confer on a footing of equality with the British Cabinet on the form of the future constitution of India.

The Federation further resolves that the Liberal Party do participate in the deliberations of the Conference contemplated in the Announcement. This Federation strongly urges that the Round Table Conference should be held as early as possible in 1930 and that the progressive elements in the country should have preponderant representation therein.

4. Dominion Status Constitution

This Federation urges upon all parties in India which accept the recent Announcement of his Excellency the Viceroy wholeheartedly and are prepared to secure its complete and immediate realization to combine together for the purpose of securing a constitution based on Dominion Status, with such safeguards and reservations as may be necessary for the period of transition.

5. Indian States and Reforms

- (a) This Federation notes with gratification the acceptance by prominent rulers of Indian States of the implications of the Announcement of his Excellency the Viceroy and recognizes that in any future constitution of India based upon Dominion Status, suitable guarantees should be provided for continuance of their rights and their obligations regarding the internal autonomy of Indian states.
- (b) This Federation trusts that the rulers of Indian states will themselves reorganize the system of administration in their respective states and level up the standards of administration in the states so as to approximate them to the form of government prevailing in British India.

6. The East African Question

This Federation views with grave alarm the recommendation in the report of Sir Samuel Wilson for an increase in the proportion of the representatives of the European community on the Legislative Council of Kenya, to the serious detriment of the interests of the African natives as well as of the Indian community in that colony and is strongly of opinion that no constitutional advance be sanctioned in any of the East African colonies till the natives are able to take an effective share in the representation by means of election on a common franchise in common electorates. The Federation therefore supports the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission in favour of a substitution of common for the existing separate electorates and calls upon the Imperial Government to start enquiries with a view to establishing a common roll in the interest not only of the Indian community but of the whole colony.

7. General Secretaries

Resolved that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K. C. I. E., and the hon. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan be the Honorary Joint General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India for the year 1930.

8. Appreciation of Retiring Secretaries

The Federation places on record its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru as General Secretaries of the Federation.

9. The Whitley Commission

This Federation invites the attention of the Government to the necessity of asking the Whitley Commission to expedite their work and to take effective action on it with a view to ameliorate the present situation.

10. Propaganda for Dominion Status

This Federation appoints a committee of eight members to collect materials and prepare the case for Dominion Status and to authorize the President to meet the necessary cost from the Party funds.

Names of Committee Members

1. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.
2. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.
3. Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
4. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
5. Sir Moropant Joshi.
6. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
7. Sir Sankar Rao Chitnavis.
8. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Convener).

13th Session (Bombay)

1. Sympathy and Condolence

The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of the loss the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mohammad Ali, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. K. T. Paul and Mr. Eardley Norton, and the country and the Liberal Party in particular have sustained by the death of Sir Shankar Rao Chitnavis, Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle and Principal B. G. Sapre, all of them patriots who rendered meritorious services in the furtherance of India's achievement of self-government; and the Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the families of the distinguished and lamented deceased in their great sorrow.

2. Condemnation of outrages

The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong condemnation of and abhorrence at the dastardly attempt on the life of his Excellency Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, and the assassination of Mr. Garlick, sessions judge of Alipore. The Federation considers such acts highly detrimental to the best interests of the country.

3. Lord Irwin

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of high and grateful appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to India and England by the right hon. Lord Irwin as Viceroy and Governor-General and of the services he is continuing to render for the recognition of India's status and her claims as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

4. The New Viceroy

The National Liberal Federation of India accords a cordial and respectful welcome to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and earnestly hopes that his Excellency's viceregency will be signalized by the establishment of responsible Government in India and by her achievement of Dominion Status.

5. The Round Table Conference

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of appreciation of the useful preliminary work done by the last session of the Indian Round Table Conference, especially in getting the principles of a Federated India and Responsibility at the centre accepted.
- (b) This Federation greatly appreciates the services rendered to India and England by the Prime Minister, the Lord High Chancellor and the Secretary of State for India, among other members of his Majesty's government, by their assiduous labours in connection with the Conference.
- (c) This Federation welcomes the Prime Minister's statement on behalf of his Majesty's Government that "responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon legislatures, central and provincial", and expression of the willingness of ruling princes that the Indian states and British Indian provinces should form component parts of a Federated India. The Federation trusts that the next session of the conference will succeed in producing a workable and satisfactory constitution for securing genuine responsible government for India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- (d) While the Federation is gratified that the Indian National Congress will be represented at the next session of the Conference, it most earnestly appeals to his Excellency the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government to remove instead of increasing the inequalities of representation in the Conference by inviting to its next session an adequate number of Nationalist Musalmans, of representatives of Burma opposed to separation from India, and of Indians representing labour and the agricultural classes.

6. The Scheme of Federal Government

The National Liberal Federation of India, while cordially approving of a scheme of Indian Federation constituted of states and provinces, is of opinion that—

1. The Federal Executive should be made responsible to the popular Chamber of the Legislature. (The Federation is in favour of preventing a vexatious use of motions of no-confidence and securing the stability of the Executive by means of reasonable

provisions. It recommends in particular that procedure similar to that applicable to motions of no-confidence obtaining at present in legislatures in India and in certain other countries should be adopted in the future constitution. Members of the Federal Assembly belonging to the states excepting Ministers should have no right of speech or vote on motions of no-confidence arising out of matters affecting only British India.)

2. There should be no nomination of British Indian representatives and the states should allow their representatives to be chosen by some form of election which should after a fixed transitional period be uniform with the system obtaining in British India although in the beginning all of them may not be elected.

3. The provinces should return their representatives to the Lower House by election.

4. The Federation is of opinion that in the popular Chamber of the Federal Assembly, the distribution of seats should be made strictly on the basis of population.

7. Residuary Powers

The Federation is of opinion that exhaustive lists (as far as possible) of central and provincial subjects be made and the central government be vested with power to deal with any matter affecting the whole country that may not have been anticipated and put in the central list.

8. Government of States

The National Liberal Federation, while recognizing the maintenance of internal autonomy and sovereignty of states, hopes and trusts that the rulers of states will seriously consider the desirability of gradually making their administrations approximate to the system of administration in British India.

9. Defence

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that Defence should be a reserved subject under the Governor-General during a transitional period the duration of which should be fixed by statute, and provision should be made on the following lines during such period :—

1. The expenditure should be fixed for five years and revised every five years by a committee of an equal number of experts nominated by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature.

2. The amount so fixed should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the Legislative Assembly in this behalf but without prejudice to its right of discussion.

3. Any excess over that amount should be the subject of a demand for grant which will have to be voted by the Assembly.

4. The Governor-General should, in the event of hostilities on the Frontier, have the further power of declaring an emergency and 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 discussion.

5. A definite scheme for the Indianization of the Defence Forces including officers and men within a specified time as far as practicable should be immediately propounded and the provision of facilities for the training of Indians for service in all arms of defence so as to complete the process within a specified period should be in charge of a Minister responsible to the Legislature.

10. Safeguards

(a) The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that the "Governor-General's special powers" should be limited to cases where there is a

breakdown of the constitution by reason of serious disturbance of the peace likely to involve the country as a whole.

- (b) The Federation is of opinion that while the service of loans and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees by the Secretary of State should be secured along with the supply required for the reserved departments (subject in respect of defence in the foregoing resolution) "as Consolidated Fund charges", no power with regard to finance should be vested in the Governor-General except that as regards external loans, provisions similar to those contained in other dominion constitutions may be embodied in the Indian constitution.
- (c) The Federation disapproves of the "Safeguards" proposed at the Round Table Conference vesting power in the Governor-General to override the Finance Minister in the matter of Exchange and Currency, borrowing and budgetary arrangements and is of opinion that the necessary safeguards in this behalf for the transitional period may be secured, if necessary, by the creation of a Statutory Financial Council till a Reserve Bank is established.
- (d) The National Liberal Federation regrets that the policy pursued by the Government of India with regard to Exchange resulting in frittering away the gold resources of the country is calculated indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a Reserve Bank.

11. Trading Rights

The National Liberal Federation is unable to accept the proposal embodied in clause 14 of the Minorities Committee's Report unless it is made clear that the future Government of India will have complete freedom to adopt measures for promotion of basic trades and industries.

12. The Indian Debt Question

The National Liberal Federation, whilst unreservedly denouncing all suggestions for repudiation of India's public debt by any future Government of the country, is of opinion that, in view of the various financial obligations imposed hitherto on India, an impartial and independent tribunal be appointed to investigate and decide the nature and extent of adjustment between Great Britain and India on the eve of the transference of power from the British Parliament to a responsible Indian government.

13. Provincial Constitution

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while generally approving of the recommendations of the Conference Sub-Committee on Provincial Constitution, is strongly opposed to the following majority recommendations, *viz.*, :—
 - (1) that the Governor should be endowed with special powers, legislative and financial, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, except that he may have emergency power to deal with a serious disturbance of peace, and
 - (2) that second chambers should be established in some and may be established in other provinces.
- (b) It is this Federation's deliberate conviction that these two recommendations, if carried into effect, will materially detract from the autonomy of provinces and should be reconsidered.

14. I. C. S Governors

The National Liberal Federation is strongly of opinion that no member of the Indian Civil Service hereafter be appointed as Governor of any province.

15. Burma

The National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that the Secretary of State for India's declaration in Parliament upon the separation of Burma from India was premature as the proceedings of the Round Table Conference show that the issue was left open for further consideration. The Federation urges that the question should be decided on the merits after the fullest opportunity has been given to that section of opinion in Burma which is opposed to such separation, to state its case.

16. The Services

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that judicial services throughout should be recruited entirely from the members of the bar as in England and that members of the Indian Civil Service should not be eligible for the same; that provincial governments should have the same freedom in respect of the recruitment of their medical services as in respect of other services under their control, and that their control over the police in their respective provinces, both legislative and administrative, should not be less complete than over any other departments.

17. Franchise

The National Liberal Federation approves of the extension of the franchise for men and women alike and strongly supports the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Conference.

18. The Minorities Problem

While the National Liberal Federation regrets that until now no solution of the problem of minorities acceptable to all could be reached and while it is deeply concerned that every possible attempt should be made by all the parties to arrive at an agreement generous to minorities and fair to all, this Federation is of opinion that in any arrangement, the following points should be borne in mind as being essential to its durability and acceptability and as conforming to the requirements of responsible government :—

1. Separate electorates should be done away with and there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities.
2. There should be no statutory fixation of a majority.
3. The position of all important minorities should be equitably considered in the determination of weightage.
4. There should be no statutory recognition of communal representation in the All-India or the Provincial Executive or in the services, but by a convention, a fair and adequate representation should be secured to the various communities consistently with consideration of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications.
5. All necessary, reasonable and practicable guarantees should be given to all communities with regard to their religion, culture, language and special laws.

19. The "Depressed" Classes

The National Liberal Federation has the strongest sympathy with the most legitimate and laudable aspirations of the classes called "depressed" to ameliorate their condition in all the spheres of national life and heartily commends all suitable measures for achieving this end.

20. Office-bearers

This Federation elects Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.), K. C. I. E., M. L. A., and Mr. D. G. Dalvi to be the honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next session.

14th SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Losses of the year

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the great loss the Liberal Party and the country have sustained by the untimely death of Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, a distinguished citizen of Akola and President of the Berar Liberal Association, and of Mr. Sorabji Warden of Bombay who was an active member of the Western India Liberal Association, and it offers its sympathy and condolence to the members of their bereaved families.
- (b) The Federation regrets the deaths of Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar of Srirangam, Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar of Madras, Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai of Gooty, Sir B. Narasimha Sarma of Vizagapatam, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Sir Syed Ali Imam of Patna and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal of Calcutta, all of whom rendered useful and distinguished services in their respective spheres.

2. Government, Congress and Political Prisoners

- (a) While disapproving of the civil disobedience movement, the National Liberal Federation emphatically protests against the measures and methods of repression employed by Government which have led to the increase of discontent by reason of needless and unjustifiable harshness and to growing alienation of public opinion.
- (b) The Federation urges equally on the grounds of justice and expediency the release without delay of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen imprisoned without trial or convicted mostly of technical offences involving no violence or detained without trial under Ordinances and Special Laws which are a continuation thereof.
- (c) At the same time the Federation makes an earnest appeal to the Congress to abandon the civil disobedience movement in order to avoid further misery and suffering, and in the best interests of the country. The Federation equally appeals to the Government to adopt a policy of wise conciliation.

3. The White Paper

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the "Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform" embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are overweighted by safeguards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not "demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period", but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments.
- (b) 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 status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

- (c) (i) 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, and appeals to the Ruling Princes and the British Government to take all steps necessary to bring this about without avoidable delay and almost synchronously with the reform of provincial governments.
- (ii) The Federation cannot approve of the conditions laid down as precedent to the inauguration of Federation as they make for undue delay, and are neither necessary nor reasonable. It does not accept the prior establishment and successful functioning of a reserve bank as an essential condition of Federation and responsible government. And it disapproves still more of the further stipulation that "general, financial, economic and political conditions" must be favourable.
- (iii) In addition, the Federation urges that the All-India Federal Constitution should come into being as soon as indispensable, preliminary arrangements are completed automatically as the new provincial constitutions, and fresh approval by the British Parliament must not be necessary.
- (iv) In the opinion of the Federation the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should continue to be exercised by the Governor-General and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.
- (d) The Federation is strongly of opinion that a body of fundamental rights of federal citizenship, applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.
- (e) If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialize 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.
- (f) (i) 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 Government in India by his Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.
- (ii) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to the subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures for the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.
- (iii) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purposes.
- (g) 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.

- (h) (i) While the Federation consents to 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 will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of transition.
- (ii) The Federation further urges that his Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the nationalization of the army within a period of 20 years and for the progressive reduction of British troops in India with a view to their elimination as early as possible. 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.
- (iii) The Federation 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.
- (iv) The amount of expenditure on Defence should be fixed every five years by a committee 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 the 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.
- (i) 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 the motion of no-confidence ;
- (vi) the representatives of the states should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and the

- 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 as 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 the houses of the Legislature, and
- (ix) the Governor-General should not have the power of certifying a demand or any part of a demand for grant when it has been refused in whole or in part by the Assembly.
- (j) (i) The Federation, fully 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 large and excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of powerlessness in the disposal of the bulk of it.
- (ii) 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.
- (k) (i) 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 with India, cannot support the White Paper 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.
- (ii) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General, whether in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of "external relations" to override the will of the legislatures or the Government.
- (l) The Federation objects to the creation of a statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive the future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the taxpayer. 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.
- (m) The Federation is of opinion
- (i) that the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and

- (ii) that provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal for British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself.
- (n) 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 decidedly worse than the present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.
- (o) The Liberal Federation is constrained to remark on the unreal nature of the so-called "provincial autonomy" as outlined in the White Paper in view of the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of finance, legislation and administration, and it objects to them without the least hesitation.
- (p) The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at the previous session against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the further perpetuation for the time being of such electorates, not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.
- (q) (i) The Federation protests against the modifications for the worse made by his Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.
- (ii) 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.
- (r) (i) The Federation has read with amazement the most reactionary and objectionable proposals of his Majesty's Government regarding the services, proposals contrary in the main to the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference and never placed before any of the three conferences for consideration. These proposals would in the opinion of the Federation reduce provincial autonomy and responsible government to a mockery, and should be abandoned if the coming constitution is to have a chance of success.
- (ii) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment and control and determining the emoluments of the Indian Civil Services and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safeguarding 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.
- (s) The Constitution Act should vest in the future legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

- (t) In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems 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, aggravate the present unhappy conditions, further alienate opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the line of Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations will alone meet India's requirements and satisfy the national self-respect of the people of India.

4. Swadeshi

The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its strong support to the Swadeshi movement for the furtherance of Indian trade and industrial development, and urges the people to support, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry in preference to imported goods.

5. Untouchability

- (a) The National Liberal Federation accords its fullest support to the nation-wide movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the backward classes, and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for the complete success of this important national effort.
- (b) The Federation accords its approval to the principles underlying the legislative measures now before the Indian Legislative Assembly.

6. The Ottawa Agreement

The National Liberal Federation protests against the premature ratification of the Ottawa Agreement, the effect of which has generally been considered by the people of India likely to be more injurious than beneficial to them.

7. Office-bearers

The National Liberal Federation elects Messrs. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., and S. N. Bose, M. A., LL. B. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, M. L. C., its joint secretaries.

15TH SESSION (MADRAS)

1. 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 developed 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.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. 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.
- (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.

5. Separation 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.

6. 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.

7. 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 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.

8. 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.

9. 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.

10. Party Organization

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 organization, and that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to so extend and establish its organization 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.

11. Economic Distress

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to impress upon the Government of India and all Provincial Governments the imperative necessity for 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.

12. 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.
- (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.

13. 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.

14. Cooperation with other organizations

The Federation authorizes its Council to take necessary and feasible steps from time to time in cooperation with other organizations 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.

15. 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 the 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 materialize 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 Indianization 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 the 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 safeguarding 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 the 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 bicameral 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 of 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 reaffirms 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 under the Constitution Act itself.
 - (c) The Provincial High Courts 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 Dominions 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.

16. 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 countrywide 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. †

17. 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 nationalize the army in India within a fixed period of time.
- (b) The Federation while recognizing that the recommendations of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal will lead to some reduction in the capitulation 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 subventions 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. Capitulation charges, which India should never have been required to pay, should be abolished.

18. General Secretaries for 1934

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

16TH SESSION (POONA)

1. The year's losses

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the great loss the Liberal Party has sustained in the deaths of Sir Provash Chunder Mitter and Mr. A. P. Sen who rendered great service to the country and to their party.

2. Indians in Zanzibar

- (a) The Federation views with grave concern and resentment the sudden adoption some months ago by the Government of Zanzibar of several "decrees", the cumulative effect of which must inevitably be to make it impossible for the Indian community to earn its living in a land where it has been established for a long time prior to the establishment of the British Protectorate. These decrees place them at a disadvantage as compared with their European commercial rivals and create bitterness between them and the Arab and African communities. The fact that the Land Alienation Decree imposes even on Indians born in Zanzibar disabilities which do not apply to Arabs born in Arabia who are not British subjects clearly shows that the new legislation is aimed against Indians.

Such differential treatment of Indians in a colony under the direct control of his Majesty's Government which insists on equality of Britishers with Indians gives rise to separatist feeling and tends to destroy the unity of the Empire.

- (b) The Federation records its appreciation of the prompt action of the Government of India in deputing Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., to investigate the situation on the spot. It regrets, however, that Mr. Menon's Report has not yet been published and urges the immediate publication of Mr. Menon's report on the Zanzibar Decrees and the announcement by the Government of India that they have full sympathy with the grievances of Zanzibar Indians and will strain every nerve to get them redressed and to have the status of Indians in Zanzibar placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.
- (c) The Federation also urges the early publication of Mr. Menon's Report on Marketing Legislation in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, which legislation is believed to be detrimental to Indian interests.

3. Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report and Indian Constitutional Reform

The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound regret at finding that the Joint Select Committee's Report instead of removing the glaring defects and shortcomings of the White Paper proposals that were pointed out by the Federation at its two previous sessions has, in utter disregard of almost the entire body of Indian opinion of all shades including the British Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee, introduced further highly objectionable and reactionary features, rendering responsible government in the provinces and the centre which the British Government profess to give to India, wholly illusory. The Federation is convinced that any constitution based on the lines of the Joint Select Committee's Report will be wholly unacceptable to all shades of Indian political opinion and will, far from allaying, very much intensify the present deep political discontent in the country. This Federation, therefore, does not want any legislation based upon the Joint Select Committee's Report.

4. Office-Bearers

This Federation elects the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapro, Mr. S. M. Bose and Mr. Surendra Nath Varma to be the Honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next session.

17TH SESSION (NAGPUR)

1. Losses of the year

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of deep sorrow at the death, during the year, of Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, one of its former Presidents, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, Dewan Bahadur V. M. Kelkar and Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, a former General Secretary of the Federation, all of them staunch Liberals and earnest public workers. Their death is a great loss to the country and the National Liberal Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the bereaved families and to the institutions with which they were prominently connected.

2. The New Constitution

- (2) The National Liberal Federation of India, while reaffirming its resolution of last year, regrets that in utter disregard of almost unanimous Indian opinion, the British Parliament not only did not accept a single suggestion for improvement from India's point of view but

imposed the Government of India Act, 1935, on the country with further objectionable provisions added.

- (b) Yet, the National Liberal Federation considers that, in the circumstances of India, anything like a boycott of the New Constitution is futile and impossible, and is therefore of opinion that all nationalists of all parties and groups in the country should, in the supreme interest of India, act together in the general elections which are to be held under the new Act so as to secure their return to the legislatures in the largest number, and to utilize the constitution so as to extract from it the greatest good it can yield, and, what is more important, so as to accelerate the reform of the constitution on lines demanded by and acceptable to Indian opinion.
- (c) The Liberal Federation reiterates that no constitution can satisfy Indian opinion which does not approximate, as nearly as may be, to the constitutions of the Dominions and concede to the people of India the full rights of national self-government with the irreducible minimum of reservations for a short period fixed by Statute., and which, further, does not make for national solidarity.

3. Indian States Subjects

The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the aspirations of the subjects of Indian states for civic and political liberties and regrets that in the large majority of states there is not as yet even the semblance of constitutional or representative government. It deplores the absence of any provision for the election of the states' representatives in the future Federal Legislature and of any recognition of the rights of citizenship for the people of the states. The Federation again urges the ruling princes to concede without delay the right of their subjects to security of person and property, to freedom of the press and of association, and an independent judiciary as well as representative government as a preliminary to full responsible government within the All-India Federation.

4. Indians Overseas

This Federation, while reiterating its condemnation of the anti-Indian Decrees passed by the Zanzibar Government in June, 1934, which Decrees have resulted in squeezing out Indians from lawful pursuits in the Zanzibar Protectorate, expresses its apprehension at the extension of the Moratorium to July, 1936, in clear violation of the Zanzibar Government's promise to settle the debt problem within a year.

This Federation records with satisfaction the unanimous report of the Agriculture Indebtedness Commission appointed by the Zanzibar Government which supports the conclusions of the report submitted by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., to the Government of India, which exposes the one-sided nature of the Bartlett-Last Report on which the said anti-Indian Decrees were based and deplores the attitude of the Zanzibar Government in not accepting the Commission's Report, as well as the views expressed in the memorandum of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar, submitted to the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India. In the opinion of the Federation the basis of the said Decrees having been shattered by the said Commission of the Zanzibar Government, presided over by the Chief Justice with an official majority, the Government of India should press for a repeal of the said Decrees.

While the Federation appreciates the sympathetic attitude and action of the Government of India, it urges on them the advisability of promptly pressing for acceptance the following demands for relief of the urgent needs of the Indian community, namely,

(1) Amendment of Section 19 of the Land Alienation Decree of 1934, with retrospective effect so as not to allow period of limitation to run against creditors during the moratorium.

(2) Immediate adoption of the recommendations of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission by the Government of Zanzibar.

(3) Abolition of license fee for export of cloves.

(4) Abolition of one-sided levy on export of cloves.

(5) Stoppage of purchase and export of cloves by the Clove Growers' Association and modification of its other activities.

Failing agreement of the Colonial Office to give effect to these minimum demands this Federation recommends to the Government of India imposition of an embargo on imports of cloves into India, if such imports originate from the Zanzibar Protectorate.

The Federation urges that action should be taken in the matter of the marketing legislation of the Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika Governments on the lines indicated in the reports of Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., who was deputed to investigate the situation on the spot.

The Federation is strongly opposed to the extension of the Highlands in the manner suggested in the Carter Report, the exclusion of Indians from the Highlands of Kenya, and declares that any attempt to give statutory effect to this undesirable practice will arouse the keenest resentment in this country.

The Federation is opposed to the principle of the residential and commercial segregation of Indians on which the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of the Union of South Africa is based, and urges the Government of India to consult the opinion of the Indian community in South Africa about the recommendations of the Feetham Commission and represent their point of view to the Union Government.

5. Criminal Law Amendment Act

The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the several provincial Special Powers Acts passed in the present year. They perpetuate or prolong the extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, virtually free of judicial control first in the form of Ordinances and next of temporary legislation. The legitimate liberty of the press and the public is seriously menaced by these Acts, and the Federation, therefore, urges their immediate repeal.

6. The Army and Military Expenditure

(a) The National Liberal Federation is acutely dissatisfied at the complete lack of response by the Government to the repeated demand of India for the rapid nationalization of the army and at their obstinate adherence to ideas and methods which will not bring it about even in three centuries.

The Federation cannot but condemn the policy of refusal to take steps for speedy Indianization and opposition at the same time to self-government on the plea that India cannot defend herself.

(b) The Federation reaffirms the demand for a speedy reduction of the British army of occupation and its replacement by Indian troops drawn from all classes and provinces.

(c) The Federation is gravely concerned at the maintenance of military expenditure at a level which is beyond the capacity of India to bear without detriment to social services and economic development. And it urges on the Government of India the adoption of measures which will bring down military expenditure to a reasonable figure.

7. Unemployment

The National Liberal Federation is gravely concerned by the acuteness of the problem of unemployment which is on the increase among the middle classes. While it is glad that certain aspects of it have formed the subject of investigation in some provinces, notably in the United Provinces by a committee under the chairmanship of the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Federation urges that measures calculated to reduce it should be adopted without delay in the shape of planned economic development and the reorganization of the system of education (without prejudice to the wider diffusion of higher education) so as to train young men for wealth-producing pursuits.

8. Rural Uplift and Village Industries

While the Liberal Federation notices with satisfaction the practical interest which Government are at last evincing in rural uplift, it regrets that they are working with inadequate funds and mainly through official agency and are spending an excessive part of the available money on salaries of staffs and establishments. In the opinion of the Federation the work can be done economically, yet efficiently, through trained unofficial agencies as far as possible.

9. Agricultural Indebtedness

While approving of the object of the laws passed in some provinces for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, the Federation is firmly of opinion that they will fail to produce a beneficial effect unless the Government (1) take suitable steps to provide adequate finance at a cheap rate of interest, (2) advance money for the repayment to creditors as Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General in 1906 and (3) supplement the legislation for the better organization of rural credit including the establishment of land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement.

10. Swadeshi

The National Liberal Federation once again accords its whole-hearted support to the Swadeshi movement and urges that every effort should be made for its complete success in all the branches of production, distribution and consumption.

The Federation urges Governments in British India as well as the Indian states to utilize to the greatest possible extent the products of Indian industry. In meeting the requirements of consuming departments, and further to give every possible help to manufacturers with a view to increase production, improve quality and reduce prices, so that they may be able to compete with importers of foreign goods.

11. Untouchability

The National Liberal Federation feels the profoundest sympathy for the depressed classes and is utterly opposed to any person being regarded or treated as an "untouchable". The Federation wishes every success to the nationwide movement for the removal of this blot upon India and for the elevation of those classes.

12. Office-bearers

Resolved that Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., Nagpur, Mr. S. M. Bose, Calcutta, Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Madras, and Mr. Suryanarayan Rao, Madras, be the General Secretaries of the Federation.

APPENDIX G.

Constitution of the National Liberal Federation of India

(As determined by Resolutions passed by the Federation at its sessions held in the years 1919, 1920, 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1927.)

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

The Federation and its component organizations will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, the wider spread of education, the improvement of public health, economic development, the promotion of inter-communal unity and the amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of the population.

2. The Indian Association and the Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta; the National Liberal Association of Western India, Bombay; the Madras Liberal League, Madras; the United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad; the Punjab Liberal League, Lahore; the National Liberal League of the Central Provinces, Nagpur; the Berar Liberal League, Akola; the Deccan Sabha, Poona, and other Liberal Associations or Leagues which may adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and may be recognized in this behalf by the Indian National Liberal Council shall be component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.

3. The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a council called the Indian National Liberal Council, consisting of the office-bearers, five members nominated by the President and not more than twenty-five members from each province elected by the Federation at the annual session.

4. The office-bearers shall be the President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who shall be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-Presidents, who shall be Vice-Chairmen, and one or more General Secretaries.

5. Every member of the Council shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 25.

6. The members of the Associations or Leagues which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their committees are eligible for membership of the annual session of the Federation. Every member who attends a session shall pay such fee as may be fixed by the reception committee.

7. The Indian National Liberal Council is authorized to set up a working committee and to delegate to it such functions as it may deem fit, and further, to constitute from time to time standing or special committees to deal with specific subjects or matters. Standing and special committees may co-opt as members Liberals as well as other persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation, but do not belong to any Liberal organization. The number of co-opted members may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of a committee.

8. Every reception committee shall remit to the general secretary or secretaries after the conclusion of the annual session the equivalent of fifty pounds sterling for financing work in England in the furtherance of India's cause.

APPENDIX H.

Presidents and Chairmen of Annual Sessions.

No. of Session.	Place and dates of session.	President.	Chairman of the Reception Committee.
1	Bombay (Nov. 1 & 2, 1918.)	Mr. (later Sir) Surendra-nath Banerjea.	Sir D. E. Wacha.
2	Calcutta (Dec. 30, 31, 1919 and Jan. 1, 1920).	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer	Sir Binod Chandra Mitter.
3	Madras (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1920).	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
4	Allahabad (Dec. 28, 29, and 30, 1921).	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindavaghava Iyar.	Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.
5	Nagpur (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1922).	The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.	Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy.
6	Poona (Dec. 27 and 28, 1923).	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole.
7	Lucknow (Dec. 26, 27 and 28, 1924).	Dr. R. P. Paranjpye	Mr. A. P. Sen.
8	Calcutta (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1925).	Sir Moropant Joshi	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.
9	Akola (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1926).	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.	Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle.
10	Bombay (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1927).	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
11	Allahabad (Dec. 30 and 31, 1928).	Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani
12	Madras (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1929).	The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna.	Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
13	Bombay (July 31 and Aug. 2, 1931).	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	Sir Cowasjee Jehangir.
14	Calcutta (April 15, 16 and 17, 1933).	Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.	Mr. J. N. Basu.
15	Madras (Dec. 26, 27 and 28, 1933).	Mr. J. N. Basu	The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivas Sastri.
16	Poona (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1934).	Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.	Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.
17	Nagpur (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1935).	Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.	Sir M. V. Joshi.
18	Lucknow (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1936.)	Sir Cowasjee Jehangir	Raja Sir Rampal Singh.