

REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

National Liberal Federation of India

Held at Nagpur

on December 28, 29 and 30, 1935

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XVII NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1935.

Monday, 30th December, 1935.

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED

I 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 Iyar, 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.

Put from the Chair and Carried Unanimously

II The New Constitution.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while re-affirming 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.

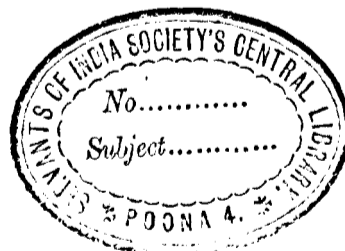
(b) Yet, the National Liberal Federation considers that, in the circumstances of India, anything like a boycott of the New Constitution is futile and impossible, and is therefore of opinion that all nationalists of all parties and groups in the country should, in the supreme interest of India, act together 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 utilise 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.

Speakers on the Resolution :—

The Rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
 Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
 Sir Cowasji Jehangir.
 Mr. J. N. Basu.
 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
 Pandit H. N. Kunzru.
 Mr. S. G. Vaze.

Carried Unanimously.



III Indian States Subjects

The National Liberal Federation re-affirms 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.

Proposed by Prof. M. D. Altekar, Bombay.

Seconded by Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, Poona.

Supported by Prof. R. H. Kelkar, Poona.

Carried Unanimously.

IV 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 Agricultural 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 this 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.

Proposed by Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha, Bombay.
 Seconded by Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Poona.
 Carried Unanimously.

V 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.

Proposed by The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú, Allahabad.
 Seconded by Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Madras.
 Supported by Mr. S. M. Bose, M. L. C., Calcutta.
 Carried Unanimously.

VI 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 nationalisation 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 Indianisation, 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 steady 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 reasonable figure.

Proposed by Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Allahabad.
 Seconded by Prof. B. B. Roy, Calcutta.
 Supported by Mr. Vishuan Nath, U. P.
 Carried Unanimously.

VII 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 Saprú, 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.

Proposed by Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Nagpur.
 Seconded by Mr. M. D. Altekar, Bombay.
 Supported by Mr. Surendranath Varma, Allahabad.

Carried Unanimously.

VIII 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.

Proposed by D. B. C. M. Gandhi, Surat.
 Seconded by Mr. N. A. Dravid, Berar.
 Supported by Dr. K. L. Dey, Calcutta.

Carried Unanimously.

IX Agricultural Indebtedness

(a) 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 organisation of rural credit including the establishment of land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement.

Proposed by Mr. V. Venkatsubayya, Madras.
 Seconded by Mr. Dalip Mansing, U. P.

Carried Unanimously.

X 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 utilise 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.

The Federation also urges the Governments in British India as well as the Indian States to afford greater facilities for technical education of all grades and in all branches.

Proposed by Mr. M. D. Shahane, Nagpur.
 Seconded by Mr. K. P. Kaul, Lucknow.

Carried Unanimously.

XI 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 nation-wide movement for the removal of this blot upon India and for the elevation of those classes.

Put from the Chair and Carried Unanimously

XII Council and Office-Bearers

Resolved that

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E. Nagpur.
Mr. S. M. Bose, Calcutta.
Mr. E. Vinayakrao, Madras.
Mr. Suryanarayan Rao, Madras.

be the General Secretaries of the Federation and that the Council of the Federation be constituted as given in the Appendix A.

Carried Unanimously.

XIII Next Session of the Federation

Resolved that the Eighteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held in the United Provinces.

Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
Seconded by Pt. Kishan Prasad Kaul, Lucknow.

Carried Unanimously.

XIV Vote of Thanks to the President

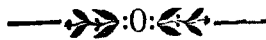
Proposed by Sir M. V. Joshi, Nagpur.
Seconded by Mr. W. G. Mandpe, Nagpur.
Supported by Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Bombay.

Carried Unanimously

President's Closing Speech.

" *Bande Mataram* "

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA



(SEVENTEENTH SESSION)

Saturday, the 28th December 1935.

The seventeenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute Hall at Nagpur on Saturday the 28th December 1935 at 3 p. m. The Hall was tastefully and skillfully decorated with flags and buntings and was filled to its maximum capacity by members of the Reception Committee, delegates and visitors, both men and women.

The President-Elect, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras) who arrived at the Hall at 3 p. m., was received by Sir M. V. Joshi, Chairman and other office-bearers of the Reception Committee and conducted to the platform in procession. As the President entered the V. J. T. Institute Hall, the whole Assembly rose to its feet and enthusiastically cheered him till he had taken his seat.

The proceedings commenced by the singing, by the students of the Seva Sadan Society, Nagpur, of the prayer and welcome songs specially composed for the Occasion. Sir M. V. Joshi, Chairman, Reception Committee, then delivered the following welcome address:

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, NAGPUR, 1935.

Saturday, the 28th December 1935.



After the President-elect, Mr. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI (Madras), and other prominent leaders of the Liberal Party took their seats on the *dais*, the proceedings were begun with a welcome song by the pupils of the Seva Sadan.

Sir M. V. JOSHI, Kt., K. C. I. E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his speech.

Speech of the Chairman Reception Committee, Sir M. V. Joshi, Kt., K. C. I. E. Nagpur.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I most heartily accord you a warm welcome on your visit to the Liberal Federation this year. Nagpur may not be comparable to other large cities where the Federation is usually held but our welcome is equally warm if not warmer, and our claim to your indulgence for our defects in looking after you and making your stay here as comfortable as we can, greater than elsewhere. Nagpur and Berar are under the new reforms linked together and both the provinces have been so badly hit by the all round depression that we can hardly make a display befitting you all or the cause for which you have assembled.

During the last 12 months a staunch local Liberal, Divan Bahadur Kelkar, passed away and as usual, it is not easy to fill his place. Another great loss to our ranks and of national importance is that of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, another staunch Liberal of all India fame, whose one steadfast resolve in life was to die working for the uplift of his country. Whatever our losses, we have to work unceasingly and keep the Liberal Flag flying with the one object to see this country a free nation.

The new model for the governance for this country is by now an accomplished fact and is embodied in a statute of the British Parliament. The criticism of the Liberal Federation has, from time to time, been directed against the new enactment in the various stages contemplating the reforms and I think, it can fairly be claimed that our criticism was candid and pervasive without being bitter, and laid bare the several defects of the new system in all its nakedness more completely than the exposition by any other political party in India, not excluding the Congress itself. The time for that criticism is now past and we are faced, like other political parties in the country, with a situation the like of which has not been witnessed in this country. No political groups in this country except perhaps the Anglo-Indians accept the new reforms; even the Mohamedans who have gained communal advantage and stand to get a large share in the new Government, out of proportion to their population, or voting strength, do not profess to feel whole-hearted satisfaction with the new reforms. There are more than a dozen categories under which electors are ranged for a franchise and while this crystallizes the fissiparous tendencies in this country, the resultant is a clear indication against India being likely to be welded into a homogeneous nation. But even with such widespread dissatisfaction with the reforms, there appears just yet no way out of the impasse now created and the chance of bringing any further pressure on British Government to make the new constitution more acceptable or elastic and responsive to future progress is almost nil. The progressive parties in this country are thus faced with two alternatives—to work the new reforms for what they are worth by sending into the Councils our best men and try to shape our destinies in the direction of our desired goal or to remain out of the Councils and let them be filled by such men as like to work the reforms for their own or communal advantage rather than that of the Nation.

In spite of our previous criticism, that the new reforms are not only not progressive but retrograde in character, we may have to choose one of the above alternatives. Another alternative has been suggested and insisted upon by at least one section of the Congress and that is to wreck the reforms deliberately. This may be done by this Congress section going into the Councils, even taking Ministerial Offices but all along with the deliberate object of wrecking the reforms and demonstrating that the new reforms are so unworkable that Government will be compelled to scrap the reforms and allow the Indian Nation to put forth an agreed scheme. The other section of the Congress does not agree with this view but wants to enter Councils, take Ministerial Offices when party majority makes this feasible and try, by constructive methods, to secure a larger share of material benefits in the provincial sphere. In doing this, unlike the other section, they do not look forward deliberately to bring about a clash but if the Governor's veto comes in the way of real advancement, to proceed in a constitutional manner by dissolving Provincial Assemblies and forcing fresh elections. The two sections of the Congress tenaciously hold to their respective views and bitterly criticise each other, as always happens when friends fall out. The latter view is practically the same of all progressive nationalists who are prepared to take full advantage of the scope for advancement available in the new reforms and are determined to utilize them to the utmost extent to which they can be made to yield results. It may be that this difference of view is symptomatic of life or self-confidence in one's own views; but the fact that these two mutually antagonistic views exist simultaneously is not likely to bring pressure on Government to yield further reforms. Even if it is assumed that the view of the first section of the Congress preponderates at the Lucknow session of the Congress in March, it by no means follows that that section will be preponderant at the new elections. And even if they succeed there, there will be always sections such as Mohamedans, Depressed Classes, Anglo-Indians who will refuse to be parties to wholesale deliberate wrecking of the new reforms. Their interest does not lie that way for obvious reasons and single-handed that Congress section may never be able to accomplish their objective. This section always takes its stand on soul-force as the background of Congress activities and Satyagraha as their chief weapon but may it not be pertinently asked after 14 years of the Congress in the wilderness, what has been the experience so far of the weapon being effective. The jail-goers are war-weary and Congress saved their faces when it suspended Satyagraha, though it is kept dangling as a distant possibility to which sometime, under some circumstances, resort will be had. Is it not enough that Mahatma Gandhi has discovered, though late, that Indians are not yet fit for the Satyagraha which the Mahatma propounds? Indeed, his is a pathetic figure to have to declare that he is the only one capable of the kind of Satyagraha which he insists on. What chance is there then for this doubtful weapon of proved inefficacy to succeed now? We are the same Indians that have been so far workers under Gandhian doctrines and a new attempt to go on the same old lines is unthinkable and futile. There are critics who say this is an election stunt and knowing full well that extremism in talk will bring success at the polls, the original doctrine is upheld by the first section. There is no doubt that if they further talk of taking offices, the vote in favour of the Congress will largely suffer and the wave on which Congress workers hope to top the polls will recede in the background. In my previous argument I have assumed, however, that the opinion is honestly held by one section of the Congress.

The next step after wrecking the new constitution is to have a Constituent Assembly to frame an agreed constitution for this country by all India presenting a united front. This seems chimerical as matters stand at present. At the Round Table Conference the cleavages between community and community were so big that it was found impossible to secure unanimity. Communal interests have so far preponderated and even with Mr. Gandhi's presence they could not all agree to a unanimous demand. The reasons for this discomfiture then existing, are still there and what is worse, several communities have in the meantime negotiated with Government and got for themselves rights and privileges which, in any democratic constitution, they could never hope to get. At least 14 points were agreed to by all major communities in the memorandum submitted to Government in connection with R. T. C. Was any one conceded by the British Government? Having actually got privileged positions are these communities likely to surrender their position of vantage? It is thus

obvious that the chance of securing unanimity at a Constituent Assembly is not within the bounds of probability or even possibility.

This is the position so far as one can think about it. It will be the province of the President of this year's session of our Federation to expound the position and give the party a lead to act in a manner best calculated to advance the national interest. I must not trench on his sphere. Personally, I should never think of standing on the platform of deliberate wrecking.

Another matter on which the President might profitably give us a lead is the question of the present position of the Liberal party *vis-a-vis* the other political parties in the country. In these provinces and perhaps in other provinces, the Liberal party to-day is not looked upon as a force to be reckoned with. There are not a few critics who describe the Liberal party in India being in as moribund a condition as the Liberal party in England. It is true that the Government of the country have done all they could to sap the influence of the Liberal party by not accepting in good time advances in the constitution suggested by the party and have thus goaded a large number of politically-minded persons in this country into extremism. Even so, the wisdom and sanity of the Liberal party leaders is necessary for the onward progress of this country at any rate to discountenance largely such activities of the Socialists, Communists and Terrorists as might lead this country into a national disaster.

The reasons why the Liberal party does not appeal to the younger generation have been described as follows :—

That the Liberals have no effective weapon to bring pressure on Government to concede the national demands;

That their proclaimed goal and method of work carry no appeal to the sentimental side of the younger generation so as to secure a following;

That so far they have shown comparatively much less sacrifice than persons of other parties in the country.

This sort of criticism has to be met both for purposes of meeting external criticism as for self-introspection and we might expect a lead here from our President though I may be permitted to give my personal views on the matter.

It is possible in meeting this first objection to emphasize the difference between Liberals and non-Liberals. Liberals, in insisting on constitutional agitation, always mean an extensive and intensive consciousness of political rights by the people. Large masses must realise that they have rights in the new constitution on which they can insist and make their insistence effective by their votes. The value of a vote is comparatively a novel idea in this country and it will take an amount of time to bring home to each voter the value of his vote. Not only has he to know it, but be intense in its pursuit—voting not on grounds of friendship or less creditable ground but on the established capacity and integrity of their representative and to make him accountable to them for the manner in which he furthers their interests. Large masses have not only to realize the value of the vote but to organize themselves for corporate action in selecting representatives in Provincial Assemblies. The non-Liberal parties considered that there were shorter cuts than wide-spread aliveness of public opinion and that pressure could be brought on Government without such a general political consciousness. They have failed. The weapon of non-co-operation failed just for want of this extensive and intensive political consciousness. The Liberals believe in creating this public opinion and when this is organized, they feel that there would be no necessity or occasion of practising non-co-operation. The Liberal method may be tardy but it is enduring; the other is more spectacular but bound to be non-effective.

The second objection is that the goal of the Liberals is Dominion Status while the non-Liberals hold up complete Independence as the goal. I have already discussed the method of Liberals and non-Liberals in attaining that goal. It is true that the ideal of Independence always appeals to sentiment. It has hoary traditions; nations

have lived and died for that ideal. But Dominion Status is equally a good ideal to strive for. After the Statute of Westminster the partners in the British Commonwealth will be nearer to Independence than they ever were before and will have equal status with the mother country. Moreover, the advantages to this country having an extensive sea coast as also vulnerable land frontiers, and with no air force adequate for its defence against foreign aggression, of being within the ring fence of 8 or 10 States, is very great. That all can unite for a common purpose is enough to discourage foreign aggression. A Union of Free States is thus an advantage and whenever India's aspiration to have a Dominion Status is achieved, there will be little difference between India Independent and India a Dominion. As a cry against the obduracy of British Government to concede constitutional demands to India. Independence is a cry to conjure with; but there is obvious expediency even in Dominion Status. There is reason to believe that even Mahatma Gandhi would be content to have Dominion Status if it could be achieved to-day.

As to want of sacrifice, Liberal would be the first to acknowledge that Non-Liberals have largely shown a spirit of self-sacrifice. No Liberal has gone to jail while hundreds of Non-Liberals have. Jail and suffering extort sympathy and admiration but except as a consolation that no sacrifice is without its good effects, all this sacrifice was abortive and brought no immediate results. The pressure on the British Government never reached the high water mark necessary to compel Government to yield India's demands. If the Non-Liberals suffered in person and property, the Liberals have been mercilessly exposing the flaws in the new constitution and are responsible for fighting manfully India's battle for freedom.

The Liberal party cannot, it appears to me, hope to continue its existence or secure a following unless it is a force in the politics of the country, and a great deal of political importance will, in the near future, naturally attach to the people who will enter the Councils and deal with provincial and national matters. In Bombay, Sir Cowasji Jehangir may succeed on the Liberal ticket but I reckon this is rather due to his personal influence and his being a man of integrity and character than to his status as a party representative. He may succeed whatever his label, but in other provinces, I seriously doubt if Liberals as such will be elected to the Councils and get a chance to serve their country or promote its interests. In these provinces Liberals who survive as party men are physically incompetent to challenge an election and there is scarcely an accession of new blood in the party which can fight an election or has the financial support to attempt it. Even our own descendants are in the opposite camp. Unless propaganda, active and incessant, party backing and party funds are made available, no Liberal can succeed in these provinces and the other political parties in the province will naturally get an advantage against representatives of such a party. They may not find us sufficiently strong even to seek our co-operation.

Another matter which perhaps the President may deal with is an enunciation of the Liberal method of bringing further pressure on Government to concede further reforms. I have already said that in the immediate future this can hardly be achieved. Sentimental and spectacular methods have been tried during the last 15 years but no short-cut has been found to compel Government to yield. There is no method consistent with modern democratic ideas than to arouse popular consciousness of political rights extensively and intensively, so that the masses might exercise their right of vote and secure the best men at the helm of provincial affairs and hold them liable to render an account of their stewardship. We might sigh at the absence of dictators who have moulded the destinies of other countries, but here and at present there is ample justification for holding that dictators may not be expected and that unless correct methods of constitutional agitation are adopted in the future, there can be little national advancement. The Liberal Party cannot rest satisfied by its being described as a Party of sane and sober men, nor by the fact that other methods tried in the country have failed and the people of this country are now brought back to the self-same methods that were condemned during periods of stress and excitement. The Liberal Party's faith in constitutional agitation still endures; and past experience amply justifies it and we hope to have ample scope for spreading Liberal doctrines hereafter.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure indeed in proposing that Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri be asked to preside at this session of the Liberal Federation. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri does not need from me much of introduction. We have all known him for many years as an eminent lawyer in Madras, he was the Advocate-General in that presidency for a long time and was a member of the Executive Council — I forget, either for one day or for two days ... (A voice: For one day).... Yes, for one day. He assumed office and the next day he resigned on a question of principle (Hear, hear). He has been a staunch Liberal all his life and, though presenting a modest and unassuming exterior, he has stern and unrelenting character, and principle (applause).

Ladies and Gentlemen, as Mr. Chairman has observed, we are at a critical stage in the history of our party, we are also at a critical stage in the history of this country with the new reforms that are coming, and I am sure that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri will be able to give us, the Liberals and the country, a very wise and sane lead. I have nothing more to add, Ladies and Gentlemen, and I am sure you will accept my proposition with acclamation (loud applause).

Mr. Chintamani (United Provinces): Mr. Chairman, Fellow Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me the greatest pleasure to second the proposition that has been placed before you by my friend Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. In the election of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri as President this year the Reception Committee of the Federation have given practical proof that notwithstanding ebullitions which may make a spectacular impression the people of the Central Provinces are essentially conservative at heart (hear, hear). I will presently explain what I mean. This is the third time that we Liberals assemble in the Central Provinces and Berar. The National Congress assembled three times in these very provinces, twice at Nagpur and once at Amraoti. In our case too we met twice at Nagpur and once at Akola. The National Congress all the three times went to the presidency of Madras for a President. In 1891 at Nagpur they had Mr. Ananda Charlu; in 1897 at Amraoti they had Sir Sankaran Nair; in 1920 at Nagpur they had Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar. The Liberals, being ex-Congressmen, have faithfully followed the tradition of the Congress (cheers), and all the three times that we as Liberals have met here we have gone to Madras for a President. In 1922 in this city my friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was the President, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri whose sudden ill-health on arrival at Nagpur we all deplored and whose restoration to health which enables him to be here, although not to speak today, we all welcome. When we met at Akola in 1926 we had Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as President, and now we have again gone to the south and have obtained Mr. Venkatarama Sastri. Another point. Mr. Ananda Charlu was a teacher at school of Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar who came next as Congress President to Nagpur. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri who last time presided here was a teacher at school of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, and our second Liberal President in these provinces, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, was the master of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri in the profession.

Mr. Venkatarama Sastri is distinguished by several personal qualities, to which I shall refer with your permission before I resume my seat. But immediately I wish to say a word or two on the position of the Liberal party which has just been described by the chairman of the Reception Committee in eloquent and impressive if not hope-inspiring language. Accepting his statement of the position as correct the question that arises in our mind is whether we have anything to regret either in the policy we have adopted or in anything we have done in pursuance of that policy; secondly, whether there is any new political method which we can conscientiously employ in order to improve our position in the country, to increase our numerical strength or our popularity with the masses of the people. The speech of the chairman of the Reception Committee has shown, in its acute analysis of the policy of the more numerous political party in the country, that that policy has been a failure and that Congressmen today are practically doing what the Liberals have all along advocated and practised. If I may say so without disrespect to the Congress or without undue egoism as a party man, I might say in respect of the Congress and the
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Liberal Party what they say in England with regard to Lancashire and England in general. There is a popular saying in England that what Lancashire says today the rest of England will say tomorrow. Reviewing the history of Congress politics and Liberal politics during the last decade and a half I think I am justified in claiming on the basis of ascertained and unchallengeable fact that what the Liberals think today the Congress will think, not tomorrow but fifteen years later (hear, hear). It is perfectly true that our policy does not make a rousing popular appeal. This we knew at the time we left the Congress and established a separate organisation pursuant to our conviction of what was good for the country. We never had any delusion that in a country under foreign rule, — foreign rule which always must be unpopular and foreign rule which, in this concrete case, has wilfully made itself very unpopular by an obstinate adherence to a selfish and arrogant policy — a political party which is comparatively moderate, a political party which does not go before the man in the street and tell him: "You can drive out the hated foreigner and from tomorrow you will never be required to pay any taxes whatsoever, nor will you be under the control of a foreign authority" — we never thought that such a party would be the more popular political party. We were faced with the alternative of either serving the country to the best of our lights or of pleasing our countrymen by professing that in which we had no belief, by professing that which we knew to be both impracticable and disadvantageous to the country. We deliberately made the choice, that we would suffer any amount of popular odium but shall be true to our convictions as public men and only say that in which we believe and only do that which in our judgment is what makes for the advancement of the country (hear, hear). I can claim that throughout the seventeen years of our existence we have followed with unwavering fidelity, the policy which we laid before ourselves in 1918 when we took the momentous decision to hold a separate conference of our own. It is up to us certainly, and as the chairman of the Reception Committee has pointed out, to do a bit of active propaganda in spite of unpromising conditions and do the best we can to get a larger support from the country. I do hope and trust that we shall try to do that, but do what we may I am of the conviction that as long as the British Government of India remains what it is, a moderate political party which believes in an appeal to reason more than in impassioned appeals to popular prejudice can not be a very popular or the dominant political part in the country. It may be, as the chairman has said, that in elections to legislatures, we shall not fare very well compared with members of a more popular political party but one thing we all knew, namely, that we were deliberately inviting unpopularity, and we did not mind that because it is our conviction that to be unpopular was far better than to do something unconscientious (hear, hear). After all, can it be said that the Liberal party is not led by men of upright character, disinterested purpose, unselfish motive and enlightened patriotism? I am quite certain that no man will answer this question in the negative.

It has been alleged by the adherents of the more popular party that the Liberal party is nothing but a group of office-seekers. My friend Sir Chimanlal Satalvad has cited an incident in the life of our President-elect which gives the lie to that calumny. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri gave up the honourable and lucrative position of Advocate-General, and at a heavy pecuniary sacrifice accepted office as a member of the Executive Council. The day after he assumed charge he discovered that while he would be Law Member, the department of police which had been in charge of his predecessor had been taken away from him and would not be given to him. He pressed that that should not be done, his suggestion was rejected and forthwith, without one tear, without one moment of hesitation, he threw up that office as any honourable and independent-minded man would do (hear, hear), without thinking of the sacrifice he had made of the position of Advocate-General because he got this office. I do not suppose that men like Mr. Venkatarama Sastri as leading members of a political party justify, on any truthful lips, the allegation that it is a party of office-seekers. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri is not only a man of the highest personal character which has won for him respect everywhere that he is known, but he is a man of great ability and of equal independence. I have had the privilege of knowing Mr. Venkatarama Sastri for more than 30 years; I have known him very well for more than 15 years. He was a Secretary of the Liberal Federation every time the Federation assembled at Madras, he has been a staunch and earnest member of the party

during the whole of the seventeen years of its existence, and if I know one thing about Mr. Venkatarama Sastri more than another it is that no power on earth can compel him to utter an opinion or do an act which his judgment and his conscience do not unreservedly approve (hear, hear). I do not expect that our President-elect or any other man will be able to show us a short-cut to achieve popularity with the masses. I will not regard that as a drawback in his address, I consider it as an inescapable condition of the political situation in which we find ourselves.

The chairman of the Reception Committee has drawn attention to the need of co-operation between progressive political parties. Here again, the record of the Liberal party is stainless. I was its General Secretary for more than eight years and have always been a more or less active member of the party and I can make this statement without fear of contradiction from any quarter whatsoever, namely, there was no effort which we did not make in order to render possible joint action by the Congress and ourselves on every important matter; there was no single occasion when we did not actively respond to every invitation addressed to us by the Congress to cooperate with them. But, then the policy of the Congress has been co-operation with Liberals in the interval between one election and another and a war to the knife against them during every election. For that we are not to blame. Success we cannot command. If we honestly feel that we have deserved success, that is about as much as what any man can hope for, and I am convinced that we shall continue to deserve success, whether we shall achieve it or not, for so long as we remain true to ourselves and we place at the head of our organization men of the character and the patriotism of our President-elect, Mr. Venkatarama Sastri (loud applause).

Mr. J. N. Basu, (Bengal): President, Ladies, and Gentleman, after the eloquent speeches of the proposer and the seconder, and especially the speech of Mr. Chintamani, which, I believe, I shall be justified in characterising as a fighting speech, any further words are hardly needed to commend the resolution to your acceptance. We in this country, Liberals and non-Liberals, all the people of this country, are passing through most anxious times. It has been said by previous speakers that this is a critical period in the history of our country. At this juncture the Liberals have a duty; that duty they took upon themselves seventeen years ago without the desire of attracting public applause, and also without the desire of applause from the powers that be. They have performed their function and kept before the people and before posterity an ideal of service which does not look for any reward for all that they have done and that they have held up as their ideal for being done. The Liberals have gone into practical work, tried to wean people from unproductive and dangerous ways. Now at this juncture, with this new Government of India Act on the statute book, we find that a system of constitution has been imposed on the people of this country which responds neither to the aspirations nor to the ideals of the people. On the one hand there are elements in it, like the communal award, which may be said to be apples of discord likely to break up the solidarity of the people. On the other hand there are forces amongst the people, forces of terrorism and of violence, which will mean ruin and disaster, even if the Government were our own. The Liberals stand in between, trying to ward off the evil influences that come from above and the influences that surge all round us. While others are holding up ideals like that of immediate independence, the Liberals have set their minds and their energies to work for the immediate progress and amelioration of the people. That work no doubt has not achieved the recognition that it deserves, but the Liberals have not looked for that recognition and let them not look for it! It may be that in future the work of the Liberals will be looked upon in the same way as it has been in the past by the British public and by the general masses in India. But in spite of that, if we can achieve the recognition of the work that we have been doing, and, as Mr. Chintamani has pointed out, hold up a line of public conduct, the reasonableness of which others who now talk high will see at the lapse of, say, 15 or 20 years from now; if we can do that, that would be a great achievement which, I have no doubt, history will record; and it is that achievement which, after all, will lift the people of this country from where they are now.

At this juncture it is but meet and proper that a person of the calibre and capacity of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri should preside over our deliberations and guide the Federation, so that we may proceed as we have done, and as he has done in his own individual life that is, without any thought of material recompense to himself but move forward in the performance of a solemn public duty.

Mr. F. Vinayak Rao, (Madras): Mr. Chairman, fellow Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting this proposition so ably moved and seconded and supported. The previous speakers have already alluded to some of the more important points that have to be said by any one in speaking of our esteemed President-elect, Mr. Venkatarama Sastri. I would take the liberty with your leave of saying a few things which have not yet been said, but which ought to be said, so that people will understand what exactly their President will be in the next two or three days. Of course he was the Advocate-General of Madras and a very eminent lawyer, commanding a lucrative practice. When he accepted at that time the offer of the Executive Councillorship, it was undoubtedly a great sacrifice. I believe, he agreed to take up that responsible position as a Liberal in the hope that he will have ample opportunities for rendering constructive service at a moment when service of that kind was very much in need at least in our provinces of Madras. Strangely, within 24 hours whispers were going round that something had been done in the interval by reason of which two important departments, the police and, I believe another department were not to be in the portfolio of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri by reason of a decision arrived at previous to his taking charge. But Mr. Venkatarama Sastri thought that there was a question of principle involved in it, and he resigned with a record of Executive Councillorship of just one day. All of us, Liberals, are really proud of the decision and the step taken by him (cheers). In doing that, I venture to submit with all humility, that he contributed to raising the moral statue of not merely the Liberals, but Indians as well. (Hear, hear). We are proud for that one act alone to have such a man in the chair, and you would support on that one ground apart from all other matters, his election to the presidential chair. But that is not the only criterion which will induce us to put him in the chair. After he left the Executive Councillorship, as before, he put himself in the forefront of all public activities which contributed to the strength of the Liberal Party and to national progress on all lines. As a Liberal he had immense faith in the principle of the rule of law and upholding the freedom of person and the liberty of every individual whether he belonged to the political party to which he himself belonged or whether he belonged to a different political party or even to a political party which was not as kind as it should be to Liberals.

You will all remember the lathi charges that took place in the ordinance regime. The press was held under considerable restraint, and many people did not think it fit to say what should be said on an occasion of that type; but Mr. Venkatarama Sastri with all the heavy work which his practice involved, devoted evening after evening to meet the unfortunate congress volunteers who received lathi charges or who witnessed lathi charges and he got first hand information of the occurrences. He put into public print in the newspapers a resume of all the facts gathered by him and accepted by him as correct facts accurately stated. He interviewed people who could prevent such occurrences and spoke in favour of the sanctity of the person of every citizen, that it was inhuman to deliver lathi charges of that kind, to pull by the leg on the floor a volunteer who had been levelled on the ground by a serious lathi blow. At that time Mr. Venkatarama Sastri did most valuable service. (Hear, hear). And in what he did he endeared himself not merely to his Liberal friends who were all behind him, backing him in this most valuable effort and public service of his, but to all friends belonging to the Congress camp. To this day in our province people remember the services rendered by Mr. Venkatarama Sastri on that occasion, and they love him for what he did, and they honour him for the bold stand which he took.

More recently you had occasion to know that there was a piece of legislation called the "Inam" legislation in our province which was rushed through the legislature by the party in power because they had the strength of votes behind them on a party basis. That legislation was in the opinion of the Liberals of a confiscatory and expropriatory character. The legislation was rushed through the legislature without

fair notice to the parties concerned, without anything like an adequate enquiry by responsible people and without making any provision for payment of compensation to people whose property rights were taken away from them without their approval and in spite of their protest. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri and Sir. M. Ramchandra Rao, whose ill health has prevented him from being present on this occasion, took a gallant stand and they were responsible for representations to the Local Government and to the Governor-General in Council with the result that the Viceroy's assent to that statute is still under consideration. For nearly a year the members of the Imperial Government have not made up their minds whether to grant assent or not. In the meanwhile the local Legislative Council has given a kind of extension with reference to the principle of the Act. But the principle that expropriatory legislation of any kind without payment of compensation should not be passed was fought out in an admirable manner and Mr. Venkatarama Sastri was in the front line of that movement.

I have only mentioned two or three matters. There is one other in respect of which I cannot quote chapter and verse or any authority. It is this. There may be many successful lawyers, there may be many eminent lawyers, there may be men who may be making mints of money at the bar, but there are not many who could command both at the hands of the bench and the bar and the general public at the same time and for a number of years universal affection, regard and esteem. Of such few men our friend, Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, is among the foremost in the city of Madras. I say that as a lawyer who is in daily contact with the work of the courts and who is aware of public opinion not only in the city of Madras but in the entire province. If you take a ballot of six men who are held in the highest esteem and respect by the bar, the bench and the public, perhaps Mr. Venkatarama Sastri will be at the top of the ballot. (Cheers.) I have very great pleasure in supporting the motion.

There is only one small matter which I would like to mention. It is this. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri is so moderate in his methods and so fair to every aspect of opinion that sometimes the younger members may have the fear that he may give to the other side of view a little more than that aspect deserves; but I am sure that on the present occasion, with this little warning from a younger brother, he would be fair to us as well as to everybody else, and the session will be a marked success. I, therefore, commend this proposition to your acceptance.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Central Provinces) : Ladies and gentlemen, I have got to disobey my friend, Mr. Chintamani, who wants me to speak in Marathi as if he wants to test me in my knowledge of my mothertongue. (A voice - Does he know Marathi?) I presume that he does. I do not know what Mr. Chintamani does not know. (Laughter). Any way, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think that I should waste your time in supporting a resolution which has been so ably supported and which, really speaking, needs no support. Who is there in this hall who does not know the qualities of head and heart that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri possesses? To tell you a story — it is not story, it is a fact — but to tell you a story, when we were thinking of having a session and we approached some leading gentlemen of the city, a man asked me as to who was the President of the Liberal Federation. I answered it was my friend, Mr. Kunzru. He realized that he was making a mistake. He asked, "Who is going to be your President?" I said, "How does that matter to you?" He said, "Everything depends upon that". I told him, "Well, if that is so, take it from me that we have the correct vision, and when we find out a man from a particular part of India, I have not the least hesitation in saying that everybody else will follow us", and my prophecy proved to be absolutely correct. We had not then counted votes at the Reception Committee table. We were not quite sure whether we were going to Madras by the Grand Trunk or whether we were going to Bombay by the Bombay Mail. But the Grand Trunk brought us more votes, and thus we found Mr. Venkatarama Sastri as the President-elect. This gentleman asked me, when I told him that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri seemed to be in the air for this year whether he was in any way related to the great Sastri that he knew of. "Well", I said, "all Sastris must be nearly related", and I told him "he is related to him by Sabab", as the Mohamedans call it. The sabab was that they had the same qualities of head and heart, righteousness of mind and a massive

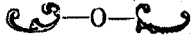
and Catholic intellect and sympathy. Such a President we have, and I have not the least doubt, ladies and gentlemen, that you will accept Mr. Venkatarama Sastri as the President of this year's session".

Pandit Hardatta Sharma (Punjab): Ladies and gentlemen, I wholeheartedly support the resolution that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri be elected as the President of this session.

Mr. Venkatarama Sastri took the Chair.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma read out messages.

Mr. Venkatarama Sastri delivered his presidential address which was as follows:—



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

OF

MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

I am deeply grateful to the Reception Committee of the Nagpur Liberal Federation and to the Provincial Organisations of the Federation for the honour they have done me in inviting me to preside over this year's session. It is the highest honour that they can bestow, and an individual member can receive at their hands. At this moment, I feel not so elated by the honour they have conferred on me as oppressed by a sense of the responsibility I have undertaken. I am not using the language of conventional humility when I say that I wish their choice had fallen on a worthier person than myself. But I find comfort in the fact that there are here present veteran leaders of the Liberal Party who have preceded me in this chair and their assistance and yours are available to me in the discharge of the onerous duties that you have laid on me.

OUR LOSSES

My mind naturally turns first to our losses during the year. Soon after our last session, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer of Madras died in January. More recently, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, C.I.E., of Poona died in November. Both of them were, to me, personal friends. Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was known to me from somewhere about 1900, that is during nearly the whole of my own career at the Bar. He rose to prominence at a comparatively early age and was soon recognised as one of the leading members of the old Congress, and he has been with us both in the Congress and in the Federation from the days when it was started. A man of great capacity and eloquence and, what is more, a man of sterling character, integrity and uprightness, he would have risen to prominence in any country in the world. In recent years, failing health and domestic bereavements and misfortunes prevented his taking the prominent part that one of his position would ordinarily have taken. In his death Madras public life and this Federation have sustained a serious loss.

I had the privilege of knowing Mr. G. K. Devadhar somewhat more closely during the last ten years of his life. Of set purpose, he subordinated politics to social service just as his great master subordinated social reform to politics. But in his chosen field of work he was master. Few social workers have I known who so successfully secured the aid of every one from the Governor to the humblest citizen for his work. When he went out on duty, he was conscious of nothing but his work; he allowed no feeling of hunger or thirst, not even considerations of time, nor any other personal consideration to interfere with his work. All over the country, people have recounted his services and paid tributes to his memory. If being remembered by a vast number of his countrymen with affection and gratitude is immortality, he has attained it in an eminent degree.

We have also lost during the year Dewan Bahadur V. M. Kelkar of this province whom I had not the privilege of knowing personally. The Council of our Federation, at its meeting in October, conveyed its sorrow and sympathy to the bereaved members of his family. In his death the Federation and this Province have lost a staunch Liberal, a keen educationist and a genuinely public-spirited and sincere worker.

We have also lost Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari of Calcutta early this year. He was a profound scholar and a lover of Sanskrit learning and he was the Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University. In his death we have lost a prominent Liberal.

FELICITATIONS TO CONGRESS

While we are meeting here, there take place all over India widespread rejoicings at the attainment by the Indian National Congress of the fiftieth year of its life. Most of us once belonged to it and can genuinely share in the memories of its early history. What if we have recently parted from it unable to approve of certain new activities and developments? Great endeavours, great trials, great successes marked the thirty-five years during which all that was patriotic, all that was employed in the service of the nation, was gathered under the one banner of the Indian National Congress. We may justly claim that the work accomplished, while we were still undivided, was in the highest degree essential to the building up of the nation, to the consolidation of scattered effort, to the emergence of clear ideals and noble aspirations. Since we separated and began to pursue our own methods, differing from those of the latter day Congress but in our judgment truly and faithfully conformable to the old traditions, the two organisations have, no doubt, diverged widely. But behind these differences, is there not a unity of aspiration and a deep affinity of aim? They and we alike are pledged to the winning of India's right to shape her own destiny and to her establishment as a free and self-respecting nation among free and self-respecting nations. We are colleagues in effort and brethren in service and we gladly extend to them our hearty felicitations and good wishes in the full trust that, moving along different paths where we must, and treading the same paths together when we may, we shall one day achieve the freedom and the glory of our common motherland.

HISTORY OF THE ACT

The outstanding event of the year is the passing of the Government of India Act. The task of framing the Constitution for India has occupied a period of eight years—a period of long and laborious travail, such as has attended the birth of no previous Government of India Act. The Simon Commission was appointed and began its labours in 1927 and the Act was passed in the present year, 1935. We have authoritative information that the Act will be put into operation in the spring of 1937, about ten years after the Commission was appointed.

The history of India under British rule may be conceived as falling naturally into three chapters. The first one closed with the assumption of the governance of India by the British Crown in 1858. The second closed, we may say, with the agitation for Home Rule and the Declaration of the 20th August, 1917. We are now in the third chapter of it. The first Government of India Act was passed in 1858 and the first Act constituting a legislature in 1861. This Act of 1861 was amended in 1892 and again in 1909 by expanding the legislature. All the scattered statutes were consolidated in the Government of India Act of 1915 during the War. Responsible Government as the goal of India was not involved in any of these Statutes. The Declaration of 1917 stated the policy of His Majesty's Government to be "that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire". This statement was incorporated in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 in nearly the same words. The provisions of the Act did not come up to the expectations of India and the Indians believed that the generous impulses, which actuated the declaration of 1917 in favour of India which had made sacrifices in men and money during the War, had cooled by the time that the Government of India Act came for enactment. The extreme section of politicians stood out and non-co-operated with the Act. In 1924 a Committee was appointed "to inquire into the difficulties arising from, or defects inherent in, the working of the Government of India Act and to investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act". Nothing came of the report of this Committee.

The working of dyarchy was found unsatisfactory. Some recommendations for transfer of departments were made. A good number of the Ministers in the provinces suggested the abolition of dyarchy and establishment of provincial autonomy. The Minority Report signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Paranjpe expressed it as their opinion that the Constitution should be put on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future so as to secure stability in the Government and willing co-operation of the people.

Public agitation continued and in response to it the Simon Commission was appointed in 1927, three years before the time when the inquiry was due under the Act of 1919. The Commission was exclusively British in personnel. This gave great dissatisfaction, and the Commission was boycotted by the advanced section of public opinion. The Simon Commission had to contend against great difficulties in India. They secured such co-operation as they could and made their report in May, 1930. Three Round Table Conferences sat in the three successive years, 1930, 1931 and 1932 to work out an agreed Constitution. Before the Round Table Conference began, we were assured by the Viceroy that the Conference was intended by His Majesty's Government to be "not a mere meeting for discussion and debate but a joint assembly of representatives of both countries on whose agreement precise proposals to Parliament may be made". The first Conference accordingly began in great hope. A Labour Ministry was then in office in England. The dramatic declaration of the Princes that they were willing immediately to join the Federation added to the hope. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded in 1931. And the Mahatma attended the second Round Table Conference. Soon after a new Ministry, nominally National, but really Conservative, had succeeded to power in England and from then everything went wrong. When Mahatma Gandhi came back, ordinances upon ordinances were issued, and he was arrested. The third Round Table Conference followed and a White Paper was issued embodying the result of these Conferences. Thereafter, a Joint Parliamentary Committee sat to consider these proposals and made their Report. And a Draft Bill was published. And now the Bill has become Act.

During all this eight years' travail over the framing of this new Constitution for India, our leading men of all parties have examined and re-examined every proposal and offered their criticisms and suggestions. Apart from the criticisms and suggestions in Congress and Conferences and from public platforms, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in July, 1933 a memorandum concurred in by Mr. Jayakar in which he set out the provisions that Indian aspirations would require. There was again in November, 1933 a joint memorandum of the British Indian Delegation signed by H. H. The Aga Khan and eleven others belonging to all parties in India setting out the minimum that would be required to satisfy moderate public opinion in India. No proposal in any of these memoranda has obtained recognition or acceptance from the authors of the Act.

During these eight years, the self-interest of Englishmen has been roused to opposition and a diehard section openly inimical to Indian aspirations have successfully led a crusade against all concessions to Indian demands. Cleavages in the ranks of those who represented India at these Conferences soon reduced their influence and claim to consideration. Ignoring even the just demands of Indians was found both easy and necessary to placate the diehard group.

DOMINION STATUS

Our main demand from the very beginning was an Act conferring on India Dominion Status with such reservations and safeguards for a definite period of transition as may be deemed necessary — which reservations and safeguards should automatically disappear at the end of that period. How is this demand dealt with in the Act?

Let me say at the very beginning that my mind is not occupied with the question whether at any time we shall have the power to secede from the Commonwealth or not. Our party have never advocated secession nor claimed more than Dominion Status at any time. Not all even of those who spoke of independence were thinking of separation from Britain as in itself the goal. While the possibility of such

separation was not excluded, many held the view that Dominion Status contained the substance of independence even before Dominion Status was expanded to its present meaning by the Statute of Westminster. Ultimate equality with the Dominion was claimed as due to the self-respect of India and not with any idea of secession at any time desired or planned for.

A series of declarations by the highest authorities of Britain had recognised Dominion Status to be the goal of India's constitutional progress. In 1921 His Majesty's message, delivered through H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Central Legislatures, stated that India had, in the Constitution, the beginnings of Swaraj and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which the other Dominions enjoy. The Instrument of Instructions then given to the Viceroy explicitly referred to "India attaining its due place among the Dominions".

In October 1929 the Viceroy announced :

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

The Prime Minister at the end of the first Round Table Conference stated as follows :—

"The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the New Constitution to full responsibility for her own Government."

He finally added: "I hope, and I trust, and I pray that by our labours together India will come to possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her the status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations — what she now lacks for that — the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of responsible self-government."

He had said previously at a Labour Conference in 1928 : "I hope that within a period of months, rather than years, there would be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth — I refer to India."

Notwithstanding these declarations of His Majesty, the Prime Minister and the Viceroy with the authority of His Majesty's Government, it has been contended that there has been no definite promise of Dominion Status by which Parliament was bound. It must here be remembered that, when the Princes declared their willingness immediately to join in a Federation of All India, they knew of the British Indian demand for Dominion Status and the announcement of the Viceroy that "the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was Dominion Status". This goal of Dominion Status was accepted by the Princes in the most explicit terms as the goal of United India. The Round Table Conference proceeded to frame a Federal Constitution for India on that basis. It was for these reasons that it was desired that the Constitution Act should contain a definite declaration as to the goal of India being Dominion Status.

The working of dyarchy was found unsatisfactory. Some recommendations for transfer of departments were made. A good number of the Ministers in the provinces suggested the abolition of dyarchy and establishment of provincial autonomy. The Minority Report signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Paranjpe expressed it as their opinion that the Constitution should be put on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future so as to secure stability in the Government and willing co-operation of the people.

Public agitation continued and in response to it the Simon Commission was appointed in 1927, three years before the time when the inquiry was due under the Act of 1919. The Commission was exclusively British in personnel. This gave great dissatisfaction, and the Commission was boycotted by the advanced section of public opinion. The Simon Commission had to contend against great difficulties in India. They secured such co-operation as they could and made their report in May, 1930. Three Round Table Conferences sat in the three successive years, 1930, 1931 and 1932 to work out an agreed Constitution. Before the Round Table Conference began, we were assured by the Viceroy that the Conference was intended by His Majesty's Government to be "not a mere meeting for discussion and debate but a joint assembly of representatives of both countries on whose agreement precise proposals to Parliament may be made". The first Conference accordingly began in great hope. A Labour Ministry was then in office in England. The dramatic declaration of the Princes that they were willing immediately to join the Federation added to the hope. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was concluded in 1931. And the Mahatma attended the second Round Table Conference. Soon after a new Ministry, nominally National, but really Conservative, had succeeded to power in England and from then everything went wrong. When Mahatma Gandhi came back, ordinances upon ordinances were issued, and he was arrested. The third Round Table Conference followed and a White Paper was issued embodying the result of these Conferences. Thereafter, a Joint Parliamentary Committee sat to consider these proposals and made their Report. And a Draft Bill was published. And now the Bill has become Act.

During all this eight years' travail over the framing of this new Constitution for India, our leading men of all parties have examined and re-examined every proposal and offered their criticisms and suggestions. Apart from the criticisms and suggestions in Congress and Conferences and from public platforms, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in July, 1933 a memorandum concurred in by Mr. Jayakar in which he set out the provisions that Indian aspirations would require. There was again in November, 1933 a joint memorandum of the British Indian Delegation signed by H. H. The Aga Khan and eleven others belonging to all parties in India setting out the minimum that would be required to satisfy moderate public opinion in India. No proposal in any of these memoranda has obtained recognition or acceptance from the authors of the Act.

During these eight years, the self-interest of Englishmen has been roused to opposition and a diehard section openly inimical to Indian aspirations have successfully led a crusade against all concessions to Indian demands. Cleavages in the ranks of those who represented India at these Conferences soon reduced their influence and claim to consideration. Ignoring even the just demands of Indians was found both easy and necessary to placate the diehard group.

DOMINION STATUS

Our main demand from the very beginning was an Act conferring on India Dominion Status with such reservations and safeguards for a definite period of transition as may be deemed necessary—which reservations and safeguards should automatically disappear at the end of that period. How is this demand dealt with in the Act?

Let me say at the very beginning that my mind is not occupied with the question whether at any time we shall have the power to secede from the Commonwealth or not. Our party have never advocated secession nor claimed more than Dominion Status at any time. Not all even of those who spoke of independence were thinking of separation from Britain as in itself the goal. While the possibility of such

separation was not excluded, many held the view that Dominion Status contained the substance of independence even before Dominion Status was expanded to its present meaning by the Statute of Westminster. Ultimate equality with the Dominion was claimed as due to the self-respect of India and not with any idea of secession at any time desired or planned for.

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The Act does not contain the declaration. It is said that the retention of the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 is sufficient as an assurance of Dominion Status to India. That Preamble refers to the centre and the provinces and relates to British India. The retention of the Preamble therefore is inadequate to assure Dominion Status of Federated India. On the other hand, as I understand the Act, it denies Dominion Status to India. It has erected, as far as the combined ingenuity of lawyers and Parliamentary draftsmen can erect, barricades against full Dominion Status ever being reached.

The provision for the appointment of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation to the Indian States, as apart from the Governor-General, is intended for all time to be a bar in the way of the Indian States becoming fully a part of United India. While the Indian States come into the Federation in so far as they surrender any powers to the Federation by their treaties of accession, their residuary powers, that is, their residuary sovereignty, remain wholly outside the Federation and outside the control of the Governor-General as representing it. At no point of time, even after the Federal Government has become fully responsible, can the Indian States come fully into the Federation. We shall in due time be told that the peculiar Indian conditions, with two Indias totally different in their constitutional positions, inevitably impose this limitation on the Dominion Status that India can ever attain. At present, neither His Majesty's Government nor Parliament wish to discuss openly the limitations on the dominionhood that India will ever be able to attain. Such a discussion will bring into question the recently made declaration of the Viceroy with the consent of the Cabinet and of all parties in England, the declaration of the Prime Minister and even the declaration of his Majesty in 1921. That is the reason why they refuse to declare in specific terms that the goal of India is Dominion Status.

In the meanwhile, we find in articles, lectures and addresses references to Dominion Status as already promised to India. These references bind nobody. But more than ordinary interest attaches to the declaration of the Marquess of Zetland who is the Secretary of State in the present Conservative Ministry of England. Recently, the noble Marquess delivered the Cust Lecture at the University College of Nottingham, a full report of which was reproduced in the Indian newspapers. He took for his theme "India: Retrospect and Prospect". The Secretary of State had been in India as Governor of Bengal and is a student of its culture and religion. He has been generally known to be not unfriendly to the Indian cause. In this lecture of his, the new Constitution Act is examined with so much of antecedent history as he thought necessary to show how events had long been working towards the Government of India Act just passed. The Act is claimed to be "an outstanding landmark in what may be described as the new conception of Co-operative Imperialism which came into existence when the old colonies of the British Empire became the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Co-operative Imperialism is a fine phrase. It looks like a loose and somewhat self-contradictory phrase, particularly, in the sentence in which the Empire is turned into a Commonwealth. In an earlier passage, looking back over a hundred years of Indian history, he said "we seem to have been working steadily, if for much of the time unconsciously, towards a goal which has only recently become clearly defined on the horizon—the goal, that is to say, of a vast self-governing dominion within the framework of the British Empire consisting of a federation of a congeries of peoples now amounting to 350 millions or something like one-fifth of the population of the earth." In the closing passage, reference is made to India "taking a place in the organism which will be the crowning achievement of Co-operative Imperialism"—which organism includes, apparently, a Commonwealth and an Empire. The Secretary of State and his colleagues are masters of fine and suggestive language. We cannot always understand the full implications of their subtle words chosen to express nice shades of meaning.

At first sight it would seem some gain that a Conservative Secretary of State should speak of dominionhood as the goal of India, after his party had steadily ignored the demand that that should be explicitly stated in the Parliamentary Statute to be the goal. But scanning the statement closely, one finds that the Co-operative Imperialism envisaged will leave India within the Empire and outside the Common-

wealth. The co-operative character of the imperialism flows from the erstwhile Colonies of the Empire attaining equality of status as dominions of a Commonwealth. Imperialism is supplied by India, which will become not a member of the Commonwealth but only a self-governing dominion "within the framework of the British Empire".

It may be, I am willing to assume, that I am reading too much in the language of the lecture intended to expound the imagination, courage and faith of imperialistic politics. Assuming then that the Secretary of State envisages full dominionhood for India, we still have the fact that those who refuse to recognise the binding character of an authorised declaration by the Viceroy, a declaration of the Prime Minister and even a declaration by His Majesty the King, will not be deterred from questioning the validity of a casual statement in the course of a University lecture.

The peculiar conditions of India which bear so large a part of the responsibility for the most anomalous provisions in the Act will be made responsible for dominionhood not being attainable beyond a certain point.

SELF-DEVELOPING ACT

As I have already said we wanted an Act once for all passed by Parliament without the periodical inquests such as the Act of 1919 provided for. We wanted the Act to be complete, containing the seeds of future constitutional growth.

The provision for periodical inquests such as the 1919 Act had provided is dropped in the present Act, but every future change must come from the United Kingdom either in the shape of a Parliamentary Statute or in the shape of His Majesty's Order in Council. Nothing is to be done in India. Even if, on any matter, the legislature in India is unanimous, even then, no change is possible without a report to Parliament in England and a change initiated either by Parliamentary legislation or legislation by Order in Council. There are no provisions in the Act that can help the constitutional movement on to a further stage without the assistance of British legislative machinery. Rigorous scrutiny is being devised for Orders in Council to be issued under the Government of India Act.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

Federal Assembly—Indirect Election

Of the Federal Constitution, it is far too late to complain. Some of us were never enamoured of it. Many were only thinking of the British Indian Provinces and a Government of India Act for them. And even the Preamble to the Act of 1919 referred only to the centre and the provinces. Though the idea of a federation of all India inclusive of the Indian States was not unknown before, it emerged from the Simon Report as the goal of a remote future and central responsibility was stated to be unthinkable till that time. The declaration of the Princes in 1930 brought it into the arena of discussion as a present immediately realisable idea. Even those who entertained grave doubts about the desirability of the Federation were drawn in and the idea has not only acquired acceptance from influential political thinkers in India but has now been embodied in the provisions of the Act.

The election of the British Indian representatives to the Federal Assembly is to be indirect. Direct election to the Assembly has been in existence for about 15 years now. The electorate has shown an interest comparable with that of advanced political countries of the West. The Lothian Committee, after a full consideration, recommended direct election. The Government of India supported it after consideration of the pros. and cons. Even the Secretary of State while under examination at the Round Table Conference supported the direct election that had been recommended. But Parliament has finally taken a different course—it is difficult to understand why. What the Secretary of State says in his Cust Lecture is worth citing:

"Here again, as in the provinces, the conditions in India have been the cause of striking anomalies. Outstanding among these is the fact that, contrary to the almost universal practice, the Upper Chamber will be

directly elected, though by a rigidly restricted electorate, while the Lower Chamber will be indirectly elected by the members of the provincial legislatures, voting by communities in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. The reason for the adoption of this device is to be found in the vast size of the country. The members of the present Assembly in India are, it is true, returned by the direct vote of electors in territorial constituencies; but the present electorate is comparatively small in numbers, and a glance at the nature of the constituencies will suffice to show, that, with a large increase in the electorate, they would become impossible if, that is to say, the elected are to claim to be in any real sense representatives. No single rural constituency at present covers an area of less than 6,000 square miles. The seventy-three rural seats vary, in fact, from 6,000 to 62,000 square miles with populations running to six millions. Three Moslem members from the south of India sit for constituencies 10,000, 48,000 and 83,000 square miles in extent, or to put it rather differently, represent the people of vast territories half as large again as Wales, Scotland and England, respectively. When it is borne in mind that a minute fraction only of the people lives in towns; that of the half million villages scattered over the sub-continent a few only are approached by a metalled road, and further that a few only of their inmates are capable of taking advantage of the printed word, it will be realised that to speak of the responsibility of the member to his constituents is in such circumstances absurd. If, as John Bright once said, "it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents", then it is abundantly clear that the existing constituencies are altogether unsuited to the purpose for which they exist."

Communal constituencies are set up in all the Presidencies and then the vast areas covered by them are pointed out as necessitating resort to indirect election.

Is this indirect election to be for ever because of the size of India? If the election is to be made direct at any time, will the size of the country or the electoral areas then become less than they are at present?

Whom do these representatives in the Federal Assembly elected by so small an electorate represent? Is it the members of the provincial legislative assembly or the primary voters that they represent or do they represent nobody? I suppose it will be conceded that the true theory even in indirect elections is that they represent the primary voters. If deviation from the British model is required so as to suit the conditions of the country, then what is demanded by the Indian conditions is relaxation of Bright's dictum in its application to this country, not the abolition of direct election. And as the size of the constituency is not going to shrink, and the electorate will increase and not decrease hereafter, direct election should be allowed if it is ever to be allowed in the future. Otherwise the opinion of Parliament will have to be taken as being that indirect election must go on for ever as the only system applicable to this country.

The objection to direct election is applicable in a measure to provincial election also. If direct election is allowed in provinces there is no reason to disallow it in the case of the Federal Assembly. Sir Samuel Hoare considered direct election quite manageable.

Representatives elected by the limited electorate proposed will not have that authority nor that confidence which representatives elected directly as at present will have. The argument from the conditions of this country is used only when it suits, and so as to suit, the Britisher's pre-conceived conclusions.

Another justification is even more curious :

"There is an incidental advantage in making the provincial legislatures the constituencies for the Federal House of Assembly. The centrifugal

forces in India are very great and with Moslem provinces in some parts of India and Hindu provinces in others there will be an undoubted strain upon the unity of India which has been one of the outstanding achievements of British rule. The system of election to the Federal House of Assembly will provide an organic link between the provinces and the Centre and should act as a counterpoise to the centrifugal forces of which I have spoken."

Frankly, this is difficult to understand. If there was direct election, the organic link between the provinces and the centre will, it seems, be lacking. If the members of the provincial legislature elected 250 members to the House of Assembly, the organic link is conceived as established and the centrifugal forces are kept under control. It is difficult to appreciate this miraculous power of indirect election.

STATES REPRESENTATIVES

There is something anomalous in the conception of a Federation in which the citizens of a Federal Unit have no right of citizenship. To the Federation the Indian State means only the Indian Prince. Consistently with this conception, the 125 States representatives of the Federal Assembly and the 104 representatives in the Federal Council are left to be nominated by the Princes themselves. There is strong feeling among States' people that these representatives should be elected by themselves. It seems not only just in itself but it will also be found on a farsighted view of the matter desirable in the interests even of the Princes. At present we cannot do more than commend it to the consideration of the Princes.

In purely British Indian matters the States' representatives should have no power to vote. As no such rule is embodied in the Act, it must be established as a convention, as in British Parliament as to matters exclusively Scotch. Such a rule is eminently just and necessary where, as here, the Federation cannot legislate for the Indian States, and the British Indian representatives never interfere in any exclusively States' concern.

RESERVATION

Defence, Ecclesiastical affairs and Foreign affairs are the reserved departments as also the Tribal Areas. Not more than three Counsellors are to be appointed to assist the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions in regard to these departments. The appointment of these Counsellors will operate as a set-back on the present position. The present position is that the members of Council in the Government of India as part of the Government have direct contact with these departments and means of influence. It will be difficult for them, after the fixing of this separate responsibility and the appointment of special Counsellors for its discharge, to exert the same influence as before. It is for this reason that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru suggested the appointment of the Army member from among those elected and the British Indian Delegation suggested the appointment of a non-official Indian.

The attainment of full Responsible Government and Dominion Status, as far as it is held attainable, depends on India being ready to undertake her own defence.

Indianisation, complete or nearly so, can alone enable India to say that she is ready to take it up. The Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference presided over by Mr. J. H. Thomas resolved that with the development of the new political structure in India the defence of India must be to an increasing extent the concern of the Indian people and not of the British alone.

Will this Indianisation be undertaken? Is it impossible to prescribe a certain pace for this process? No plan has so far been promised for carrying it out. In the Cust Lecture, the Secretary of State says in language now familiar to us by constant repetition: "For a period which the boldest prophet would shrink from naming, the defence of the country and the conduct of its foreign affairs will be administered by Viceroy and will be beyond the control of the legislature. They will continue, that is to say, to be a responsibility of the Imperial Parliament".

SAFEGUARDS

The safeguards are numerous. They are intended to provide for special interests and grave situations. No one objects to a provision for breakdown of the constitution. Such provisions should be confined to the minimum requirements, but in the Act they are so comprehensive that no further addition to their number can be conceived or suggested. The Governor-General makes his own Acts and his own Ordinances. The Governor makes his own Acts and Ordinances. Each has special responsibilities—nearly the same in both cases.

In these matters the Governor-General and the Governors exercise their discretion or individual judgment and all such matters are subject to the control of the Secretary of State, and he can fix by rule what classes of cases should go to him beforehand. Many of these matters may be made the subject of dictation from Whitehall.

FISCAL AND COMMERCIAL SAFEGUARDS

No safeguard is so sinister-looking as these. And no part of the Act is conceived in such contemptuous disdain of Indian interests and Indian self-respect, or is calculated permanently to injure India's economic life and welfare, as the chapter on "Provisions with Respect to Discrimination, etc." It is provoking and utterly unprovoked in the detailed and exhaustive provisions it contains. It is a breach of the spirit of the agreement at the First Round Table Conference. With your permission I shall spend some little time on these topics.

The fiscal freedom of India was conceded by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919. The words of the Committee were these: "Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa". The fiscal freedom thus defined is the basis of the Fiscal Convention which has since regulated Indian Tariff policy. "The Government of India are to have the right to consider the rights of India first, just as Great Britain and the other parts of the Empire have always chosen, without complaint from each other, the tariff arrangements which each thought best fitted for its needs thinking of its own citizens first." India has under this fiscal convention adopted a policy of discriminating protection. On the basis of rigorous tests imposed by the Fiscal Commission and rigorously applied by the Tariff Board, a comparatively small number of industries have received protection. The scrupulously fair manner in which the 'discriminate' protection has been given is unquestionable. The application of the policy in India can challenge comparison with any country in the world not excluding Great Britain. The measure of protection has, in the opinion of competent people, fallen short of the needs of the situation in a number of cases. Divergence of interests between provinces, and between agriculturists and consumers on the one side and industrialists on the other, has tended to keep the measure of protection below the point of need. In two vital industries, cotton and steel, the legislature has favoured Britain by imposing duties lower than those applying to foreign goods. And yet the fiscal freedom of India is now curtailed by a provision fixing responsibility on the Governor-General to ensure the prevention of measures, legislative and administrative, which would subject British goods to discriminatory or special treatment. And discriminatory treatment is made to include indirect discriminations by means of differential treatment of various types of products. And the Governor-General may prevent the imposition of prohibitory tariffs or restrictions if he was satisfied that they were of a discriminatory or penal character. After these provisions it is nothing but irony to speak of the reciprocity of "deliberate effort of the partners to expand the whole range of their trade with one another to the fullest possible extent compatible with the interests of their own peoples". To speak of reciprocity in the above sense, after a statutory deprivation of fiscal freedom is a deceptive use of language. Reciprocity of fiscal arrangement in the matter of administrative discrimination is meaningless when it is remembered that, in no conceivable circumstances, can there be any one in England to protect Indian interests just as there is the Governor-General of India to protect British interests here. The very existence of these provisions is felt to be an

insult to India and must be a permanent source of irritation. Britain has been given preference in regard to two important articles and the Britishers enjoy administrative preference by reason of their dominant position in India.

How these provisions will actually work remains to be seen. They are capable of doing great harm. The matter was incapable of being legislated upon in the opinion of competent lawyers. Parliament has ventured, nevertheless, to embody these provisions in the Act. From the nature of the case they cannot but be vague and indefinite. Individual opinions and idiosyncracies must play a part and the consequences may conceivably be disastrous to Indian interests.

Nor are these apprehensions of injury imaginary. The supplementary Indo-British agreement of 1934 concluded at the instance of the British commercial community and in consultation with them during the whole of the negotiations with India is a case in point. It was sprung on the commercial community in India without notice. It starts with the assumption that Indian industry requires higher protection against foreign goods than against imports from the United Kingdom. The interests of vast millions of poverty-stricken consumers, often urged against protection to Indian industries, are forgotten when it suits British commercial interests. The imposition of heavy duties on cheap foreign goods affects the consumer and is undesirable in his interests. It is for this reason that the Tariff Board has to balance conflicting interests and has therefore to consider the extent of possible injury to him in all its proposals of protection. There is, in the agreement, a further provision that the Government of India undertake that the measure of protection to be afforded shall be only so much as and no more than will equate the prices of imported goods to the level of fair selling prices of Indian goods and wherever possible lower duties will be imposed on the goods of the United Kingdom. It will always be open to controversy as to whether the differences in costs between Indian and foreign goods have been correctly estimated. The Government of India have in the past in a certain number of cases declined to be guided by the recommendations of the Tariff Board and have either refused protection or varied the measure of protection recommended. If the Federal Government of the future varied the recommendation of the Board, or even if they acted on it, in the interests of India the safeguard may be invoked by British interests and it may be contended that the imposition was discriminatory in effect and in intention, though it was not and could not be discriminatory in form.

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION.

The anxiety of the British trading and commercial community to protect their legitimate interests is intelligible and no responsible Indian member of the Round Table Conference was unwilling to concede fair treatment for British commerce in India. The Nehru Committee stated that "it was inconceivable that there can be any discriminatory legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India." The proposals embodied in the Act have gone far beyond the protection of this legitimate interest and are conceived in suspicion and distrust of India. The provisions are calculated to prevent India's economic development and the fostering of her national industries. Swaraj has no meaning except in so far as it enables the country to rise above its present poverty and miserably low level of life, and a constitution which denies this power of amelioration cannot be acceptable to India.

For the first time it is laid down in this Act that the Britisher in the United Kingdom is practically to have all the rights of an Indian. The idea of citizenship involved in it and the partnership spoken of at other times between Great Britain and India are adverse to the interests of India at every turn. The general formula was agreed to at the Round Table Conference that equal rights and opportunities should be afforded to those lawfully engaged in commerce and industry within the federation, but the Indian delegates rightly desired that it should be subject to certain exceptions based on the need for protecting key or national industries, and that in respect of industry and commerce between England and India, an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for regulating mutual rights.

India cannot give up the right to impose restrictions if required in the interests of her people. One can understand existing businesses claiming that no discrimination should be made against them, but new businesses cannot justly claim any such right. But acting wholly in British interests, the Act has left no scope for the legitimate aspirations of India and no security, no safeguard, and no opportunity for its industrial development.

The Act provides against discriminatory taxation as if that had been contemplated by Indians at any time. On the other hand, the discrimination has all been the other way. The British subjects enjoy immunity from incometax on the Indian sterling loans, on pensions, etc. It is again provided that companies incorporated in the United Kingdom are by that very fact to be deemed to comply with Federal laws imposing restrictions on place of incorporation or currency or domicile, birth or race of members of the Governing Body of the Companies. That means that even in key industries it will not be open to India to say that they should be exclusively or even predominantly owned and managed by Indians. Nationalisation of the industries as a mode of getting over the difficulty may be open, but where the Government are content to leave them to Indian Companies, the course will not be open under the Act. The imposition of conditions even in regard to future companies is prohibited. Thereby, a very useful instrument of Indianisation of industrial companies in terms of incorporation is taken away.

Restrictions imposed on the grant of bounties, subsidies and other forms of aid are also objectionable. The imposition of conditions of eligibility is permitted as regards new entrants only and not as regards those already established in India. This is a deduction from existing power to attach these conditions when granting bounties to an existing company. It was actually done in the case of Tata Iron & Steel Co., and in the case of the paper industry.

For the purpose of the provision it is laid down that "a company incorporated by or under the laws of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to carry on business in India if it owns ships which habitually trade to and from ports in India". That is to say, Indian shipping industry cannot receive a bounty or subsidy without its being given to those companies of the United Kingdom also. Even recently one finds that the British Shipping Companies are clamouring for help against outside competition. They may receive bounty from Britain and may claim it from India. But India is not to have the right to grant bounty or subsidy to her own indigenous shipping industry unless she pays an equal amount to British industry otherwise amply provided.

The Act has further taken away the right to impose any conditions that the Government may see fit to impose. It has limited the terms and conditions beyond which the Federal Legislature cannot go. They are the terms and conditions defined by the External Capital Committee and accepted by the legislature. The result of the incorporation of those provisions in the Act itself and of the substitution for the word Indians the words 'British subjects domiciled in India,' will enable a company wholly British to be formed with one half of the governing body being British subjects of Indian domicile. Even the concession which the External Capital Committee Report gave to India has now been taken away. Without saying that bounties should be refused to British companies under all circumstances, cases may and must occur where the encouragement of industries owned by her own nationals may be called for and India must have the power to give that assistance to an indigenous industry from funds raised within the country.

Discrimination of any kind is prohibited in regard to shipping. That is to say the reservation, for example, of coastal shipping to Indian enterprise is prohibited.

All these provisions are sought to be made acceptable to us by a promise of reciprocity. That provision is nothing but a mockery. There is no possibility of an Indian company, shipping or other, claiming reciprocal rights in the United Kingdom and the promise of reciprocity is a sham. It may here be added that Great Britain has reserved her right to initiate discrimination and then India may also discriminate, but that discrimination may continue only so long as Great Britain discriminates. Her interest and her convenience must rule.

The original idea of an agreed convention, replaced by these drastic provisions in British interest, is retained in Section 118 in a very interesting form. If a convention is arrived at, an Order in Council may suspend these provisions, and when the convention expires, India will again be in the grip of these statutory provisions. That is to say, if better terms are offered by the convention, the convention will then be allowed operation; the provisions of the Act as the minimum of concession to British interests will always remain.

There is no guarantee of protection against administrative discrimination in England and there can therefore be no just claim against administrative discrimination in India. So far from there being any administrative discrimination against the Britisher, the discrimination has been the other way against Indians and Indian Companies. Employment of Britishers has, in the past, been the means adopted by Indian Companies for securing some consideration from Government and from Railways.

The whole of this chapter may be said to proceed on the footing that the British subject in the United Kingdom being an Indian, there is no need for an Indian to aspire to establish any Indian industry. What India wants, Britain is ready to supply. No Indian company is therefore needed. If Indian companies are throttled by British companies, as was done years ago when shipping was started to ply from Tuticorin to Ceylon, it need not be a matter of concern to Indians; it is just like competition between two rival companies of the same country.

The provocation for the whole of this chapter is the threat of some Indians to repudiate Public Debt and boycott British goods. That set the Britisher thinking of safeguards and it struck the imagination of the ingenious Britisher to study at what conceivable points British interests may be attacked and he provided against it all and he conceived British interests in the widest possible manner. Converting the Britisher into an Indian offered the best way of solving all the connected problems.

SERVICES

The recruitment for services is not to devolve on the Federal or Provincial Governments. The higher administrative services, namely, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service, and the Indian Medical Service are to be recruited by the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State is to reserve posts. He is to appoint special Irrigation Officers, if, in his opinion, they are required in the provinces. The pay, conditions of service and everything connected with these appointments will be fixed by the Secretary of State. There is no indication that at any future time now known or knowable these services will be recruited by the Governor for the provinces or the Governor-General for the Federation. The provision for re-examination of this question at the end of five years, originally contemplated, has been dropped in the Act. The denial of the right of recruitment to the Federation and to the provinces is a serious subtraction not only from the theoretic right of a Federal Government and Federal units but also from the full responsible character of the administration under the system.

NET RESULT

The total result is without doubt one of grave dissatisfaction in our minds. We feel that power is not relinquished. The old instruments of control are there still. Power still remains drawn up into the hands of the Secretary of State, through the Governor-General and the Governor acting at their discretion and in the exercise of their individual judgment subject to his control and direction and through services protected with special care and empowered to do what may thwart the action of the ministers. Not content with these instruments of power, vested interests are entrenched in the centre and in the Second Chambers of the provinces as a first line of defence against democratic advance.

Good friends in England desire us to accept the Act and settle down to constructive work within the limits set by the Act "in a spirit of political realism". Immediately after our last session's condemnation of the Joint Parliamentary

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Committee's Report as unacceptable, a friend wrote that "nobody in Britain will echo the criticism that mountains have been in labour and brought forth a ridiculous mouse." On the other hand, he continued, "most people here, even those most sympathetic to Indian aspirations and most responsive to Indian sentiments and susceptibilities, are of the opinion that the scheme of Constitutional reform goes a considerable way in the direction of dominionhood". No one says that in the provinces, for example, advance is not made by bringing more subjects under the control of ministers than there were under the Act of 1919. But the whole of what we are now to have in the provinces we could have had under the Act of 1919 by rules without spending eight years over the forging of a new Constitution Act. We could have had it in 1924 if the Congress had then agreed to take it. We could have had it perhaps even in 1931. I am not sure that a certain section in the country do not regret that the Round Table Conference was not scrapped in 1931 and the reform confined to provincial autonomy. The only gains under the New Constitution Act are the Governor's Acts and the Governors' Ordinances and the numerous safeguards and the statutory exclusion in the Police department, over which Indians have exercised control without complaint.

As for the centre, none is really very enthusiastic. People have become reconciled to it as to something inevitable. If central responsibility is to be reached only by the establishment of a Federation, with its imperfect and imperfectible unification, so far as the letter of the Act goes, we must face it. We say to ourselves, "get through it as soon as you can; the sooner the better", though there are not wanting men who would much rather postpone what according to them is, in many respects, a unique, unequal and undesirable half-union.

The same English friend assures us of a fundamental feature of British psychology which is that "hardly anywhere is there to be found, save in the case of individuals anything except a sentiment of real friendship and amiability towards India." We are also assured that "the feeling of genuine goodwill is general and widespread." It is further added that "the Britisher has been taught that his country has been a trustee of Indian interest during the many decades of Indo-British connection" and he does not wish to take "undue risks in renouncing a responsibility that weighs upon his conscience". "When the widespread and genuinely held belief in Indian nationalist circles is expressed with more or less vehemence that Britain has a vested interest in the exploitation of India for her own benefit and advantage, it is with no assumed warmth that British people resent the imputation which in their moments of generosity they attribute to the natural inability of people of alien race and tradition to render justice to the wellmeant benevolence of their rulers."

I am not given to attributing motives. I wish to put the best construction on the acts of others. I have set out the result of the chapter on Discrimination as I see it. Even the Marquess of Lothian says that the provisions against commercial discrimination are most of them unwise from the British point of view. With every desire to see high motives in every part of the Act, I find it difficult, on my understanding of what is aimed in that chapter either to see any notion of trusteeship or any sense of what trusteeship involves or any well-meant but misunderstood benevolence of British rulers or any sense of responsibility weighing on the Britishers' conscience. With the attitude of one who will not agree to the reservation of coastal shipping for Indian nationals and must destroy it whenever any attempts are made by Indians to establish it, how can we associate all that is claimed for him? We are assured on all sides that the provisions of that chapter will not be worked in the manner that the words may suggest. If that proves to be correct, then the British commercial men must indeed be deeply disappointed.

THE FUTURE

What then must we do? I wish to remind fellow delegates of our resolution of last year. We then expressed our profound regret that instead of removing the glaring defects and shortcomings of the White Paper proposals and in utter disregard of Indian opinion of all shades including that of the British Indian Delegation, the

Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report introduced further reactionary features rendering illusory responsibility in the provinces and in the centre. We stated further that the Report was wholly unacceptable to Indian opinion of all shades and passed a resolution that "this Federation does not want any legislation based on the Joint Select Committee's Report". The legislation has now overtaken us. The Act is now unacceptable to all shades of Indian opinion, as the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report was last year. What is our reaction to this legislation? What is the reaction of the country to this legislation?

There is diversity of opinion in the ranks of every party. Some hold that the Act being unacceptable, we should not go into the legislatures; we must keep aloof. Others hold that we must enter the Councils. Of those who are for entering the Councils, some hold that we must enter the Councils, but must not accept office; others, that there is no purpose in going into the Councils unless we are prepared to accept office. There are those who hold that we must wreck the Act, that is, make its working impossible. We must reverse the old saying that we should co-operate wherever possible and oppose where necessary. We must now say to ourselves that we should co-operate where necessary, but should oppose wherever possible.

In any decision as between these alternatives it must not be forgotten that a certain section of our countrymen can be got to work the Act.

To say that you will not work the Act because it is unacceptable to us leads you nowhere. As a friend has well said, "if you will not work the Act, it will work you". If you do not work the Act, the act does not thereby become unworkable. If you were so united that, by refusing to work the Act, it should become unworkable, this Act would not have been passed at all; you would then have secured every provision that you wanted. We are disorganised and disunited. That is why the Act is thrust on us with the assurance that if we did not work the Act, others may still be found in the country to work it. These do not mind what others think or what the majority think. It is for you to consider whether you should permit them to go in and work the Act or whether you who claim to be progressive and nationalist should go in and work the Act.

Keeping out unprogressive elements from the Councils, is it not in itself desirable, nay, is it not necessary? Now then, can there be any doubt that the progressive parties in the country cannot afford to allow the non-progressive or anti-nationalistic elements to go into the Councils and work the Act? Is there any flaw in this argument? I see none. It is then absolutely necessary that the entry into the Councils should be accepted, at least to keep out the undesirables.

If then you must go into the Councils, you must go into the Councils in large numbers. In fact, you must be there in a majority or at least in sufficient numbers to have a controlling influence. Then you may be invited to form the ministry. Do you accept office or do you reject it and sit in opposition to the Government? If you preferred to sit in opposition, some one else will undertake to form the ministry. Do you oppose? Do you oppose all measures or only such as are detrimental to national interests? That is to say, are you out to wreck the Act, by opposing all measures of Government, even if they should be beneficial? Indiscriminate opposition will be found not to be a paying game — unless the whole country understood your game fully and was in full sympathy with it, unless you had the country backing you in any such programme. If you went into the Councils on wrecking as an election programme and in all the provinces you succeeded, I can understand a programme of that kind.

I do not expect any such programme to succeed. The unity that you require for any such programme has yet to be created. When that unity is created, it may be that wrecking is not necessary for securing changes in the Constitution. Such a unity may be the result of work done in the country. It may be the result of work done in the country. It may be the result of working within the Council also. The work within the Council will quicken the work in the country. In power, you will be able to do a great deal more than in opposition. One gets more support in power than in opposition from the official hierarchy right up to the top. Contact and asso-

ciation tell more than the merit of any question. For your beneficent measures you may be sure of support from the Governor. I am speaking with some knowledge of how contact and association secure support even where the support is invoked for ill-conceived and wrong-headed measures.

Wrecking as a programme is of questionable wisdom, and refusal to accept office and responsibility in any circumstances is refusal to make those contacts and associations that make smooth the path of work and achievement.

I have not forgotten the point of principle that must now and then emerge in a certain number of cases, small in comparison with the questions that come up from day to day. My exhortation not to adopt wrecking as a policy does not mean that you should relax on a matter of principle. In many cases, it will be found that the point is quietly gained. In a very few cases, the matter may have to be fought out. The minister will then have to be firm. The citadel may yield or it may be defended. It is at that point that the mettle of your minister may be tested.

It is then my strong view that entry into Council and acceptance of office should not be avoided, that a programme of wrecking is unwise and that a strong and courageous handling of occasional questions which might involve a conflict of varying strength and degree is all that will be needed. More probably, long before this point is reached, your strength would have been duly tested and measured and if you have stood your ground in the test, the conflict might not arise at all in most cases. So far, the remarks bear directly on the Provinces. If we now turn to the Federal Assembly and Council, a difference of position is immediately noticeable. There is little chance of a majority in the Centre. Here the wreckers may desire to force constitutional reform but are not in sufficient numbers to force it. They may be in a majority in the Provinces where wrecking is neither necessary nor desirable.

This patient and strenuous work in Council is not all that will have to be done by a party. It is the lesser part of the work. The party will have to work in the country even more than in the Councils. The country has to be politically educated and made to know the work that has to be done and the workers that should be trusted. Without organising a strong and well-disciplined nationalistic party in the country, it will be impossible for long to carry on nationalistic work within the Council.

I sense the unspoken question in the minds of my fellow delegates, and in the minds of others present here not of the Liberal complexion in politics, where are the Liberals to whom these observations are addressed, who will go into the Councils in large numbers and will then be faced with the problem of accepting or rejecting office, etc., referred to above? My remarks are addressed not to Liberals only but to all nationalists in the country. Your resolution of last year twice refers to "the entire body of Indian opinion of all shades" in reference to the attitude of the country to the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. I have followed it up this year by speaking to all progressive Indian parties of whatever shade of political opinion. My fellow delegates and I know that we are a handful in a vast country—we who have courage and are not ashamed to own ourselves to be Liberals. There are far more Liberals in the country than own themselves to be such. I know the difficulties in the way of propaganda and recruitment to Liberal ranks in my part of the country. I am for converts to our ranks, if we can get them. If we do not get many, no matter. We shall be content with the Liberal principles permeating the lives of people. To my mind, those who have decided, if only for the moment, to give up non-co-operation, and work along lines favoured of the ancient Congressmen and their modern representatives, the Liberals, are also Liberals in spirit and conviction even if not in name. I do not say they are Liberals either to taunt them or to vex them, but only to satisfy my own mind that our mode of doing political work is at least one of the authentic and approved modes of doing work and I need not desert it for any other unless occasion should call for it in no uncertain or in irresistible voice. I personally feel no hesitation in saying that all progressive parties should welcome opportunities of doing national work in and out of Councils in collaboration with one another without in any way breaking with their other

loyalties. If, for example, there is what may be called a Parliamentary or Council-entry party, I see nothing improper or incongruous in the members of different parties joining such a group and working in collaboration. Such a party will work not only within the Councils but also outside the Councils and in the country. In time, these co-workers may establish intimate political association and evolve similar modes of political thought. Nor is divergence of view within the members of a party inconceivable. Since you elected me to this chair, I have had, from Liberal friends, exhortation to give a lead in opposite senses. I do not wish it to be understood that in the remarks I have permitted myself to make I am trying to lead you along lines that the majority among you may not approve. There is an authentic definition of a leader from my part of the country that he is the follower of his followers. It is not quite so paradoxical or quite so untrue as at first sight it looks. Educating public opinion and being educated by it go on side by side. I have permitted myself to express an opinion of my own. It is for you finally to take it into your consideration and come to a deliberate decision.

I should normally stop here but I cannot refrain from referring to the question of a party programme.

If progressive parties decided to undertake the responsibility of government, a programme is essential. Whatever may be the decision, it is time that the question of programme is taken up. The Liberal Party should take it up. They are eminently fitted to do it.

A committee may be appointed with power to co-opt outside experts to prepare a programme. While it is essential that programme-makers should know what have been done in other countries, they cannot simply transcribe them wholesale into their programme without adapting them to the needs and conditions of this country. There is some informed and much uninformed planning in the country in imitation of the Five Year Plans and Ten Year Plans of other countries, so much so that the word, planning, and the idea behind it are in danger of becoming discredited. But a party programme is necessary without delay.

If the masses of the population, now steeped in poverty, are to have a reasonable standard of living, the country must bend its energies in devising a practicable programme and carrying it out. The relief to agriculturists whose poverty and distress are on the increase in these depressing times, the condition of landless labourers in agriculture and urban workers in unorganised industries and the problem of the educated unemployed call for immediate attention. The pressure on agriculture necessitates industrialisation chiefly by the introduction of cottage and village industries as a new or an additional occupation for the rural population. Nationalisation in certain directions is no longer a matter for discussion. In transport, in Posts and Telegraphs, in public utilities such as electricity, broadcasting, etc., nationalisation has become an established fact. Liberalism, unlike Socialism, reserves freedom of judgment in each case on the merits without making a fetish of nationalisation as applicable in all circumstances and to all departments of economic life. Fair conditions of life and fair distribution of the profits of industry as between capital and labour must be secured if need be by careful legislation.

Taxation as an instrument for securing social justice and redressing inequalities in the distribution of wealth is well-known. I can see no end or goal which cannot be more easily and promptly achieved by social legislation than by the doubtful and difficult paths of Socialism. I do more than set down certain ideas as they occur to me. All this, however, must be a matter for the careful and well-considered opinion of a Committee of experts.

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The session then was adjourned till 12 noon on Monday the 30th December, 1935.

Nagpur, Monday, the 30th December 1935.

The National Liberal Federation, 1935, met at Nagpur at 12 noon on Monday, the 30th December 1935, with Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., President, in the Chair.

The proceedings began with a welcome song by the pupils of the Seva Sadan.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma read two messages which had been received since the last open session.

RESOLUTIONS

President:—Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the first resolution on the printed paper will be put from the Chair.

Resolution I — Losses of the year.

“The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of deep sorrow at the death, during the year, of Diwan 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.”

Delegates will pass this resolution standing.

The resolution was passed, all the delegates standing.

Resolution II — Indian States Subjects

Prof. M. D. Altekar (Bombay): Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that I have been asked to move reads thus:

“The National Liberal Federation re-affirms 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.”

Mr. President, we all recognise that the question of the Indian States has become a very delicate question in our politics today. The Indian States are ruled by our own people. The rulers are Indians and some of the families that are rulers are historical families for whom all of us feel great veneration and pride. I suppose that about 50 years ago any injury done to any of these families or these States was looked upon by the people of India as a distinct humiliation of Indians. You all probably remember the way in which Lord Dalhousie's policy was looked upon by the people of this country, and in the only magazine article that he wrote the late Mr. Tilak once stated why Lord Dalhousie adopted that policy 75 years ago and why today we find the policy almost reversed. Mr. Tilak stated in the course of that article—it was written in 1906—that in the year 1857 the leaders of the people of India were Indian Princes. In the year 1905 or 1910 or 1935 the leaders are different people. And consequently those who today seek privileges and powers from Government for the people of this country are not the Princes in India but are the leaders of the people

in this country. This change in the situation is responsible for the kind of resolution that I have to put before you. We all know that in the course of the discussion of political matters during the last 5 or 6 years or even 10 years, the Indian rulers have taken a prominent part, and we have all seen how power after power that would have come naturally to what is called the Government of India has been transferred from the Government of India to the Crown in reference to the Indian States. We have been made to feel that in the new order of things that is likely to come,—it is come I am told, or it will shortly come,—in that new order of things the Indian Princes will be, if I may use that phrase, responsible, not to the people of India, but to the Crown. They have been made independent practically of the people of India. I am not going to enter into that part of the case. I only say that this Federation through this resolution desires to express its complete sympathy with the aspirations of the subjects of the Indian States. Now I suppose all the subjects of the Indian States are human beings as we are. In fact, you are aware that hundreds and thousands of them are in British India and several British Indian subjects are in the Indian States. There is no difference between these two classes. They are all Indians, but it is a matter of fact that as subjects of Indian States, some of them,—I will simply say some of them—do suffer certain disabilities, and, when we in British India are trying to get responsible Government for ourselves, when we are trying to develop our rights of citizenship, when we are trying to secure more freedom of expression, more and more freedom of association, more voice in our Government, we find that here there are spots in the country, some big and some small, but all united on this one point that there will be what is called autocratic Government in those parts. It may be benevolent autocracy.

In our old Puranas we have read of Kings who were excellent men. In a great Mahakavya I have read of a king who was such an efficient officer that he did not wait to punish a person until he committed a crime. In the Raghuvamsa of Kalidas it is said about a king that the moment a man thought of an evil thing the King would immediately and automatically appear before him and punish him then and there before the offence was committed. It is a nice thing to have such Kings, and I have not the least doubt about that, if there were such human beings who could rule us, perhaps we might decide to have a different resolution altogether on the subject. But unfortunately such kings are found in poetry and not much even in poetry. We read more of Dushyantas, who when they went to forests ran away with Rishis' daughters rather than this kind of king whom Kalidas has described in another place.

Very well. At present the subjects in Indian States, as I say, do suffer from certain disabilities, and the real disability is that which has been noted down in this resolution, and I very much regret that an all-India Federation of this kind should have to note down that thing in the resolution moved from this platform, namely that we are asking for liberty, liberty of person in these Indian States, security of person and property. That this should have been asked for in the year 1935 is really surprising, but we have to ask for it.

Gentlemen, I am not going into details, but here are various gentlemen who are much better acquainted with the internal conditions of the several Indian States than I happen to, and they will tell you that in many places security is conspicuous by its absence. You are probably all right if you are already settled in these States, pursuing perhaps a profession of earning wealth, but if you suffer from any opinions, if you happen to have any ideals, if you want to enter into the question of human rights, then you are done for. That is the condition which ought to change, and in a further paragraph of this resolution this Federation urges the Ruling Princes to concede without delay to their subjects the right of person and property, freedom of persons, of association and so on and so forth. After all in the India which is to come and in the India that ought to come, it would be necessary that all persons alike must be dominated by national sentiment. Not only the people of this country but the Princes of this country have got to become nationalist if this country is ever to attain nationhood. The British people who manage affairs in this country say about the Indians that because they have some power, therefore they can do anything they like. As a matter of fact you know very well they cannot do anything they

like with reference to certain powers and certain people, but perhaps as compensation for that, they can do anything they like with regard to other subjects, I believe. I do not wish to enter into the legal aspect of the matter. I am not a lawyer. I know nothing about it. But during the last 10 or 15 years some of the foremost intellects in this country have been engaged in propounding the rights which the States have secured by their treaties. Let us be plain about it. These states were conquered. It is on the strength and the kindness of the British Government that their status depends. That is a fact. I do not know what will be the legal interpretation. The matter can be argued in a court of law or in an arbitration court. I do not want to enter into the legal aspect of the matter. Let us be frank about it and realise that the powers of the Native States are there, because they are supported by the British Government, otherwise they do not exist. They are entirely at the mercy of the Political Department of the Government of India. In these circumstances, let the princes realise that their good lies in ruling their own people well rather than in being at the mercy perpetually of a distant authority, and if they realise that, there will be a great deal of improvement in our present political situation. It is very necessary that this unfortunate aspect of this question of Indian States should disappear as soon as possible. As most of you remember, in earlier days when we started discussing the present reforms the attitude that the Princes had exhibited was a very good attitude but it has undergone considerable changes in the meantime. I wish they go back to the days when certain declarations were made in London with regard to the future of this country. If they go back to that mentality, all will be well. In the meantime we might utter a warning, while I speak on this resolution. It may be that in Europe and elsewhere autocracy is gaining an upper hand, but these autocracies are autocracies of people and not of persons, and there is no empire in this world where Hitlers and Mussolinis may not come, for, the old type of autocrats are gone for ever, unless an Alexander the Great comes on the scene. But if we go with the people, if we reconcile our own desires with the claims of the people, then alone can we go on in a happy manner. The Indian States can do a good lot for this country if they take seriously the national problem. There was a time when one of the distinguished leaders of the Congress, the late Mr. Gokhale, could point out to the Imperial Legislative Council what Baroda had done in the matter of primary education and urged upon the Government of India to imitate its example. At present we are in the unfortunate position of asking the Indian States to imitate the progress, however slow it may be, that is made in British India. Therefore I hope you will pass this resolution not only with a platonic interest. I know that there are heaps and heaps of Indian subjects who feel very seriously in this matter and the complaint is that the people of British India do not give as much attention as they ought to, to this problem. There being too many political associations and too many parties, they almost ignore this question. They take a legal stand in the matter. They say the States are managed by its rules and we know nothing more about it. It is no use talking like that when the future of India and the Indian States are economically and politically interdependent, one upon the other. Under these circumstances a platonic legal stand may be perhaps proper for the lawyers engaged by the Indian States but not for us. Whenever these lawyers talk of this problem from the political platform of this country, we ought to be careful to see whether they speak as lawyers or political leaders.

With these words I beg to put this resolution before you and I hope it will be passed by you unanimously.

Mr. A. V. Patwardhan (Poona) in seconding the resolution in a Marathi speech said:—

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As Professor Altakar has read to you the resolution I need not do it again. I am glad to see that the All India National Liberal Federation has done well, at last, to include a resolution dealing with the problems of Indian States people, who are more than 8 crores out of the Indian population of 35 crores in its programme. Institutions who call themselves "National" have neglected this important question. The reason has been that most of the leaders who control the affairs of these associations have a soft corner for these autocratic princes and not for the down-trodden.

people in the Indian states. The passing of the Government of India Act of 1935 has created a peculiar position. The Central Government is to be a Federal one. In the Federal Assembly 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the members are to be the nominees of about 560 princes and 40 per cent of the members of the Council of State are to go there as nominated representatives of the States. You must have read in the newspapers that gradually European gentlemen of the choice of the British Government are being put in the States either as Diwans and Financial Advisers or heads of Departments. It is feared that they or their proteges will be sent to the Central Legislature and they will be there performing the work of the official block. I am of opinion that they will be worse. They will there follow the behests of the Political Department of the Government of India. Hereafter the Political Departments will be under the control of the Viceroy alone and the Governor General assisted by the Executive Councillors or Ministers. Therefore institutions like the Congress or Federation in British India will have to pay attention to the Indian States' administration from their own self-interest point of view.

I am glad to see that the resolution is so framed as it gives in its three sentences the three important problems which require to be looked into. In the first sentence of the resolution the state of Administration in the States and the plight of the subjects is properly pictured. In the second sentence we find the important point in the new constitution properly brought out which requires immediate mending. In the third sentence the Princes are shown the direction in which they should go if they want to be called the real sons of the soil. As in this resolution all the important points requiring attention of all thinking individuals are made out properly, I hope this assembly will pass this resolution unanimously.

Prof. R. H. Kelkar of Poona in supporting the resolution spoke as follows:—

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Prof. Altekar and Mr. Patwardhan have given you almost all the possible information that could be given in the short time at their disposal. I have very little to add by way of any further information to what has been already laid before you. I only want to bring to your notice the changed circumstances under which we meet to-day. During the post-war years, things have changed a great deal and we are thinking now in more radical terms than we thought of in the years before the War. We are thinking of remodelling the society not only in the economic sphere but also in the political sphere with the result that we cannot ignore the problem of these Indian States and their Rulers. It is not a mere coincidence that all the 3 speakers on this Resolution have come from the Bombay Presidency. The problem of the Indian States is the major problem in that Presidency for you may remember, most of you at least know, that more than half the number of the States in the whole of India are to be found within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. The problem is therefore felt more acutely by us than perhaps by the Delegates coming from other provinces. That is why all the three of us have come from the Bombay Presidency to support the resolution. The period of transition is clearly indicated by the way in which the Federation has been brought about. Several years back it should have been difficult for anyone of us, any subject of an Indian State, to place such a proposition before such a political gathering. We found it very difficult to place it before the Liberal Federation. But now we have succeeded not only in placing the resolution before the Federation but getting support to a certain extent and we feel that we ought to utter a further warning to the Princes. Things are rapidly moving and unless the Princes also move with the times, it will make their position, and our position too, very difficult for all of us. I have only to appeal to the Princes to go back to the generous response that they made to the proposal when they were asked to join the Federation. Some of that generosity is yet to be found in a small number of princes. Last year, speaking on the main resolution, I pointed out the presence of an Indian Ruler at our political gathering. This year the same Ruler has gone a step further and I am glad to say that a member of this Party who happens to be also the Leader of the Opposition has been placed in sole charge of the reserved half of his administration, as a reward, of the State. That is a welcome sign no doubt of the times. But my complaint is that the signs are too few. I have further to appeal to

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the Princes and I do appeal to them in the name of the most sacred sentiment that they hold. The Princes, you know, pride themselves upon their loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor of India. If they look to the King during the war and after the war, they will find that he was the most patriotic amongst the Englishmen, that he prided himself upon being the noblest and most selfless among the servants of the Empire. Let the Princes imitate him and let them imitate him during the year of the Silver Jubilee. There can be no greater occasion than this and I am happy to be here to support this resolution during this auspicious year. By a curious accident, this resolution that I am supporting has secured the first place in the list of resolutions. I take it as a happy augury of what is to come, as the happy augury of the staunch support the Liberal Party will give in our constitutional struggle to secure full self-government for ourselves. You will, I am sure, respond to the happy augury by passing the resolution unanimously.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall read first the resolution which I desire to move :—

Resolution III

“ 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 Agricultural 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 this 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 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."

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the history of human civilization there are many instances of tyranny of one nation over another, but I believe you will not come across a more sordid chapter than that of the treatment meted out to Indians overseas. Taking the question of the Zanzibar Indians first, we find that within the space of the last year and a half the economic situation of the Indians there has been radically altered. I believe it was on the 14th June 1934 that all of a sudden the Zanzibar Protectorate decided to rush through six anti-Indian decrees and by 28th June, that is to say, within the space of 14 days, six decrees were rushed through, affecting the fortunes of over 14,000 Indians. The ostensible cause given for this unusual haste was that the Bartlett'-Last Report disclosed to the Government that agricultural lands in the protectorate were being alienated at an alarming pace. It was contended by that one-sided report that half the agricultural lands had already passed into non-agricultural hands and that the other half had been heavily mortgaged. Consequently, six decrees were rushed through, one being the Land Alienation Decree of 1934. This decree virtually deprives Indians of their right to foreclose where they are mortgagees and realise the amounts lent by them. You are aware that many Indians in Zanzibar are moneylenders, that they advance moneys to Africans and Arabs on the security of their land and normally they have a right to foreclose. The Land Alienation Decree took away that right. There was a second decree called the Clove Growers' Association Decree. The ostensible object on which this legislation was based was that the Zanzibar Government desired to secure to the Arab and the African cultivator a reasonable price for his produce. We can have no quarrel with that principle if that principle had been put into effect by means of legislation which did not deprive any persons of the rights which had accrued due to them. The Clove Growers' Association, as it has finally turned out to be, is nothing but a one man's show. Under the Clove Growers' Association Decree, only certain fortunate persons would be entitled to carry on the trade in cloves. There is also the Cloves Exporters Decree the object of which is to impose a very small fee of about Rs. 2,000 on the party desirous of dealing in the export of cloves and this small fee could be enhanced by a trifle Rs. 3,000 if the authorities there think it fit in the interests of the Arab and African agriculturists.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not know what it was that prompted the Zanzibar Government to appoint a Commission known as the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission. Whether they realized that these decrees would ruin the agriculturists or whether they realized the depth and the force of public opinion against these decrees, the fact remains that a Commission presided over by the Chief Justice and having an official majority was appointed, and that Commission has shattered the basis of the Bartlett'-Last Report on which these nefarious decrees were based. The report of the Commission has distinctly brought out this fact that the conclusion of the Bartlett'-Last Report were wrong, that it was absolutely an exaggeration that half the lands in the protectorate had been alienated to non-agriculturists and that only about 12½ per cent of the lands had been really transferred to Indians. Taking into consideration the fact that the Indian community had settled in Zanzibar for nearly a century, one is tempted to ask, is it too much for them to hold 12½ per cent

of land? If the intention of the Zanzibar Protectorate Government was to give relief to the indebted agriculturists, a proposal with which I believe we Indians cannot quarrel having regard to the state of agricultural indebtedness here, I believe they could have found hundred and one ways, without injuring the rights of others, of affording them relief. They could have established debt conciliation boards, they could have encouraged voluntary conciliation of debts, they could have established land mortgage banks or they could have found some sort of *via media* without trenching upon the rights of Indians which were due to them under their mortgage. Now, ladies and gentlemen, none of these devices was adopted and, though the basis of the Bartlett'-Last Report has been shattered, we find that the decrees still stand. In view of the fact that their own Commission has found that there has been absolutely no cause for passing the decrees, I believe it is not too much for us to appeal to the Government of India to take steps to have these decrees repealed forthwith. That perhaps that is a tall demand, and in view of that we have put forward five demands which would make for the relief of the urgent needs of the Indians. These demands are stated in the resolution. I believe they are very modest demands, but while pressing for these we should not forego our right to press for the entire repeal of the decrees.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is a paragraph in the resolution which asks the Government of India that if the Colonial Office refuse to agree even to these minimum demands, then the Government of India must impose an embargo on the imports of cloves originating from the Zanzibar Protectorate. That again is a very modest demand, and I am told by my friend Mr. Ibrahim Kasim that if that restriction were enforced against the Zanzibar Protectorate it would cause a loss to the extent of about Rs. 16 lakhs in their revenues, the total revenues being Rs. 60 lakhs. That, I believe, is a fairly big cut to induce them to reconsider the position, if not out of humane considerations at least from considerations of enlightened self-interest.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is a paragraph in the resolution, referring to the question of marketing legislation in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika Governments. Here also the ostensible object on which this legislation has been promulgated is to secure to the agriculturist a fair price for his produce. We certainly have no quarrel with that aim, but we certainly quarrel with the method by which they seek to achieve that object. In trying to do that they have promulgated legislation whereby they have created several markets at long distances from one another where alone people desiring to carry on trade would be allowed to deal, and for that they require licences. Now, as you know, the question of transport is a difficult problem in a country like Kenya or Uganda or Tanganyika and that has virtually cut off the Indian trader from a trade which he built up with his endeavours of generations.

There is also in the resolution another paragraph dealing with the question of Indians from Highlands. That is another said chapter which I believe is a disgrace to the Kenya Government. At one time Indians had been given a solemn promise that they could occupy certain portions of the Highland but that promise was without much ceremony violated when it was found that those areas which had been reserved for Indians contained mineral wealth. Immediately, they set aside everything, pounced upon that territory and we find that they propose to give effect to this *de facto* encroachment by passing certain enactments. But in view of the fact that the Government of India have opposed this move, they are holding up the legislation, but the cry and the agitation of the white settler is growing stronger and stronger every day and I believe, if not today, within a few months hence you will find that that also has become an accomplished fact.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is another paragraph in the resolution dealing with the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of the Union of South Africa. The history of this legislation is equally sordid. There is not even an ostensible ground for the passage of a legislation of this character. The only ground that has been urged is that Indians are fit to live nowhere except in the bazars! This is a peculiar commercial and residential segregation the like of which I believe you will never come across in any part of the world. I can understand if a Dominion closes its doors to Indians on the ground that it does not desire its standard of life to be affected adversely by immigra-

tion but I cannot understand how any part of the British Empire can discriminate against British subjects who are residents of a particular area, who have built up the trade of that area and who have developed and made economically prosperous a place which they are now asked to quit! Ladies and Gentlemen, unfortunately our position in India is such that we cannot afford to extend to these unfortunate brethren overseas some concrete relief. The position, particularly in Zanzibar, has grown desperate. One man has committed suicide because though he had Rs. 25,000 of outstandings to be collected and Rs. 18,000 of debt, he could not meet his liabilities; 20 people, I understand, have gone insolvents and I believe about 250 have left the shores of Zanzibar and thousands have been effectively put out of their jobs. I therefore appeal to you not only to pass this resolution here but when you depart from this place and settle down to your daily tasks in life, to carry on the propaganda there, remembering that in the humiliation of Indians overseas it is our disgrace, that in their expropriation is our loss and that in their rehabilitation is our reward (Loud applause).

Mr. Ibrahim Kasim of Zanzibar (Bombay): Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me for my colonial English because I have been educated only in a primary school. I owe my presence here today to my friend Mr. Bharucha, and I am thankful that circumstances have made it possible for me to attend this august gathering, because it has given me the opportunity to pay my homage personally to so many illustrious sons of Mother India to whom I have been mentally paying homage from the far off country Zanzibar. My friend Mr. Bharucha has explained to you, even though briefly, the purport of this resolution. Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to impress upon you the gravity of the situation, particularly in Zanzibar, by recalling to your mind two memorable phrases used in connection with Indians overseas some fifteen years ago. It was our late lamented East African Indian leader, Mr. Abdulrasul Alidina Visram, who in 1920 used the phrase "To be or not to be was the question". Later on, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, very feelingly and sentimentally said: "If Kenya was lost, everything was lost." Ladies and gentlemen, these two phrases apply with much greater force to the situation that has been created in Zanzibar where suddenly six anti-Indian decrees were thrown at the heads of Indian communities like a bolt from the blue. I hope that all India will give united support to Indians in Zanzibar because our record in Zanzibar is so traditional and historic. You might have heard that in South Africa Indians went as indentured labourers; you might have heard that in Fiji they went as indentured labourers; in Mauritius they went as plantation labourers for sugar and so on. But in Zanzibar we did not go as indentured labourers: we were not carried away as slaves; we went there as hon'ble companions, advisers and ministers to the former rulers. We have acted to the Arabs and the Africans as bankers when the Britishers who came to protect that country were simply fattening on a gigantic duty of 25 per cent on the produce of the agriculturists. Ladies and gentlemen, it is the Indians who by standing as bankers to the Arab plantation owners and by exploring and finding out outlets for the produce of their cloves helped the Zanzibar Protectorate to become so prosperous and attain such worldwide fame. It is the Indians who advocated relief to the agriculturists when the Arab plantation owners were simply sleeping without any voice of their own, and, perhaps, the British Government, realising that the Indian community was spreading the infection of intelligence to this servile people that they thought of breaking the strength and the power of the Indians so that their rule might continue merrily.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Bharucha has explained what the Bartlett-Last Report is. The Bartlett-Last Report is not only 25 per cent or 100 per cent lie against the Indians; it is seven hundred per cent lie against the Indians, a fact which you will never come across in any document. The enquiry was conducted without any publicity: no one knew that they were conducting any enquiry. Mr. Bartlett had to admit before the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission that his report was one-sided. When a member of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission put in some questions he refused to answer them, and the Chairman, who was the Chief Justice, took a note of this. The Zanzibar Government having passed these decrees on the report supplied to them by these two individuals, one of whom has already left

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Government service, and the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission having already shattered all that has been said in the Bartlett'-Last Report, now there remains no *raison detre* for the existence of these decrees. Indians have not only been there for the last century only but much more than that. They went there first and have settled there since generations and generations. Eighty per cent of the Indians in fact have lost their affinity with India altogether. They have been born there, they have been brought up there and except that they are called Indians they are really Zanzibaris only.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Bartlett'-Last Report says that we have already grabbed 50 per cent of agricultural land and about 50 per cent of the other is heavily mortgaged to us. That has been found to be entirely wrong. The Commission after a thorough investigation has found out that only 12½ per cent of the land is owned by Indians and only 7½ per cent is mortgaged to Indians. Out of this 12½ per cent again the Commission thinks that probably 6 per cent of the land will be returned willingly to the agriculturists on payment of reasonable sums. I can assure you that Indians there do not want to grab the land of the agriculturists. They are there to help the agriculturists: they are there only as traders: their interest is more in trade and they want to be allowed to remain in peaceful avocations of trade and export.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad that this resolution has found a place on the list of resolutions of this session of the Federation. Some of you perhaps feel that the resolution is rather a lengthy one. But by having retained the lengthy resolution it makes up to a large extent with apologies to you Mr. President, the omission of the questions of Indians over-seas in the Presidential address. Ladies and gentlemen, the minimum demands for immediate relief are set forth in the resolution and I hope that some more importance than merely forwarding the resolution to the Government of India will be given by the Federation to the resolution.

You must have come across reports that the Zanzibar Indian deputation which is now in India and of which I am a member has interviewed Sir G. S. Bajpai who has given us sympathetic assurances. I am sure that in no colony is the Indian problem so easy of settlement if the Government of India takes up a straight forward attitude. The question in Zanzibar is not so complicated as it is, say, for instance, in Kenya. In Zanzibar there is no British settler element which you come across in Kenya. In Zanzibar there are only Arabs, Africans and Indians. The Britishers there are only officials administering the country in the name of His Highness the Sultan, and therefore the question should be easy of settlement because there is no quarrel as there is in Kenya with a forceful element of British settlers who are dreaming of making East Africa another dominion like South Africa. And no other colony I believe is so vulnerable or so open to be retaliated against as the Zanzibar is. India purchases 40 to 50 per cent of Zanzibar cloves on which the Government of Zanzibar depends largely for its revenue for spending money and thus relieve unemployment. I am sure that if the Government of India were to exercise pressure, with the backing of the public opinion, of which they are getting so much plentiful as witnessed by this resolution, I am sure that the Zanzibar Government will come to its knees and sue for peace. The Indian community in Zanzibar is prepared to undergo any amount of test, any amount of investigation, to prove that its record has been honourable, that it has not been charging any unconscionable rate of interest, that it has not been a blood-sucker or Shylock. My friend, Mr. Bharucha referred to the Indians being money lenders. Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to correct that statement. We have not been money lenders; we have been bankers in fact, and I should not like the odium of moneylending being attached to the way in which we have helped. Ladies and gentlemen, I can quote you instances where while the banks to whom the merchants are indebted would extract the last penny out of the merchants and if they were to fail to pay, would lock up their doors with red tape and red seal, it has been the Indian bankers who, recognising the plight of their debtors, have, with the willingness of the debtors themselves to square up their accounts returned some of the properties to them out of mercy so that the debtor may have something to maintain his family with. Do you call that a black record? Do you call that moneylending? Or do you call that a brotherly feeling, a neighbourly love? That has been the problem and that has been our record in Zanzibar.

I hope, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Government of India which has promised the Zanzibar Indian deputation of their support will once for all not only give us assurance but also take up a strong action. I may as well state that the Indians overseas have, since the Habibulla-Hertzog Pact had been ratified, been losing faith in the Government of India, and in order to re-establish confidence in the minds of Indians overseas they must make some sort of another gesture, and that gesture is easy enough in the case of Zanzibar. We should not at all agree to purchase 40 or 50 per cent of Zanzibar cloves if the Government of Zanzibar, which is British, again wants to maltreat Indians for no fault but for their virtues only. I hope therefore that the gravity of this situation which I tried to bring home to you by quoting two memorable phrases will be borne by you all in mind. My friend Mr. Bharucha explained to you the other part of the resolution about Kenya, Uganda and about the Highlands of Kenya and South Africa. In South Africa also, you must all know that it is the Indians who have assisted in the development of the Country. In the East Africa we first went there before the Britishers; it is Indians who in fact assisted Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Stanley. Without Indians, like Sirtharia Topan, Messrs. Livingstone and Stanley could hardly have been able to penetrate into the interior. It is the sons of those illustrious Indians who are tried to be ousted from countries of their adoption and are praying to be assisted today from this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I think I have given enough support to this well considered resolution and I hope that this Liberal Federation and the members of this Federation will not only pass this resolution in defence of the Zanzibar Indians but will also individually hereafter give support to our demands. (Cheers)

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT

The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú (Allahabad): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

Resolution IV

“The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Act and 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.”

You will remember that it was in September last that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was placed on the Statute Book of the land by an executive power. The Assembly had rejected the Criminal Law Amendment Bill at the consideration stage. An identical measure without the difference of a comma or a semi-colon was introduced in the Assembly, recommended and certified by the Governor-General and with the help of the Council of State placed on the Statute Book of the land. Not a single suggestion of even the more friendly critics of the Government was accepted by the Government in enacting this measure permanently on the Statute Book of the land. If you will go through the provisions of this Act, you will find that it is one of extraordinary severity. Not only is the liberty of the press threatened by it but also the liberty of the subjects. It makes impossible the republication of proscribed literature and affects the freedom of the press. The original order proscribing a book under the sea customs Act may have been an executive order—it is an executive order—and yet if I happen to read some passage from a book like Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution—that is one of the proscribed books—if I happen to come across a paper like the New Statesman and in that I happen to read a passage from that book, and if I happen to be a journalist and just quote that passage, then I become liable for prosecution, and, if I am spared the prosecution, well, then, I must consider myself lucky. So far as the power of proscribing books is concerned that too has not been, as we know, very wisely exercised. Some very fine literature, some very great literature, has been proscribed for example I can tell you there are three books which

are on the proscribed list. Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution, Strachet's "Coming Struggle for Power", and Ralph Fox's "Lenin" are on the proscribed list. Now of course it is said that these are communistic books. Well, these books are not likely to be read by unintelligent men. These are books which are likely to be read by intelligent men. The power of proscribing books I say, has been used to stifle thought, to stifle free expression of opinion in this country. However, we Liberals believe in freedom of thought. That is the difference between Liberalism and communism. The communists and Fascists do not believe in freedom of expression. We Liberals believe in freedom of thought; we Liberals believe in freedom of expression, and, I say that, as Liberals, we cannot be parties to a measure of this character. The Bill attacks the very fundamentals of the Liberal creed.

Then, gentlemen, we go on to some other provisions of the Act. The Executive has reserved for itself not only the power of declaring an association unlawful but also of forfeiting the securities and moneys of association which it declares to be unlawful. We are often told that the Russians and the German Nazis have behaved very very indecently and I dare say they have; but here a great Government confiscates the properties of its subjects and these subjects have no redress in a court of law; they cannot go, if they are affected by this order, to a court of law and say that the order declaring their association unlawful, that the order forfeiting their moneys, is really a wrong order. Only the rights of third parties are protected under the Act. Well, is it unreasonable then to say that the British Government is copying some of the methods of the Russian communists and the German Nazis, methods which it condemns, and I think very rightly too?

Then we go on to certain other sections of the Act. Take for example the provisions dealing with peaceful picketing. Now I am one of those who regard peaceful picketing as a perfectly legitimate weapon of political and economic propaganda. It is said picketing leads to violence. Well, so many things lead to violence, but the point is the fault may not be of the picketer, the fault may be of other men; and what I should like to ask the Government is this. Did any Indian commercial organization—I mean Indians, European merchants are not in my mind—did any Indian commercial organization ask for these special powers which they have taken in regard to picketing? What they have done is to make picketing cognizable. Well, the law so far has regarded it as a non-cognizable offence for a very good reason. The right to complain against picketing is in the nature of a personal right. A man may have very good reasons for not complaining against a picketer. The picketer may be a friend of his; he may be a relation of his; and if he happens to be loitering about his shop, he may have very good reasons for not interfering with him. But under this law any policeman can compel him to go to a court of law and make him depose against some one who may be near and dear to him. His business may be affected by his deposing against a man or against a lady picketer—you know we have had lady picketers here—but all this of course does not concern the British Government.

Then, so far as the provisions regarding the press are concerned—you know those provisions and I need not go into those provisions very minutely—they enable the executive Government to demand securities from printing presses; they enable the executive Government to forfeit these securities at their will and pleasure. Of course there is an appeal provided to the High Courts, but we know what the value of that appeal is. High Court judges like Sir Abdur Rahim and Sir Lawrence Jenkins have said that the appeal provided for is an illusory one. Now gentlemen, laws of this kind, you make it impossible for the honest type of journalist to do his job properly. They make it difficult for the honest type of Indian youth to enter the profession of journalism. The honest youth always has this feeling. "Well, if I enter journalism, I do not know, I may find my way to jail one of these days". Under a system of so-called responsible government which we shall have in future in the provinces we shall be placing the entire opposition of the press at the mercy of the executive. A free press may or may not be possible under a system of bureaucracy, a free press many or may not be possible under a system of autocracy, but a free press and liberal democracy go together, and therefore, I say that under a system of responsible government it is not right to vest control of the press in a party

Government. Either you want a Fascist State in India or you want a Liberal State in India, and I say that if you want a Liberal State in India in the way the Liberals want a Liberal State in India, then you must have a free press; you must preserve the independence and the integrity of the Indian press. Of course the Indian press has been blamed for encouraging communism, encouraging communalism, encouraging civil disobedience and encouraging so many other things which exist in the mind of the British Government. I think the Indian press has a creditable record and I think that the Indian press has rendered great services to the country.

Now sir, what was the case, as put forward by the Government spokesmen in regard to these measures? They say, we have 4 dangers in this country. We have first of all civil disobedience, then the danger of communism, then the danger of communalism, then the danger of terrorism, and these measures are necessary in order that we may be able to fight these dangers. Now, so far as civil disobedience is concerned, congress has suspended civil disobedience. I think that the suspension is genuine. There is very little difference between suspension and complete abandonment. You cannot reasonably ask the congress to deny its creed. It is enough, that there is no civil disobedience today. If there is any civil disobedience tomorrow, then assuming that you want these powers to deal with civil disobedience, you have ample powers under the constitution which will be functioning next year. There will be Governors and the Governor-General to come to the rescue of the provincial Ministers or to override the provincial Ministers if they should fail in their duty. The real reason for this measure is, and I say this with a sense of responsibility, that it is in the nature of a further safeguard under which this new constitution must function. The Government wants to place its friends in power, give them all the protection that it can under these special Acts and then these friends of the vested and special interests will use these powers to crush the democratic movement which is in its infancy in this country. That is the real object of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and let us be quite clear about it.

Then, it is said that it is necessary to fight terrorism. There is no one in this house who has a greater horror of terrorism than I have. I am a pacifist by conviction. I would not go to war and I would not fight even if I could fight. But I say that here is this problem of terrorism in Bengal for the last 30 years. You have used all the repressive measures to fight this movement. Have you been successful? If you have not been successful in stamping it out, is it not necessary for you to take a more statesmanlike view of the problem and to go into the root causes of this terrorism and evolve a more constructive policy in dealing with the terrorist menace in Bengal? I think, gentlemen, that the causes of this movement are partly political and partly economic. If Government will give to the youth of this country the possibility of rising to the full stature of their height, I am quite certain that we will have no terrorism in this country, because terrorism is against the principles of our civilization, is against all that we value in our culture and in our civilization (Cheers).

Then, gentlemen, we are told that under these powers we are to fight communism. Now, I am not a communist, but I also think that there is a great deal of social and economic unrest, why is it so? I think there is social and economic unrest in this country because the average man feels that he has not got a fair chance in this country, he has got no opportunity in this country. Fundamental problem in this country is the problem of poverty. If you deal with this problem of poverty in a bold and courageous manner, deal with the problem in the manner in which you ought to deal with it, I am sure, there will be no communism at all in this country. Because constituted as this country is, there cannot be communism in any shape or other. This bogey of communism, Government have created in order to carry with them the vested interests in the country.

Then, gentlemen, I come to the last bogey, the bogey of communalism. So far as this is concerned, I will say that a very great deal of responsibility for the communal tension in India today rests with the British Government (hear, hear). There are men in this country who have devoted the best part of their lives to the promotion of nationalism, men who believe in the unity of India. It is not fair for the Government to charge us with being communalists. Who is responsible for the

apple of discord? Who is responsible for the mistake of 1905? Who is responsible for the present Communal Award? It is the British Government and I say that the British Government must face fairly and squarely their responsibility in this matter. If I can show that I have the backing of my community behind me, and if I happen to be a man of influence in my district, I can become a Khan Bahadur or Rai Bahadur, but if I am a man of higher aspiration and I can show that I have the backing of certain communal association behind me, I can become a Knight or even something higher. That is the present position. Communalism today is the way to higher offices, lucrative positions, high executive and Judicial offices, and therefore it is pure nonsense, absolute nonsense on the part of our British friends to say that the Indian Press is encouraging communalism by its writings. On the other hand, it is the policies they have evolved from Simla and Delhi, that have created these reactions in the country and which keep the communal fire going alive. Well, sir, these are broadly speaking the facts, and as Liberals we can do nothing more than enter our protest and express our hope that the Act will be repealed at as early a date as possible. I do not wish to take up more time of this Federation but I should like to say just a word about the Special Powers Acts in the Provinces. Now my friend Mr. Bose will be able to deal with the peculiar features of the Bengal Act, but I think one common feature about the Provincial Acts is that they give to the Executive the power of placing certain restrictions upon the freedom of the individual and the individual concerned has no redress in a Court of Law. When we were in schools and colleges, we were told that the greatest conception that Britain had given to the political organizations of this country was this conception of the rule of law. Now after 150 years of British Rule in this country, we are told that this is not really a conception which at any rate the Englishmen in this country are proud of. Well, I hope gentlemen, when Englishmen think over the matter in their calmer moods, they will find that by placing these Acts — the worst feature of these Acts is in their permanency they have rendered no service to England or India. Things have come to such pass in this country that they can govern this country only by permanent measures of this kind, by Acts of an extraordinary character; things have come to such a pass that they can govern only by permanent Acts of this nature. That I say it is a confession of failure for any Government to make; it is a confession of absolute failure, and as we do not think that the British Government has entirely failed in this country, we at any rate are going to be truer to those ideals which our masters have taught us to admire and we as Liberals cannot but condemn these measures in the strongest possible language.

Mr. E. Vinayaka Row of Madras :— Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure I will be only voicing the opinions of many of you when I say as to what you may think of the Viceroyalties of some of the Viceroys. When you mention Lord Ripon's name, the idea of Local Self Government comes up to your mind and you are grateful to him. When you mention Lord Curzon's name the idea of the Grand Moghul comes up to your mind. You picture to yourself Lord Curzon sitting in a golden howdah on a richly caparisoned elephant, at the expense of the taxpayer of course, when you come to Lord Reading not the howdah, not the elephant, but the figure 144 swims before your eyes in thick dark type and in a threatening manner. When you come to Lord Irwin you think of the Bible. That was the era of the Bible only at the top. The Viceroy's utterances were most Christian but the action on the part of those who had to give effect to them, permit me to say, was not wholly Christian. But when I come to the Viceroyalty of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, mixed feelings come to my mind. The Memoirs of Mr. Lloyd George have disclosed the fact to the world what a sympathetic British statesman Lord Willingdon was when he was the Governor of Bombay, when he wrote those two letters sympathising with Indian aspirations and urging upon the Prime Minister of England to inaugurate far-reaching reforms at once, with full knowledge that the essential effect of those reforms will be the total disappearance of the power of the Indian Civil Service. Lord Willingdon came to India as a representative Statesman of the great Liberal Party with its noble traditions of the Rule of Law, faith in the democratic form of government, freedom of Press, freedom of person and faith in the sanctity of private property. Later on His Excellency stated that the goal of the Reforms which have now culminated in the Government of India Act was Dominion Status. For that there were some statesmen in England

who immediately criticised him in no uncertain terms. But His Excellency Lord Willingdon again at one of the Christmas speeches, I believe at Calcutta, reiterated his faith in the goal of Dominion Status for India as the immediate objective for the Reforms and used again that prohibited term 'Dominion Status' about which last year our revered leader the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri made a touching reference, which has had its own effect all over this country, but unfortunately not in Parliament. When I think of Lord Willingdon's Viceroyalty, I picture to myself only heaps of lathis everywhere in the country — not the rule of law but the rule of force. If it were a court of Law it does not matter even if section 144 was applied. It is at least safer. It is the function of any civilized administration to go through the process of justice to bring those who have really violated the law to punishment. If it were a question of the Birmingham Rifle, it does not matter, we can at least understand that; that is the modern way of carrying on the torch of civilization which Sr. Mussolini has proclaimed in Europe as the proper way of civilising people who are not of European origin...But I do object to the lathi. It is most primitive. It reminds me of medieval times when men dealt with one another not in a way that we could appreciate in 1935. What does the lathi represent? It represents the executive fiat; it represents the operation of force against people who are resisting it. Lord Hewart the Lord Chief Justice of England in his wellknown book: "The New Despotism" has referred to what he calls the tyranny of the Executive in England. What is it, they did? They said, "we reserve certain powers to make some rules under the Statute to deal with certain matters which Parliament may not find time to enact in full detail and in some matters our decisions shall be final." This rule making power reserved to the Executive, Lord Hewart called 'new despotism'. I wonder what name we can give to the Ordinances of 1932 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which has followed. It is certainly not 'new despotism', because we have been accustomed now for three years to this kind of rule by Ordinances, Special Powers Acts and ultimately by the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It has now become 'the old despotism'. Let us hope like all old things these will be replaced and new measures will come on the Statute Book.

I do not want to go into the details of this Resolution because my friend the Hon. Mr. Sapru has referred to them. There is one aspect which he has not mentioned to which I would call attention. In dealing with unlawful associations the Police can take action under this Act simply by the issue of a notification in the Gazette without any vote of the popular legislature, without consulting anyone that a certain body is an unlawful association. Their places can be confiscated, their moneys held in the Banks can be taken away. Anybody who holds securities belonging to such Associations can be compelled to hand over those securities to the Executive. All this is not so bad as something that follows. Nobody can take this matter to a court of law to test whether the action of the executive either in promulgating the notification or in taking away money or in taking away securities was legal, was right, was authorised by the law. That is the darkest part of the picture — the fear on the part of the Government to go to a court of justice, to convince an impartial judge as against an afflicted subject that what the State has done in its plenitude of power is properly done, is lawfully done, and it had justification for interfering with the liberties and the properties of the subject who comes before the Court as a party to place his case before an impartial Judge, before a court constituted in this country as it is by the Government. Sometimes, as the Hon. Mr. Sapru mentioned, not because of legal eminence but because of other considerations people get into the seats of judicial office even before such courts the executive are unwilling to place this matter, to have a decision whether what they did was right and proper.

And not only this, look at the way in which it was done. Ordinance after ordinance came upon us in quick succession. They were opposed, resolutions were passed from ever so many platforms all over the country protesting against these ordinances. But a strong Government must govern or must get out—that is what they were told to do from England. They governed, they kept the ordinances and said: "To have an ordinance is no good, we should make it a statute and then we can tell Indians and tell the world that we are having the rule of law, a law passed by the legislature in which there is a large elected element." When they came to the legislature in 1932 they told them, "you are all very good people, you have been

supporting us all through, some sections of you depend upon us for further support in respect of very many points which you have been urging, including of course the 14 points." "Well," they said, "Give us this power just for 3 years, we won't use it; you are honest why are you afraid; it is the dishonest man that need fear; though this is so in letter, in spirit our administration will be wholly different, it will be just as any responsible Cabinet will do; we won't go further and we want it only for three years." Then it was granted. In 1932 when the Round Table Conference were going on, people had to go there as "representatives". People had some more points besides the 14 points to be gained, the question of electorates and other important questions had yet to be decided. Somehow I do not call it a bargain — perhaps it is not parliamentary to say so—but somehow 1932 witnessed the enactment by the legislature of that Act which is a negation of the rule of law, which goes counter to every cherished feeling of political idealism in any progressive country, freedom of speech, freedom of person, right of property and freedom of association.

Sir, after the three years expired, what is the story? I thought it was a very good opportunity for the Government to say, "The Government of India Act is passed, law and order is an entirely transferred subject, let us test these new Indian ministers, let us withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Act and all the special powers which the executive have; let these fellows in the provinces try to maintain law and order and when any emergency comes of the character with which we were faced in 1932, let us tell them, "you cut away as Sir Ralph Rover did on the Inchcape Rock, the bell of warning, you removed the Criminal Law Amendment Act and you are responsible for what has come about." That perhaps would have been the proper way of doing the thing if they really meant that law and order should be under the absolute control of an elected minister responsible to the legislature without any intervention on the part of the Central Government. But in the Criminal Law Amendment Act which has now been published, not only the Local Governments can bring into operation the provisions of this Act, but the Governor-General in Council,—the Central Government, can also bring into operation the provisions of this Act in any province. What does that mean? If any minister in a province in charge of law and order is not willing to take up this executive tyranny as part of his armoury, the Governor-General would intervene and say, "My dear fellow, you are not strong enough; I will do for your benefit what you yourself should have done; I shall put into force the Criminal Law Amendment Act in your area." And in the Government of India Act there are provisions under which the Secretary can take up the matter to the Governor either with the Minister's knowledge or without, and there are clauses relating to special responsibilities which can be put into operation with a view to give effect to the Central Government's orders issued to the provincial Governments. Sir, we say, law and order is a transferred subject in all the provinces. The Central Government is not going to be very much affected by peaceful picketing or from the activities of associations which work for certain objects in their own way; leave it to the provinces to deal with these matters; we do not want any more provisions of this character which confer upon the executive powers which are opposed to all democratic responsible Government, powers in respect of matters which are vital to any progress of a democratic character. Unless different parties place before the electorates their views, unless people have the facility of peaceful picketing without any violence, unless people are free from the apprehension that the party in power — it may not be the bureaucracy itself, it may be an Indian party in power — may abuse the provisions of this Act on the Statute book to prevent legitimate operations on the part of the opposition, to convert the country to their way of thinking with a view to unseat the party in power democratic progress will be impossible. We say at a juncture like this it is unfair on the part of the Central Government to hand over charge of the provincial governments to us with this Act in the armoury of the executive. Mark you, I do not say British executive—I am as much afraid of the Indian executive as I am of the British executive. The question is not racial, it is not provincial, it is a question of principle. Any executive should not be given the power by an executive fiat without judicial warrant, to interfere with the valuable rights of a democratic citizen. That would be an "addition to the barricades against Dominion status; if I could quote from my friend Mr. Chintamani's paper, the Leader, this would be an additional barricade," the retention of which in the Statute Book will be against any progress towards our

cherished goal of Dominion Status (Applause.) I would therefore appeal to you to condemn the Criminal Law Amendment Act outright and urge for its immediate repeal.

Mr. S. M. Bose (Calcutta) : Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I beg to support this motion and I have very little left to add. The National Liberal Federation has all along, from the very beginning, recorded its strong protest against all subversive movements and has held firmly to the belief that the very foundation of society must not in any way be touched. Whatever tends to destroy law and order tends to destroy society, and so I say that the Federation has all along been strongly opposed to all such subversive movements. Therefore, the Federation will naturally support all legitimate attempts to stop such movements and it will gladly support Government in all measures which are within reasonable limits. But the powers of Government must not be abused; Government have strong powers, they naturally would be entitled to use these powers, but not to abuse them. If such powers of Government be abused, it will not only mean that it fails to achieve the object of suppressing subversive movements but that the mischief will be aggravated. Strong action has always been the favourite maxim of a good many people, but strong action very often leads to no effect at all. Nay more; unduly stringent laws often alienate public sympathy, and we all know that the effectiveness of these measures must depend upon their appeal to public opinion. If public opinion does not support these measures, then, however carefully they may have been framed, they are bound to fail. I maintain that the so-called strong measures taken by Government to meet subversive movements have failed because they have alienated public sympathy. Sir, if my brother is sentenced to a year's hard labour for taking part in a street procession, and when I go to see him in jail and find him in a miserable position, is it not human nature for me who has never taken part in politics to feel the shame and degradation, to feel sympathy for my brother who has done wrong, and well, that not lead me, who had otherwise not had anything to do with politics, to follow my brother? So I maintain that the so-called strong measures have led people who had no sympathy at all originally with these movements to come forward and join them in large numbers.

Now, sir, I pass to Bengal. In Bengal, these measures have been taken from 1909. The very fact that 26 years have elapsed and still we have those undesirable activities going on proves, I submit, that these measures have utterly failed. Sir, various attempts have been made from time to time by our Bengal Legislative Council in this respect. For instance, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was first passed in 1920 for 5 years; in 1925 it was renewed for 5 years more; in 1930 it was again renewed for 5 years, i. e., up to 1935; and now it has once more been renewed for 3 years in the hope that the new Government may be able to deal with it when its turn comes, perhaps with the hope — and I am assuming this — that it will perpetuate it. I hope and trust they will do nothing of the kind. But still the hope of the Government is there. Sir, then we have the various other local acts containing very extraordinary provisions. For instance, if any objectionable literature is found in my house I am presumed to be guilty until I prove my innocence. Then, sir, the Arms Act has been amended. Anybody found in possession of arms would be sentenced to three year's rigorous imprisonment upto to seven years. Attempted murder means hanging. That is one of the measures recently introduced. Now all these measures, I submit, have failed; and not only have they failed but they have, I think, aggravated the situation. Sir, in the guise of civil law martial law has been scought to be perpetuated. The honest course would have been to proclaim open martial law, wherever necessary, in Bengal. But that has not been done. In the guise of civil law statutes have been passed which are neither more nor less than pure and simple martial law. And, further, as the hon'ble mover has said, there have been attempts to interfere with the course of law. Then there have been, as has been pointed out, indefinite detentions without trial. The man who is detained does not know how long he will be detained: he has not the chance of knowing the charges against him. So for all these reasons it is abundantly clear that these extraordinary measures have utterly failed, and therefore now the time has come when I submit we should ask that these extraordinary measures should be repealed. I support the resolution.

The motion was put and adopted unanimously.

NEW CONSTITUTION

"THE FALL OF THE BLOW"

Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution on the new constitution reads :—

Resolution V.

(a) "The National Liberal Federation of India re-affirms its resolution of last year and expresses its strong dissatisfaction that in utter disregard of almost unanimous public opinion, the British Parliament has not only not accepted a single suggestion for improvement from India's point of view, but has imposed on the country the Government of India Act, 1935, 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 utilise the constitution so as to extract from it whatever 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 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."

The first part expresses in clear language our opinion and estimate of the new Act. The second part is the really relevant part to this discussion. It opens new ground and states what in the opinion of this Federation should be our attitude in the new situation. What is called (c) merely formulates our wish in the matter of the new constitution.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have had the honour of speaking several times to the resolutions on this subject. My speech today will be unlike the speeches that I made before for the simple reason that circumstances have altered completely. I was then speaking of a blow that was being levelled at India's liberties. I have today to mourn the actual fall of the blow.

WHY HAVE THEY DONE IT ?

There is an old saying in Sanskrit गतासून गतासूंश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः (Wise men ought not to mourn the dead or the living). High philosophy this; Like all other peoples of the world, used to the ups and downs of our mortal existence, we follow this dictum only in part. So long as the calamity which we dread is still ahead of us and only making its approach towards us, we cry out against it. We use all our energies to prevent it, if possible. If we think it inevitable, we rail at the gods who seem to be unheeding of our cries. But when the blow has fallen and the calamity has overtaken us, we summon this philosophy to our aid. We say, 'What can we do now? The worst has happened. No time any longer for tears or for entreaties or for supplications to the deaf gods. Let us think of what is next to do'. So then the mild and prayerful Hindu, indoctrinated through long ages with the belief in *karma* and fate, adds to his own consolation a peculiar thought. Instead of abusing others or calling down the curses of heaven on the calamity or on his injurers, the Hindu has a habit of falling back upon himself and his past and saying 'What is the good of abusing other people? My own *karma* has taken this shape. I am to blame; my ancestors were to blame; my nation is to blame; our past history is to blame. So now we think of our faults and shortcomings; we think of our

numerous racial antipathies and discords; we think of the enormous social and other difficulties that we have raised against ourselves; and then we say, 'Why blame the British people? They came into this country because we were just we; they have established themselves in this country because we were just we, and they have done this, foul and odious though it be, just because we were we.' So then let the Muslims blame the Hindus and the Hindus turn their wrath upon the Muslims: let the Christians and the Sikhs and the Bengalis and the Punjabis and the Madrasis, the Deccanis, the Gujrathis, let them all look into themselves, examine carefully their past and then ask themselves whether in the main the fate that has overtaken them was not the regularly evolved result of their own *karma*. Still we, educated in the schools and colleges established by Great Britain in this country, steeped in their literature, loving freedom as they have taught us to love it, aspiring to liberty, to constitutional government, to dominionhood as they have taught us to aspire to these things, should ask also, 'But why have the British people taken such advantage of all this? Why should not they have behaved better and in accordance with their past traditions, with their own promises and pledges and help us to be better in future than we have been in the past, to be worthier of their own Commonwealth, which they are building up to the wonder and admiration of the outside world?' Such a question we cannot help asking.

A CURIOUS BELIEF

It is most extraordinary, ladies and gentlemen, that the Britisher apparently thinks today that he has only acted in consonance with his natural love of freedom not only for himself but for others as well. You remember listening to the presidential address the day before yesterday. Passages were read to you from letters that the President had received from England in which the writers expressed astonishment that in spite of the magnanimous privileges that Great Britain was granting with both hands to India, that in spite of that conspicuous mark of her good-will and friendliness, we in India, should be accusing the Britisher of bad faith, of unfriendliness to Indian freedom of a desire to exploit her quarrels and so forth. Some of you may have smiled sceptically as you heard these things. But I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that those expressions of wonder from Europeans are perfectly genuine; they think—and that is a feature of the situation which we must try and understand fully—that they have done well by this country in giving her this constitution, in binding her hand and foot, in preventing the growth of that constitution, in endowing every tiny Prince in India with a final veto on all progress, in tying up her resources, in disabling her from protecting her own industries and manufactures. They think they have done the right thing. They really believe this that it is only because we are a curious people with a curious psychology of our own, that we bite the hand that feeds us.

In the town of Kumbakonam from which I come—I know what Kumbakonam means to you, I really mean the town of Kumbakonam, from which the President comes also—some 18 months ago, the pious Brahmins,—you know the pious Brahmins have retreated from all parts of India now and live there—the pious Brahmins performed a great sacrifice as in the old ages, in the course of which 23 goats were sacrificed, killed, in the refinedly painful method prescribed in the Vedas. Well, even in Kumbakonam there were some powerful voices raised against this resurrection of an old barbaric rite. And what do you think the Brahmins said in defence of themselves? Some of these Brahmins were Masters of Arts of our University, B. A.'s and B. L.'s, practising in our regular courts of law, accustomed to plead with vehemence against assault and battery of the simplest kind. What did they say? "But why are people filled with pity for these goats? These goats have done their part in a great and pious ceremony. They have gone to heaven, they will not return to this *samsara* again. Their souls have been purified and are now dwelling with that source of light and life from which they came and to which it is the aspiration of all pious Hindus to revert as soon as they possibly can". And do you think these people believed it or not? That is what I wish to ask you. Did these pious Brahmins believe or not believe that they had saved the goats from the terrible woes of *samsara*? I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, they did.

Men in power, using the power to their own advantage and to the detriment of those unfortunately placed under them, have a way of defending their actions to their own consciences. That is a side of human nature which we must study. It may be one of our weaknesses, but I believe it is also one of the sources of our hidden strength that we can make use of the opportunities and privileges that Providence has placed in our hands for our own advantage and still never accuse ourselves of having done so. It is a good thing. The Britisher is well fortified with this eminently human quality. All over the world he can do what he likes to benefit his compeers, to maintain his position, to aggrandize himself, may be to the detriment of others. What does that matter? Those others must be happy that it has been given to them under Providence to help in the development for the world's benefit of this great and undisputed and indisputable power. Why do not they look at it from that point of view? Well, if there is a people on earth claiming to know this process of evolution and competent by tradition, heredity and by long established civilization, to administer this comfort to itself, if there is a people answering to this description. I ask who it is if not we. So now let us administer this comfort to ourselves that we are helping towards the development and aggrandisement of a great power.

The only question is : What are we going to do? The rest of the world looks on. They see only a part of what is going on in India, and what is going on here is interpreted to them by the British press and by the British organs of publicity. They are full of the best, of the most human intentions. Who is going to read the Act, formidable document as it is? They read the Joint Select Committee's Report, they read Lord Zetland's speech, they read other expositions in the monthly magazines. What do these say? They say that they have granted a large measure of Self Government to India—a larger measure than has ever been given by a ruling people to a ruled people in the history of the world. We know how much truth there is in it. But our poor magazines never reach the outside world. We do not care at all to instruct outside opinion. On the contrary our faith during the last few years has been : "What care we for opinion in the outside world, it is Indian opinion that we must nourish", and so we took care a few years ago under very eminent auspices to kill the one organ in England that we had. That is part of our national wisdom. Let us put it by. The extraordinary thing is that the Englishman has acted harshly towards India, but has always spoken and written most gently. It is a species of statecraft that we must learn. One day when we become an empire (a voice :—no, please) maybe we shall have to do the same thing to save the peoples and then we must know how to do it exactly. Talk soft, do hard. Do what suits you, but all the time speak the most amiable sentiment. All the time never even in your dreams let your real thoughts escape. That is the secret of statecraft, if we have been learning it at all.

NOT OUR CREATION

As one of the examples of this marvellous quality, let me proceed to state what I consider to be an important feature of the situation which connects itself with this present wail of mine. I know it is useless to prolong the wail. We have only to sit down more determinedly to the work of tomorrow. Some friends of ours here are much perturbed by the thought that in our first part of the resolution today we have pronounced the utmost condemnation upon the constitution. The worst that we can say of it, we say there. We say that it is imposed upon us; all the time the Britisher boasts that it is the result of the maximum agreement between the representatives of Britain and India that sat round a table. That is what he says. We say, however, that the truth is that it is an imposed constitution; that none of our ideas finds embodiment in it. In other words, we have not given an atom of co-operation in the making of that constitution. That is the truth. Well, having said that, it seems to some of our people that we are perpetrating like a tremendous incongruity in saying in the second paragraph, 'let us take whatever good there is in it'. It is true.

WHOSE INCONGRUITY?

Ladies and gentlemen, can we be accused of this incongruity? Did we make, the Act, did we make it so bad, and then when it is there, when it is thrust upon us

in such a way that we cannot escape, what are we to do? We must submit, and as the resolution goes on to say, we cannot leave it unworked, somebody or other will work it. If that is the case, I ask, are we to blame for the incongruity? It is there in the situation. Existence in the world is full of these incongruities. Life, marriage and death take place in the same house; who can escape this antithesis? And then our friends seem to be specially hurt by the thought that it is the Britisher who points it out to them. If you could tolerate me for half an hour, I would mention twenty incongruities, and bring everyone of them home to the Britisher in the process of making this Act. But I won't sadden your hearts any more. Take this one thing. We know that in this Act every advantage is taken, and in the fullest measure, of any discord amongst our people. Are there religious differences? Yes, they are all used there. Are there sectarian differences? You will find every one of them having effect in the Act. Are there provincial differences? Oh yes, they are used very well too. Are there urban and rural differences? Yes, you will find them figuring largely in the sections of the Act, and yet when the Act is there, not only recognising and reproducing these differences, but making them operate to our utmost possible harm, throttling the development of a national feeling, preventing our admission to one coherent dominionhood one day, by all the artifices that legal subtlety and political ingenuity can put together—that is the framework of the Act—what do the markers of the Act say in England? They say “these poor people are terribly divided one from another how we wish them to come to their fullest stature. Why should they not become one? Can't we do something to keep them on one platform?” So they say in England, the very authors of this Act. And then the Governors and the Viceroy and other people—what are they saying? They never come to a public meeting but with tears flowing freely down. What do they say? They say that because we are divided into so many groups and sub-groups, we never have a common policy, we never have a common Ministry on which they can lean, every time the poor harried Governor has to interfere and so on. They all bemoan and bewail this terrible infirmity of our race. Would you think that this was an incongruity? No. Ladies and gentlemen, when they frame the Act, when they work at its various sections, they are one set of people—perfectly sincere. When they speak on platforms bewailing our misfortunes, wishing them to disappear, they are equally sincere. Human nature all over the world is so made that while we cannot resist the temptation to take advantage of the weakness of our neighbour, we can now and then rise to higher altitudes and wish our neighbour were as strong, as wise, as prosperous and as able to help himself as we are. Now this thought leads me on to another thought that has been oppressing me for some time. It is perfectly relevant to the discussion. Now this infirmity of ours which has coloured all our history in the past and which I am afraid is going to colour our future growth for many years; that is our greatest enemy, that is the curse that was pronounced on us when we were born on this earth. It is that weakness that we must get rid of. If you are to make any progress, it is that weakness we must attack. How can we? We must develop our psychology in a new way altogether. Can you and I do so? I ask—you and I, who, after speaking here the same language, disperse to-morrow and vote in separate groups and become answerable for our deeds to separate little communities of our own? Are we the proper instruments for the development of this new mentality? We are not. If we were wise, we should have discovered this long ago. But we are not wise, and it takes a long time for us to learn this simple lesson.

GET AT THE CHILDREN

Elsewhere in the world, when they want to revolutionize men's minds and thoughts, as we want to revolutionize them, what they do is to get hold of the young; they go into the schools, they give to the boys text-books in which the new gospel shines out of every page, they appoint proper school masters, whose business is to indoctrinate the young in this new idea. They organize a band of Inspectors who will think it their highest duty to prepare the future generation for the millennium and they will have at the head of the Department of Public Education, a man imbued with this idea, who night and day dreams of the extinction of sources of discord, who believes it his task to raise up a generation in 20 years sworn every moment of their lives to call themselves and believe themselves brethren in the service

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of the common motherland. That is what any people would do. Look at what Russia does. She has got a new psychology; she wants to teach people not to believe in God—good or bad as it may be—but that is what she is doing. Every book that a boy has to read is full of that thought, every teacher has got to teach it and the man who is at the head of the department will be judged according to the way in which he spreads out this doctrine. And yet after the Montague-Chelmsford reforms we have had 14 years' of ministerial charge of the subject of education. I should like to ask whether it has occurred to any Minister of education that this was his fundamental duty; has any Minister of Education, I should like to ask, striven to appoint an Indian to the post of Director of Public Instruction? 14 years—the best part of one generation of officialdom has gone, and yet to my knowledge there has not been a single Indian Director of Public Instruction. And yet I suppose, man for man, anybody would grant that for the discharge of this duty, delicate, difficult, arduous, requiring every quality of tact and persistence that a man can have, on the whole an Indian is preferable to a European. A European might, have the most humane intentions on earth, but he is illqualified to perform this task to choose good publishers, to choose good inspectors, to choose good teachers and to see that pupils are brought up in this new way of thought. Well, some of you who are versed in human affairs will tell me—"But look here, is there an Indian high up enough in the service of education to be appointed Director of Public Instruction?" Now that is where the administrative side of it will come in. People would naturally raise that question, as if when this great task has to be done for the welfare of India and not a day should be lost in doing it, small considerations have to be weighed at all. You must choose the best instrument that the department needs and if an Indian in the department of education be not available, a Minister who understood his business would go and select one from the provincial service. There have been Directors of Public Instruction from other departments hitherto; that is nothing unusual. If you want a man of energy and tact and pluck to reorganise a system and you do not find such a man in the same department, you go and find one from another department. Well you may say—"But the Governor would not allow it, even if we wanted it." What are the ministers there for? If the ministers thought anything of this business they would combine together and tell that Governor that they must have the man of their choice or they go out of office. That is how a system works. Why should people be afraid of the wrath of the Governor? Governors have heretofore become angry, but they have to work with the instruments given to them. Here is a people grown to the enjoyment of self-rule, they make their own Ministers. What I say is, if there is any stuff in our Ministers and in our legislatures, if there is any stuff in our electorates, this is the first reform that should be undertaken. Never mind the past. Hereafter, if I had the direction of affairs—what a wild wish! [Laughter]—if I had the direction of affairs, I would without hesitation take the helm of education and proclaim, if that be necessary, that I am going to make education subservient to this great need of nationalization, that I am going to make the children of today the real citizens, not of Muslim India or of Hindu India or of Sikh India but of India (Hear, hear and applause), and I must have the privilege of choosing my man to be Director of Public Instruction. And I should support him through thick and thin.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we come to the point. After all. I have told you incidentally that it is necessary for us, however inauspicious the circumstances may be, however black and cloudy the political skies may be—it is necessary for us to come out of the wilderness, to take hold of the wheels of administration and work them in such ways that like the *genii* of old in the Arabian Nights, under benign control and direction they will give us the good things we want. That is our business. Who talks of refusing office? I call it madness. What you can do in ten years by wielding office you cannot do in hundred years if you remain out of office (Hear, hear). Take office then, however much the gods may seem to frown, work your own fate as you would, and then the Governor may refuse your request once, he may, if he is Lord Lloyd (Laughter), refuse it twice, but I do not know of any man, even if he were sent out by Tory malevolence, I do not know of any man who will resist the combined pressure of ministers for a third time. That is the way to use strength, even such strength as this constitution, meant to construct our development, gives. But it is in our hands, as the second part of the resolution says,

to make, even of this evil instrument, good use for our own purposes. Our ministers should be men of clear vision, of iron will, of a determination to take office with honour but of an equal determination to drop office if it means any dishonour or any betrayal of the final interests of India (Cheers). That is why I shall point out so long as there is breath in my bosom that they are unwise in the extreme who counsel abstention from these sources of power. They are sources of power, not sources of weakness, and if only we knew our business, we could turn even this constitution to good account in the building up of the nation and in the erection of a new constitution more conformable to our aspirations. In order to achieve this end it is absolutely essential, as the second part of the resolution says, that we should remember—never let anything allow us to forget this—we should remember that imbedded in the constitution is an enemy of a most subtle nature, the poison of anti-national spirit; and mind you that poison is so pervasive, it is so quick in its action, it is so calculated to turn the wise into unwise people, it is so calculated to turn patriotic into unpatriotic people, it is so calculated to turn good sons of India into treacherous enemies of India, that the united strength of the wise is necessary to combat it. That is why we appeal to nationally-minded people in every group, in every party, for we do believe, thanks to heaven, that there are such men in every party to recognize each other, come together under one banner and fight the battle of India on a platform, no doubt of peace, but at the same time on a platform of combination, of resolution, of clear gaze on the needs of the future and an iron determination to go forward to that future notwithstanding the frowns of Governors, of Viceroy or, it may be, of Secretaries of State (Hear, hear). All these can only check the progress of India towards her destiny, they cannot bar it for ever, for if there is anything written in the book of fate, it is this—that to no people who have known greatness once shall it be denied altogether. (Prolonged applause).

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay). Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, You have before you this resolution in three parts. Part (a) records our disapproval of the new Government of India Act and reiterates our condemnation of its provisions of last year. The second part says that in spite of the reactionary and objectionable natures of this legislation the National Liberal Federation considers that in the circumstances of India anything like a boycott of the new constitution is futile and impossible. Let us ask to ourselves, why is an effective boycott of this constitution futile and impossible? And the only answer can be the answer that my predecessor has given, namely that we are ourselves so disunited amongst ourselves that we cannot bring about a complete boycott of this constitution. We have been told very often—and it is true—that the British Government have exploited our differences, that they are banking upon our communal cleavage, and that in framing this constitution at every step they have taken advantage of this situation. Granting that is so, ladies and gentlemen, is not the blame the greater on us? People interested in exploiting our differences will certainly exploit them and will certainly use them to their advantage. But we are senseless enough to allow ourselves to be so exploited and thus play in the hands of our enemies. Our aim should therefore be to unite to make all these differences disappear and present a united front and thus foil those who want to exploit these differences amongst ourselves. It is no use concealing from ourselves our shortcomings in this direction. It is no use putting the whole blame on the third party. They are certainly to blame, as my predecessor has pointed out. But surely have we not aided them in their attempts to foist this constitution upon us by our own shortcomings? Could it be doubted for a moment that if we had been united, if we had not been so communal, this constitution could never have been imposed upon us in the manner it has been imposed. I therefore appeal to you and appeal to all people in the country to make every effort to get out of these communal differences, to get out of this cleavage between north and South, Deccani and Gujrathi, Hindu and Muslim, Indian Christian or the other (cheers). And unless you do that, whatever constitution you may get, it will never be worked properly to the greatest advantage of the country. Therefore all efforts should be directed to eradicate these communal, provincial and racial differences.

Then, as Mr. Sastri, has pointed out, whatever the unsatisfactory character of this constitution is, out of that we can extract a certain amount of good, possibly a considerable amount of good if we are true to ourselves. If proper people are return-

ed to the legislatures, if proper ministers are there, whatever the special powers of the Governor and the Governor-General may be, if your ministers and if your legislatures act with honour and with one aim to serve the national interest of India, what Governor or what Governor-General can afford to quarrel with his cabinet every day? If they will present a united front, if they will make a bold stand and never yield on a question of principle, whatever the consequences may be, if they tender their resignations immediately they are interfered with unreasonably in doing what they think is right in the national interests and if the Legislature backs them up and no other ministry can be formed, where is the Governor or the Governor-General with all his safeguards and all his special powers that are reserved to him? Therefore it comes back to this again, ladies and gentlemen, that we have to be true to ourselves. However bad this Act may be, it depends upon ourselves to extract the best out of it and to make the advent of a proper constitution as early as we desire. (Hear, hear.)

The third part of the resolution tells us what will satisfy us. There is no dispute about that. We have often and often from this platform enunciated that we want full Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth for India and nothing less will satisfy us. Our aim therefore should be to continue to work for that aim and unite amongst ourselves to work this new constitution, bad as it is, to extract the best out of it and to strive for more, and I certainly predicate that no power on earth can stop our progress in that direction.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bombay:—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it has been eight long years since we first began to discuss from public platforms, in the press and in private conversations the future constitution of India, and during every year of those eight years every one has spoken, criticised and, I might even say, used the strongest language that was possible for any people to use, in connection with our future government. Now, Sir, those eight years have come to an end, and the constitution, our future constitution—for at least the immediate future—is an established fact. It appears that with some people the time has arrived when we can, speaking frankly, realise realities more truly than we were in a position to do a few months ago. I am not one of those who believe in this dictum. I believe in realising realities at all stages of the game, and I believe also in speaking perfectly frankly at all stages. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I have nothing very novel or new to say. There are different schools of thought in India to-day on the question of our future constitution. There are some, who believe in non-cooperation, not standing for the Councils and for having nothing to do with the future constitution. There is another school of thought that believes in going into the Councils to wreck the constitution either by boycotting ministerial positions or otherwise. There is the third school of thought which believes in contesting the elections, in going into the Councils, in taking office and extracting the very best that it is possible to do from the constitution. They believe in not seeking deadlocks. At the same time they are resolved never to avoid a deadlock at the sacrifice of a principle. And that is a school of thought I believe most of us belong to—at least I do—and that is the school of thought that in the latter part of his speech our Right Hon. Friend expounded with eloquence—which is his and his alone.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Sastri and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have thrown the searchlight upon ourselves. If we want to cure evils, the first thing is to realise those evils. The first thing is frankly and candidly to throw that searchlight upon ourselves and having done it, try to remedy the evil. The evil in India has grown more rapidly since 1921 than ever in the history of British India. Power, influence, and patronage have increased communal differences. That I believe has been the consequence not because of any inherent defect in ourselves. A good deal is only the result of human nature, and to a great extent the result, the deplorable result we see today, is our own fault due to our own actions. I regret to say—and I use that word in its proper and clear significance—that sometimes even a suggestion of rapprochement between communities is taken not in the best spirit by some of our educated and cultured leaders. The poison of communalism has got into our hearts,—and no one knows it more truly than you, Mr. Sastri,—to an extent that it makes it difficult to discuss without rousing bitter feelings. It is not only between the two

major communities in India. If it was so we might find a remedy. It has gone deeper still: it is dividing our great India into factions and sections. (Hear, Hear). Why in our every day life, in our daily experience we find men, cultured men, the most educated men, taking a narrow communal view on appointments, on all offices of honour and respect, on all offices of power and patronage. We find it amongst the so called Nationalists just as much as we find it amongst the uncultured, uneducated masses. And why is that so and whose fault is it? Are we continually going to blame a third party for it? I am a believer in the theory that if two persons, whoever they may be, desire to be friends no third person can make them enemies. But the desire is not here in India, and anybody who expresses earnestly and sincerely that desire for unity stands condemned to-day in the eyes of some so called patriotic men. (Hear, hear). By all means, Mr. Sastri, educate your children to believe in Indian nationalism, but also take care that when you have taught them, their fathers and mothers do not unteach what they have learnt within a few years of their leaving school (Hear, hear). And that is what I have seen, and that is what I have experienced. I have seen Hindus and Mohammedans, Christians and some of my own community mix together in their childhood like brothers, who in their social intercourse did not know that religion and social customs divided them. They left school and it was not very long before their mothers and fathers taught them their social differences, their religious differences, their caste prejudices, and before they reached manhood and I mean when I say manhood real manhood, — years of 30 to 35—I have seen them turned into the strongest, the most bigotted and the most bitter communalists.

Now I am one of those that believe that this evil can be remedied. I am an optimist: I am a complete optimist, and I express the confident hope that those speaking on public platforms twenty years hence will not make speeches such as you have heard to-day. But we want an immediate remedy even a partial remedy but immediately for the sake of our mother-country. You, Mr. Sastri and other gentlemen like you, can help with an immediate remedy, if you have the will today, which I doubt. I am calling a spade a spade. I am encouraged by the eloquence that I have heard, but I want that eloquence turned and changed into action. I have heard such speeches, if not equally eloquent, eloquent speeches, but I have seen things really go from bad to worse. Now regardless of the community of a man, if he is fit for a post, say the post of the Director of Public Instruction, why should he, a man of education, a man of some culture, be deprived of it? Surely you will not oppose on communal lines, as you do today, the appointment of that officer, because he happens to be not only a Hindu or a Mohammedan, but because he happens to be a Deccani, or a Gujerati or a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin. I would take a Mahar and make him a member of the Government of India if I could be assured that he had the stamina, the backbone, the character that is required, and will be required in a greater degree in the future, in a man holding high office. The scales should be held equally between all communities, if the man is capable of maintaining the reputation of Mother India.

Ladies and gentlemen, this Constitution, this Act is an established fact. Read it in cold blood, and it deserves all the condemnation that is contained in this resolution. There are safeguards all over the Act. Some of them have been inserted at the instance of Indians. I am not going to say more, at the instance of Indians. As a matter of fact, the truth is that no Act could have been put on the statute book unless some safeguards were inserted that had been suggested by Indians. There are other safeguards in the Act inserted by the Government in England. There is a third class of safeguards inserted at the point of the revolver by the diehards in England, and there is a fourth class of safeguards in this Act which have been inserted due to the reckless, perhaps unintentional, statements of some of our own countrymen. That this Act is full of safeguards, that it makes a distinction between communities and communities by statute, that some of these distinctions were put in at the instance of our own countrymen, nobody can deny. But however good a constitution you may get drafted by your own people, you will fail to work it unless you have got the men who are ready and willing to make a sacrifice and have honesty and character. However bad a constitution you may have, it will succeed if, on the other hand, you can produce in all provinces, honest and sincere gentlemen to take office, gentlemen

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not born, but gentlemen made by God; you will then make a success of the worst constitution that can be imposed upon you. Provided you get such men, a Governor or a Viceroy will be helpless. As was pointed out by Mr. Winston Churchill, the safeguards in the hands of a Governor and a Viceroy can be made by Indians mere waste paper. It is up to us to make the choice between the safeguards and waste paper. If we could have the will, if we could have unity: We have the will, and God help us, we shall have unity. But to get that unity, we must change our mentality, and I pray and hope, Mr. Sastri, that this Act, bad as it is, will be an instrument which we can take advantage of for a change of mentality amongst all classes, all creeds and all communities, and with that change of mentality—I am an optimist—we will succeed in getting a great measure of self-government even through this wretched Act. And all we can do is to make every effort, instead of condemning and abusing it, to attain our ambition which is within our reach, provided we will it. (Loud cheers).

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani:— Fellow Liberals, ladies and gentlemen, I was wondering before I heard the last speech what I could say here which I had not said at the three previous sessions of the Federation. I am therefore deeply indebted to my dear and esteemed friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir for having come to my help and relieved me of that difficulty by having furnished me with some material upon which I could base a few observations which would not be stale by repetition. At the same time, I must confess that after hearing the last speech, I am in a very chastened mood. I have learnt of the many enormities of which I, as an Indian nationalist, am guilty in common with you, with Mr. Sastri and others of our colleagues in public life. And I hope some moral good has been done to me, if I were capable of being morally improved by being also told where the responsibility lay for nearly everything that is bad in the Government of India Act which we condemn. We have been adjured just now not to condemn and to abuse, but to turn the searchlight inwards and improve ourselves and convert this very act that we condemn into an instrument of our own moral regeneration. I hope, Mr. President, I am not constitutionally fond of abuse, but in politics I equally confess that I attach a great value to attack as a weapon that must be used by persons who can only use moral weapons and do not intend to use, even if they could, physical weapons. I will promise Sir Cowasji that I shall consciously utter no single word of abuse, but I fear I have also to promise to him that I shall not spare him by way of attack or condemnation. The theme of Sir Cowasji Jehangir's discourse is that we are steeped in communalism, and it is this that we should blame for whatever is unfortunate in the Government of India Act.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir:— I did not say communalism alone was responsible.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani:— Not alone, but mostly.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir:— I did not say mostly either.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani:— Sir Cowasji did not say mostly even. So I am glad to have his assurance that he did not really mean that our communalism was even mostly responsible for the mischief of the Government of India Act. If his actual language and the vehemence with which that language was uttered conveyed a different impression to my mind, and possibly to some of your minds, I am quite willing, and I am sure you will be equally willing, to express a sense of satisfaction that Sir Cowasji is really a better man than his speech might have led some people to think (Cheers).

Sir Cowasji did not pause to put one question: What was the genesis of this political communalism; who was responsible for its birth; who was responsible for its development; who is responsible for its continued existence; who is responsible for its accentuation and extension? I dare say that Sir Cowasji is not unfamiliar with the circumstances of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy of October 1st 1906. I dare say that he knows by now what is almost a historic fact that the Muslims suddenly awoke to a sense of the peril in which they were living in the midst of hostile Hindus and also to a sense of their importance as gate-keepers, and what not, not spontaneously, but under inspiration from Simla, (cheers), a place which Sir Cowasji knows much better than I do, because he spends a few weeks every year on those celebrated heights (cheers).

I hope Sir Cowasji Jehangir has read the recently published volume of the letters of Lord Minto which were collected by Lady Minto. I hope he has read the part of it which relates to the history of that Deputation and of the most foolish speech which the Viceroy made in reply to that Deputation committing himself to every preposterous demand made by that deputation not without inspiration derived from the headquarters of the Government of India. The Indian National Congress of which we all were members, the Indian National Congress which was then truly national, the Indian National Congress upon the completion of 50 years of whose existence we sincerely congratulate every Congressman,—fought hard, strenuously, continuously, against that colossal mischief. Lord Morley himself was unconvinced of the position taken by Lord Minto, was satisfied that it was a great mischief that separate communal electorates would do, and tried his best by his Despatch of the 17th December 1908 to substitute joint electorates for separate electorates. But again, and I say this on the authority of some leaders of the separatist Muslim agitation, again at the instance of the Secretariat of the Government of India, the Muslim community set up an agitation against Lord Morley's proposal and the latter was compelled to yield to the bad counsel of the Government of India for the only reason that if he did not do so, the Indian Councils Bill of 1909 would not be passed into law by Parliament. It is true that in the year 1916 the Congress entered into an agreement with the Muslim League and approved of the continuation of separate electorates. But it was not long before experience taught everybody, that was a most ill-advised step which was taken and that it should be undone as soon as possible. We have had during the last 15 years experience of the working of the Legislative Councils in which the representatives of separate electorates form a substantial proportion of members. If there is one thing which that experience has demonstrated more than another, it is this, that as long as a substantial block of members was returned to the legislatures through separate communal electorates, anything like National Unity in public life was an impossibility; that howsoever a large proportion of members might be elected members, and even if the whole of the Councils were to consist of elected members, the result would be futility as long as those members owed allegiance not to one supreme entity, The People, but to various communities and various interests. Sir Cowasji Jehangir perhaps would turn and ask me, 'why did you not arrive at an agreement with the Muslims every time that you met in London on the basis of joint electorates'? My answer to him is not new and is not difficult for anyone to follow. I put it in this form. If in a court of law the presiding judge had given a private assurance to the plaintiff that his claim would be decreed in full and with costs and afterwards made an ostentatious declaration in open court from the bench that the subject-matter of the dispute was eminently one fit for private settlement out of the Court and therefore he would adjure the parties to retire and reach a settlement, where is that foolish plaintiff who would agree to make concession to the defendant after having in his pocket an assurance from the presiding judge himself that his claim would be decreed in full and with costs? I dare say Sir Cowasji Jehangir has read a most remarkable letter published in March 1932, a letter written by Sir Edward Benthall appropriately addressed to the "Royalists" of Calcutta in which he recited the secret history of what was called the Minorities Pact concluded at the Second Round Table Conference in London, what part the India office had in the bringing about of that Minorities Pact, how members of the British Cabinet were parties to the provisions embodied in that Pact and what part the unofficial European members of that Round Table Conference played in the bringing about divisions between one section and another of the Round Table Conference. Here again, let not one more circumstance be forgotten. Who were the Indians in the Round Table Conference? Lord Irwin declared from his place in the Central Legislature that there would be the representatives of the two countries negotiating on equal terms and that upon the maximum of agreement they reached would be founded proposals for parliamentary legislation for the future governance of this country. But the representatives of one of the two countries, the country the more affected, were the nominees of the agent of the Government of the other country, and in the selection of those nominees the greatest care was exercised in that Second Round Table Conference to exclude an element known in India as the Muslim Nationalists. One more year, and even Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was discovered to be too dangerous a political character to be safely admitted into the precincts of the Round Table Conference (Laughter). During the time the third Round Table

Conference was in session in London there was a Unity Conference here at which to my knowledge, night and day, the most strenuous and disinterested effort was made to reach an agreement. On two very contentious points, extreme Muslims and extreme Hindus reached this agreement, that Sind might be separated from Bombay and created as a separate province subject to certain safeguards in the interests of the minority and on condition that it would be a self-sufficing province without a subsidy from the central revenues. The second point was that the Muslims in British India would have 32 per cent of representation in the future Federal Legislature. This was published and the publication did instant mischief. Sir Samuel Hoare who, I congratulate all of you, is no more the Secretary of State for India (hear, hear), and who, I am glad, is no more a Secretary of State at all (Laughter)—Sir Samuel Hoare in the speech which he made at the conclusion of the third Round Table Conference, made a public announcement that his Majesty's Government had decided to separate Sind with no safeguards for the minorities such as the Muslims agreed to here and with the aid of a subvention from the central revenues. He further announced that his Majesty's Government had decided that the Muslims of British India would have 33.13 per cent of the representation in the Federal Legislature. When Reuter cabled this to India and it was published, the effect was again instantaneous. The Muslim members of that Unity Conference had no more use for unity or for the conference, and by the next available train they returned home and the conference came to a premature end.

I should like to know at what point in the history of India during the last 20 or 25 years everyone engaged in the patriotic attempt at increasing amity and unity between the communities has not found himself frustrated by the action of the third party which is in power, which is interested in preventing any unity and which being in power succeeds in preventing it (hear, hear). Sir Cowasji Jehangir is a member of the Assembly; the work of the Assembly does not bring its members into touch with matters administrative which affect the daily lives of the people in the provinces. I would ask any member of any provincial Legislative Council to examine the records of that body and to tell me if at every step he is not confronted by this problem of action taken by the local Government, the one certain effect of which would be to keep the Muslims on the side of the bureaucracy and as far away as possible from the Hindus and nationalists. Well, human nature is human nature. We have learnt from Sir Cowasji Jehangir how, so far as communal prejudices go, Hindu human nature is particularly wicked.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir :—I did not say that; it is a perfectly wrong interpretation.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :— Sir Cowasji Jehangir corrects me and says that it is perfectly wrong. I do not want to impute to him anything which he did not mean to say, and as all of you have heard his speech as well as I did, I leave it to you to place upon the language which he uttered what construction you might think it would legitimately bear, and I would abide by the verdict of all English knowing men who heard that speech. Here again I am not imputing to Sir Cowasji Jehangir any bad motive. Having had the honour and privilege of knowing him well, I know that he is incapable of deliberately uttering one unkind word against anybody. I am only concerned with the spoken word, with the totality of the spoken words and with the effect which those words produced certainly upon one mind—I think would have produced upon many other minds not wholly unacquainted with the language in which that speech was made. Well, the British are not free from the limitations of human nature; the Muslims are not free from the limitations of human nature and the Hindus also are not free—I am not ashamed to say this. Politics is not concerned with matters spiritual; it is neither religion nor metaphysics; it is a wholly worldly affair. People indulge in political activities for the sentimental satisfaction of being a self-governing people and not being under the domination of a foreign race and for the practical satisfaction of their hunger not to be exploited by foreigners, not to be continuously in a subordinate position because of the exploitation of foreigners. And after all, into politics worldly considerations do largely enter and they do determine the attitude of one community towards another.

I come from a province where 85 per cent of the population is Hindu and 14 per cent is Muslim. I extend almost friendly invitation to Sir Cowasji Jehangir to

the United Provinces, to spend a few days there, to study the material that would be placed before him, to ascertain facts and to go back to Bombay and say conscientiously that the Hindus receive even fractional justice or that they can be blamed for being discontented and for being unable to come to agreement with the Muslims who are under the protecting shadow of those who are in power.....

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad :— He did not make an attack on Hindus as such.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir :— I said all communities. Human nature applies to all communities in India.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani :— Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's interruption is to the effect that I am criticizing Sir Cowasji Jehangir as if he had attacked the Hindu community as such. That remark was supplemented by Sir Cowasji who said that he attacked all the communities. I belong to one of the communities which were attacked and I am entitled to defend myself so far as the attack concerns my community (cheers). Let members of non-Hindu communities who are here, if they feel a sense of grievance at the attack made upon them or supposed to have been made upon them in the speech, come forward and defend themselves also. But it will not be denied that any one who belongs to a community which is included amongst those which were referred to is entitled to defend it in so far as that attack in intention or in effect may have been directed against it. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad would not have overlooked the pointed observations made by Sir Cowasji Jehangir in reply to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri's speech. Now Mr. Srinivasa Sastri belongs to a certain community, and I have not yet heard that he disowns that community of which he is a member (laughter). To give another turn to my reply, Sir Cowasji Jehangir has certainly attacked Indian nationalists as being lip nationalists, nationalists on the public platform but communalists in action, not every individual among them but Indian nationalists as a body. Well, we are a body of Indian nationalists, we are not the Muslim League, we are not the Hindu Mahasabha, we are the *National Liberal Federation*. It is our resolution which condemns the Government of India Act of 1935 in unmeasured language, it is with reference to that condemnation that Sir Cowasji Jehangir gave us the advice: "Do not condemn and do not abuse so much, remove this sinister evil of communalism and improve yourselves." I do not think, in view of this circumstance, that there is anything irrelevant or unfair in the reply that I am making. I am concerned with this: When tomorrow the speech of Sir Cowasji Jehangir is published, what is the impression that that speech will make upon the man in the street who will read it? What is the interpretation which that speech will bear and which will be placed upon that speech, on the basis of the speech made, not upon the intention of the speaker but on the basis of the spoken word? What is that tomorrow the *Times of India*, the *Statesman* and other papers of that ilk can say and are likely to say? It is this. The Liberals have had a wholesome lesson; they went on indulging in superlative condemnation of the Government of India Act as if the whole blame for whatever was unsatisfactory in that Act rested upon British shoulders; fortunately there was one among them, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, a frank man unlike the majority of politicians, a candid man, a man with the courage of his convictions, not a slave of popularity, who told them the truth to their face, in downright language; after this let no one hold the British Government and the British Parliament responsible for the reservations and the safeguards and the other unsatisfactory features of the Government of India Act; these reservations and the safeguards were, three fourths of them, demanded by one section or another of Indians; these Indians themselves were unable to come to an agreement among themselves upon matters of communal discord, they therefore, almost forced the British Government to pass the Government of India Act in the particular form in which it is. I should like to know from any one, after hearing or reading Sir Cowasji Jehangir's speech, whether he can then say with fairness, with candour, that the responsibility for the Government of India Act is not upon Indian shoulders more than upon British shoulders. I deny *in toto* the charge, either express or implied, that we are responsible for all or much that is unsatisfactory in the Government of India Act. I affirm that the evil of communalism which is today rampant in the country has been forced upon an unwilling country, has been kept up, has been accentuated, has been extended, by the British.

Government for reasons of their own (hear, hear), and that for as long as political power remains with the British bureaucracy in this country, for so long the attempts that private parties, Hindus or Muslims, may make to compose differences between themselves are not likely to succeed. Every time such an attempt has been made the result has been failure, followed by increased bitterness. There has also been another reason. Every time such an attempt has been made it has failed because it has been followed by some fresh concession to Muslims at the expense of the Hindus.

It is true that the communal differences in this country are responsible for a great deal of our misfortunes, but that very misfortune of communal difference is due to the still greater misfortune of a foreign rule, with all power in non-Indian hands, with no responsibility to any Indian Legislature and utterly unresponsive to any Indian opinion. Therefore I say the Government of India Act of 1935 is a great national misfortune, it has been forced upon us. I once more say that I am not responsible as an Indian for that misfortune, and I repeat that apart from the misfortune it is in a political sense it is a still greater misfortune from this point of view, that under the dispensation of this new Government of India Act not only will it not be possible for communities, not only is it not likely that communities can make up their differences more easily than they have done in the past but that the differences will increase and that communal disharmony, communal discord, communal strife, will be the children which this Government of India Act will breed in this country.

I do not think I need detain you with further condemnation of the Government of India Act in any respect in detail, the main provisions of that Act which we condemn and abhor, because that has been done often and enough. I need say nothing upon the third paragraph of the resolution which is but a reaffirmation of what we have said the whole time of our existence as a Liberal Federation, but I do emphasise the second paragraph. Congressmen preach homilies to us as if we were responsible for the differences among Indian nationalists. Day before yesterday I alluded to that impression and stated that the Liberal party has left nothing undone either in taking the initiative or in responding to the invitation of the Congress so as to make up our differences and make at least a working understanding possible. We now say again that in view of the situation created by the Government of India Act, it is imperative, in the supreme interests of India, that all nationalists of all parties and groups should act together to prevent a serious national misfortune. We mean what we say and, so far as we are concerned, I think I am quite safe in giving an assurance through this Federation to the whole country that neither Liberals as a body nor any individual Liberal anywhere in the country will be wanting in any effort that they can make to bring about such an understanding with nationalist of other parties, so that common action among all of them may be possible in the elections next year (hear, hear and applause). We do not record a mere pious hope, we mean seriously and actively that every possible endeavour should be made to arrive at a working understanding with other parties which also are pledged to nationalism so that the plans of the bureaucracy, or reactionaries of extreme communalists, may all be frustrated and out of this very Government of India Act results may be produced which may confound its authors and which may enable us not only to do some little good in the present but also to accelerate the advent of Swaraj (Loud applause).

Lastly, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before resuming my seat I will once more say this that we Liberals are not obsessed by a communal outlook, we all are the victims of policy to which we are no parties, of policy which has been imposed upon us without our consent and in spite of our effort, and that our future work shall lie in the double direction of bringing about political reforms so as to land us in swaraj and also by abolition or modification of every legislative or administrative device which either is intended or is certainly calculated to perpetuate communal disharmony, and we pledge ourselves to do whatever lies in our power to bring about national unity and through national unity Self-Government and nothing less and nothing else (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Sir M. V. Joshi (Central Provinces and Berar):— Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, after the opinions that you have heard—and seemingly they are all unanimous—it is difficult for one from the Central Provinces and Berar whose people I am supposed to represent here—that is why I believe our President wanted

that somebody from this province should be able to state his views with regard to the proposition that is before us—it is difficult for one to disagree with those views. I may assure the President that we agree thoroughly with the three positions taken in the proposition as set forth here. We agree to the first part; with regard to the second, the line of action is clear, the lead has been given by the President and we accept that. We accept the first and the third and I believe that it will be probably the last time that we shall have to affirm it; I do not suppose that there would be another occasion to affirm either the first or the third. The second we can utilise as best as we possibly can—that is how the Central Provinces looks at it. I think, in fairness to the people who heard the speech of my friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir and the impression created on their minds, an impression which is different from that created on the mind of my friend Mr. Chintamani, I may be permitted, in short, to state what the impression was on my mind. I am one of those who I think can be taken to know enough English to be able to realize what Sir Cowasji said and I therefore should like to place my views as to what impression it created on my mind. I never considered that Sir Cowasji Jehangir was apportioning any blame to any community—that was my idea—he was not apportioning any blame, he was not saying who was responsible for creating this communal discord. Mr. Chintamani may be perfectly right as regards the genesis of the communal trouble but I am certain that so far as my impression went Sir Cowasji Jehangir was not attempting to apportion the blame or trying to get at the genesis of this communal discord. He was stating it as a fact that there does exist this communal discord even among the best of nationalists and that this canker is getting at the bottom of everything.

That is I think the main theme that came to my mind from what he spoke. I do not think he meant otherwise. I am almost certain that that was the impression created upon at least some of my friends. Therefore in my opinion, I think we should cast away from our mind any such idea of attacking any one of the communities. Let us take the fact that among some of the best of us who call ourselves Nationalists there is that canker which eats away the heart of India and which figures in everything that we want alone. Here are efforts made in the past to bring unity amongst the Mohamedans who were first responsible for putting this apple of discord between the two Communities. We might still try and try and try again till we find it is impossible—it may eventually not come to anything, but still we will try for unity. The second part of the resolution is intended for that. Any Nationalist, be he a Moslem, be he a Congressman, be he anybody, we want to cooperate with him and bring into the legislature such nationalists as will come under the third class described by Sir Cowasji Jehangir and will not create deadlocks deliberately but at the same time not flinch on any occasion when they are called upon to yield a principle for the sake of office. They will not do that. He put them in four classes and he said that he himself was in the third class, and I believe most of the Liberals are in that class. I may mention some of the difficulties that confront us with regard to the working of the Act. Work the Act we shall have to. But the greatest difficulty which Mr. Sastri pointed out is to find a minister who will be worth his salt. No doubt such a minister will be able to do good things. Perfectly true. But he won't call me a pessimist or being unduly despondent when I say that I feel very little chance in the Central Provinces and Berar of getting such a man for that position. There are various difficulties about it. Apart from that we have a paucity of men. I do not pretend to say anything about Bombay or the bigger provinces. But I say this with regard to the Central Provinces and Berar that there is a paucity of men who will be honest and true and who will stand the test of Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. Sastri. That is our difficulty. And if that does not go to the root of the trouble, what else is it? Therefore I think we need all the advice given by Mr. Sastri, namely we should be cleansing ourselves first to be able to work this Act, and if that is done I think we should be able to get the best out of the Act.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta) :— Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, inspite of the ostensible difference between Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. Chintamani there is no mistake that both of them were agreed as to the essentials. Sir Cowasji Jehangir started by saying that there has been agitation for the last eight years in the press, on the platform and in private groups, and that as a result of agitation this Government of India Act has been, as has been aptly stated in the resolution, imposed on

us. What Sir Cowasji Jehangir intended was to determine our line of attack for the future in view of what has happened. That was all that he was doing, and Mr. Chintamani is attempting to do the same. In sub-paragraph (b) of this resolution the idea has been put forward that this imposed constitution has to be accepted. We can do nothing else and that however unacceptable the constitution is, as it has been imposed on us we should face it, take it with both hands, try to work it to the best of our capacity in such a manner as will benefit our country and ensure progress and then what is further—we should try to work it in such a manner that we may have at no very great distance of time the constitution of our choice. Both of them are agreed that we must not sleep over what has taken place. We must be alert. The agitation must continue. Let no one feel from the British Parliament downwards that a measure has been promulgated satisfying the requirements of the situation. It is not satisfying, and the requirements still continue to be unsatisfied. Let that be made clear that there is no satisfaction in this country, that the agitation for further advancement will continue and will become more and more insistent. The British Government should have known by this time that dealing with Indian problems in the way that they have done has only led to the further spread of dissatisfaction in India. Look at the eighties of the last century and look at the present day. Look at the great difference. Now the desire for freedom, for self-rule, for attaining power to mould our own affairs is a desire not only prevalent in the minds of a few political doctrinaires but is widespread even amongst the masses. Go into the country; go into the villages and ask the villagers. They will tell you what they want. The ideas have spread to a large extent and there has been organisation. Organisation of opinion and organisation for action will spread further and further until they become irresistible. That is what is wanted. We must not sleep over it: let us take it up what has to be done and work it to the best of our capacity, for attaining the ideals which we have in view and let us strive ultimately to so alter the framework and the very face of the constitution as to put it before us and before the world as a structure which is after our own heart.

Sir, it is unnecessary in view of the discussions in this Federation at previous sessions to go into the defects of this measure. Some of the defects have been clearly pointed out by Mr. Chintamani in his forceful speech. The result of dividing the people into groups for the purpose of the exercise of the right of franchise within those groups separately has been that people will go into the legislatures with a mandate from a particular community only and for the benefit of that community and not for the general welfare. This has caused the greatest hardship to certain provinces where the majority communities have not in the past taken their part in the work of general uplift for a very long time. They have not had experience in the service of their country and it is they with their want of experience and mentality that are going to be placed in power over all. You can easily imagine what the result in those provinces will be. But the British Government has for various reasons, reasons which have not been explained to us and which are, I believe, futile at the present moment to discuss because the ultimate shape of the Act is now before us, imposed this constitution upon us. The result is there; we have to face it; we have to face it and we have to go into the working of it and we have to make strenuous attempts so to mould it that the policy we have always advocated in this Federation, the policy of strenuous and straight work for the general uplift of the country without distinction of caste, creed or religion; may soon be carried out if that is the policy that we desire to inculcate then let those amongst us that go into the legislatures, that accept office or are placed in positions of authority, by their ideas and by their acts so impress upon all concerned the justice of the cause they represent that that very fact will ultimately influence those with whom it may be their lot to work, and the real ideas about public service will spread even amongst the communities who at present do not think of any interests except their own individual interests only. Sir, it is for this reason that I approve of the recommendation contained in this resolution. It will be a great hardship and probably some humiliation to a great many persons to have to work the constitution as framed under the Government of India Act. But they can only in the present circumstances face the difficulties courageously and without yielding even one inch of their opinions or of their attitude fight straight on with the optimism of men like Sir Cowasji Jehangir, in the assured faith that their ideals will prevail.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

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The Federation then adjourned for tea and reassembled at 4-45 p. m., with the President in the Chair.

THE ARMY AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Mr. H. N. Kunzru (Allahabad): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution that I move runs as follows:—

Resolution VI

“(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 nationalisation 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 Indianisation, 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 steady 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.”

I have spoken often at Liberal gatherings and elsewhere on the subject of this resolution, and I do not propose therefore to detain you for many minutes in commending this resolution to your acceptance. Our demands are simple: we want an army that we can call our own. We have been twitted with our inability to defend ourselves. Indeed, our weakness in this respect has formed the subject of many a diatribe against us on the part of distinguished civilian and army officers. It has been said that, if British authority were withdrawn, there would not be a sepoy or a platoon left in Bengal. Well, if that is so and if it is really the desire of the British Government to yield authority, in no way can they show their sincerity more faithfully than by enabling us to guard our country against external invasion and protect it from civil commotion. But what is the record of the Government in this respect? After the discussion which took place earlier in the day on the subject of constitutional reform you will not be surprised to learn that whatever advance has been made in respect of the Indianization of the army has been very meagre and disappointing. The military question is a part of the constitutional question, and if the British Government are so niggardly as not to rely on our authority and want to retain it in their own hands, you can well imagine what readiness they must have shown in training Indians to control the future army of India. When the Round Table Conference took place, Indianization of the army was one of the most important subjects which was discussed by one of its sub-committees. It was then said that two things should be borne in mind in this connection. The national army required two things. The soldiers needed for the army should be drawn entirely from the country and the army so composed should be officered entirely by our nationals. Now the hope was held out to us that the committees which would be appointed to investigate these demands of ours would do justice to us. Indeed, in spite of the opposition of many British members of the sub-committee on Defence to the replacement of British by Indian troops, Mr. Thomas who presided over the committee, had the candour to say that it was impossible to talk of Indianization without at the same time taking steps to substitute Indian for British soldiers. Again it was said that the committee which would be appointed to consider the

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claims of Indians to appointment as high officers, that is King's Commissioned Officers, would consider the question in all its bearings. It would consider previous reports in the Army Department and at one time or other approved by the Government of India themselves in the time of Lord Rippon. It was thought that a committee before which all this material would be placed which would contain in it eminent Indians would be in a position to formulate a scheme which would satisfy Indian national aspirations. Yet, as you all know when the committee met, it was not allowed to consider this question at all. The moment the members assembled in England they were informed that it had been decided that a military college should be established in India and that a certain number of the cadets should be admitted into it annually. The number announced was about 60. I shall deal with the number very soon. But just think of the procedure adopted in the light of assurances repeatedly given at the meetings of the Defence Committee and the Round Table Conference.

There was a great deal of discussion this morning about our own defects and of the attitude of the British Government towards us. Here I ask you to consider whether it was in consequence of any disunion amongst us that the British Government went back on its assurance, and, instead of giving the committee which had been called to consider the question of Indianization another opportunity of expressing its opinion, it was told that the matter was withdrawn from its purview and decided by higher authority. Was it not absolute bad faith? Was it not a flagrant instance of dishonesty on the part of the British Government? The British Government, I dare say, felt that a committee like the one that had been appointed, if provided with all the material prepared by the sub-committees and by Lord Rawlinson a few years earlier would make radical demands and make the position of the Government, if it refused to yield, extraordinarily difficult. It therefore extricated itself from the situation by making itself guilty of bad faith. We have been often told by Sir Samuel Hoare and other British politicians during the last 7 or 8 years, although on occasions they might seem to be conservative, to be unwilling to yield to the demands of Indians, they did so only because they valued their word and they did not want to accept what they were not to implement to the last degree. Here is an assurance by one of the Ministers of the Labour Government, a Britisher to the core and how was it honoured? It was completely forgotten after the defence sub-committee was over. Perhaps I am charitable in saying so. I ought to say that it was deliberately disregarded, because it was going to be inconvenient. Now what about the number that has been conceded to us? Formerly about 30 cadets were sent annually to the British Sandhurst. In consequence of the discussion which took place with regard to the constitutional reform it was announced that 60 Indians would be admitted into the Military college that would be established in India. The number was doubled. And this we are asked to regard as sign of great generosity on the part of the British Government. Those people who are surprised at our mentality in accusing the British people of niggardliness in the matter of conceding constitutional reforms would certainly ask us to regard the advance made in connection with the appointment of Indians as military officers also as an act of great generosity! Well, we often pointed out what this generosity amounted to. I do not care what the number assigned to Indians is — whether it is 30 or 40 or 50 or 60. What we are concerned with is this. How many Indians will be available every year in order to replace British officers by Indian officers? That is the essence of Indianisation. I will give you an illustration which would make my meaning more clear. Suppose to-day the British Government created in the Indian army about a thousand new posts and appointed Indians holding King's Commissions to these appointments. Would our aspirations be satisfied by it? Is all that we want? Simply the appointment of Indians to higher grades? Or, are we asking for an Indian army which would be manned and officered completely by our own nationals? Our demand is obviously the latter. And if it is so, it is no consolation to us to know that Indians would be appointed as officers in the higher grades unless they would at the same time take the place of retiring British officers. Now look at the number in the light of this observation. We have been given 60, 70 cadets annually. But at the same time we have been told that about 30 of these would be taken from the Commissioned officers and that would after statutory training go back to the posts as

platoon officers with higher rank. They would not replace a single British officer. They would remain where they were but because of the superior training given to them, they would receive military promotion. It is clear, therefore, that these people cannot be taken into account in any scheme of Indianization. It is only the remaining 30 that are available for this purpose and what proportion of the annual recruitment to the officers' grades in the Indian Army does this 30 come to? This 30 supplies for the Indian Cavalry, Artillery, Air Force, Engineering Service and so on. All these are departments to which the Indians are to be admitted. No one has told us with absolute accuracy what is the annual rate of recruitment in the officers' ranks in the Army. But we generally understand that, in order to take the place of retired officers, about 150 have to be admitted annually. You thus see that this number which has been conceded to us, I mean the number really available for the purpose of Indianization, varies between 20 and 25 per cent of the annual recruitment to the officers' ranks. Now we all know that in accordance with the resolution of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar which was passed by the Legislative Asssmbly, the Government of India agreed at that time that at least 25 per cent of the officers appointed annually, or 25 per cent of the appointments made to the British Sandhurst, would be Indianized. We thus see that we have not yet obtained any satisfaction of the demands which were made by us 15 years ago. It is claimed that our position has been improved a deal by the new Constitution under which the goal of the British Government is the establishment of Dominion Status here. But so far as the Army Department is concerned, it has had no possible effect; in consequence of the re-orientation of British policy, our position has not materially advanced in regard to the Indianization of the Army. It may be thought that we are jaundiced and that we do not recognize the forward move made by the British Government. I will therefore read out to you the opinion of an eminent Professor who held a high position in this country—I refer to Lt. General Sir George Macmunn. In discussing the question of Indianization in his book "Martial Races of India" which was published 2 or 3 years ago he has made the following observation:—

"In the desire to meet the demands of the politicians, the Government of India have announced their intention of Indianizing enough new units to form a complete Indian Division. Already there are 8 units to which the experiment is being extended and 4 or 8 more, with the technical services, is no great addition".

This is the opinion of a Professor about the scheme which has been recently put into effect.

I have dealt so far with the question of Indianization of higher ranks, but what about the lower ranks? Has anything been done to make the Indian Army homogeneous in its ranks? Has any step been taken to make the subordinate ranks wholly national? We were told that an expert committee would make the investigation. We know that although this Committee came to certain conclusions over 2 years ago, its report has not yet been published. The conclusion which the experts have arrived at is that in the present state of things it will be unwise to take any steps to reduce the strength of the British Army. It was announced some time ago by the Commander-in-Chief that steps will be taken to Indianize the Army in the higher ranks. This would in itself involve the substitution of British troops, which form part of every Division, by Indian troops. In so far as that aspect of the matter is concerned, steps are being taken to replace a portion of the British Army by Indian soldiers. It is true that there is such a large number of British soldiers in the Indian Army that it would take a number of years to replace them entirely by Indian soldiers. We also know that the theory is advanced that British soldiers should not be subjected to orders from Indian officers. In view of all this, we do not know how long the process of complete Indianization will take, but it is clear that it is not going to take effect very soon. Therefore, the so-called Indianization of the lower ranks in consequence of the Indianization of the higher ranks cannot be a source of satisfaction. Our soldiers have proved their valour in every battlefield, they have shown their discipline and loyalty both in peace and in war. I know that there is a fallacy prevalent now that only martial races can be recruited to the Army. I will deal with this aspect of the question presently, but taking the present method of

recruitment to be correct, we do not see any reason why these men, I mean the Indian soldiers, should not receive the same training as British soldiers do in their own country. They should receive the fullest and rigorous training that a soldier can be subjected to. We do not want in the least to tolerate inefficiency among the Indian soldiers. We want that Indians appointed to any rank, high or low, should in every respect be equal to their British compatriots. What is the training which the British soldiers receive? A training from 12 to 20 months. If the education that you give to the British soldier is given to the Indian soldier, would he not then be able to take the position of the British soldier? We are, however, told that in the present circumstances there may be a grave risk in taking such a step and in taking such a delicate step we will not be wise. I am myself for appointing none but the best officers in our Army. We cannot accept the second best material for the Army on which the protection of our country will depend. What is the test that we shall be subjected to? What is the experience that the British Government desires? Take the case of the Indian Civil Service. Now the Indians have been working in that service for a long time, for nearly two generations. One would have thought that ample experience would have been gained as to their capacity to discharge their responsibilities, yet in regard to this very service no steps have been taken to increase the Indian element in it. It is said that great constitutional changes are now being made and therefore great readjustments would be needed in order to make the constitution a success, and that at such a time the difficulties of the Service should not be increased unnecessarily by making a change in the composition of the Service on which primarily depends the discharge of the superior executive and administrative work in this country. If this argument can be used in regard to the Indian Civil Service after two generations of experience, can we feel that such an objection is inspired by any good motive? Can we feel that there is any honesty behind the demand that Indians cannot be appointed in larger numbers to the higher ranks or in substitution to the British soldiers because their efficiency has not been tested? I for one feel that, in the face of facts, want of experience is merely an excuse and that the unwillingness to take the steps demanded by public opinion is due to their desire to keep the ultimate power in their hands as long as possible in this country.

Just one word with regard to the population from which our soldiers can be drawn. We are told that the population of India is large and yet not more than 10 per cent of it can supply soldiers of the requisite knowledge, that is out of 350 million, only 35 million men, women and children, belong to a class which, in the opinion of the Government, possesses the quality needed in the military officers and soldiers.

Now, what is the test to which this statement can be subjected? Let me say, in the first instance, that some time ago when this question was raised in the Council of State, the Commander-in-Chief hotly denied that the military authorities ever used such a phrase as martial races of India and that that was a phrase which was used by civilians. Is that so? I was for short time a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly and in that capacity took some part in the discussion of military problems. I remember that the Army Secretary on more than one occasion admitted that in the opinion of the military authorities there were only certain classes from which soldiers could be drawn. Besides, in numerous books written by civilians and soldiers do we find observations made with regard to the paucity of martial material in India. The theory has often been advanced that the safety of India, although its population is large, can depend only on a class with a very limited population. In order to prove my contention I refer again to Lt. General Macmunn's book from which I read a passage a little while ago. He says :

“To understand what is meant by the martial races of India is to understand from the inside the real story of India. We do not speak of the martial races of Britain as distinct from the non-martial, nor of Germany, nor of France. But in India we speak of the martial races as a thing apart and because the mass of the people have neither martial aptitude nor physical courage...The courage that we should talk of colloquially as 'guts'”.

This proves that the military authorities do act on the theory that there are certain races in India known as the martial races from which alone recruits should be drawn for the Indian army. Now, is it really true that no other classes can supply men with the physical stamina and courage needed in soldiers? Well in order to test this, consider the composition of the Indian army at various periods of time. As the time at our disposal is short, I will refer merely to the composition of the army as it was immediately before the war and as it is today. As the Simon Commission pointed out, leaving aside the Gurkha soldiers, about 60 per cent of the soldiers have been drawn from one province only, the Punjab. Yet, before the war, the proportion of the Punjabis in the army was not as great as it is now. I cannot just now tell you what the proportion was, but I had some time ago occasion to consider the matter and I found that there were then substantially more soldiers taken from other parts of India than they are now. Surely since the last war those classes from which men were taken till 1914 could not have been deteriorated. In fact, during the war on account of the demand for men, new classes were admitted to the army, and some of them at any rate were found to have been thoroughly successful. I can give you one instance relating to my own province, the United Provinces, and that is of the Garhwalis. Before the war the Garhwalis were not held in high esteem as soldiers and yet during the war these men from whom practically no recruitment was made and who were regarded as good enough only for being labourers and porters gave such an excellent account of themselves that we now see a Garhwali regiment. Are we not justified then in assuming that the experience of the great war instead of leading to a contraction of the area from which soldiers are drawn ought to have had just the opposite effect and that it should have encouraged the British Government to allow new classes to supply men to the army? But this has not been done, and on the contrary the area seems to me to have been contracted and the policy has been followed almost consistently during the last 20 years of recruiting the army mainly from those parts of India which are regarded as pre-eminently loyal. There might have been some ground for this procedure in the past, but if the British Government are genuine in their claim that Dominion Status is the goal of their policy and that they wish to train Indians as rapidly as possible to assume full power over the administration of their Government, then surely this policy ought to undergo a radical change. There should no longer be any cause for the suspicion which so far has dictated the military policy. Henceforth, Indians who in theory are to be trusted in future with their own administration ought to be trusted also in regard to the administration of the army. But if this is not done we shall be able to say with complete justice that the British Government while promising full liberty to the ear has taken every step to break its promise to the heart of Indians.

Just one word more before I sit down. Let us suppose for a moment that India is as deficient in military qualities as our Critics say. Is it not then incumbent on the British Government to take special steps in order to rouse the spirit of the people, in order to make them feel that they will soon be masters of their own Government and that they should therefore prepare themselves for the defence of their members? What happened during the great war? When England was in a crisis every possible propaganda was carried out in order to discover men who could supply suitable soldiers and to rouse the ardour of the people. Why is not the same policy being followed now? Take another illustration. When the number of British recruits to the Indian Civil Service declined some time ago, the British Government sent retired Indian administrators to the British universities in order to carry on propaganda to encourage British youths to enter the Indian Civil Service in as large numbers as they did before. Well, if they can carry on this propaganda whenever it is necessary for their purpose, why cannot they carry it on in Indian interests? It seems to me that the policy of Indianization will be fully successful only when adequate steps are taken by the British Government to carry on propaganda among the people and to encourage men by all means in their power, by all measures in their power, to enlist themselves as soldiers in the Indian army. As you are aware, two institutions have been recently established in our country for providing higher officers to the Indian army — one is a preparatory school which was established at Dehra Dun known as the Prince of Wales Military College, and the

other is the Indian Sandhurst, established only 2 or 3 years ago. Now, here we had an occasion of testing whether there was any inherent difference in the capacity of men belonging to the various provinces to make good officers in the army. All those who have had any occasion to visit the Prince of Wales Military College and to speak to the teachers there will bear me out when I say that the experience there has shown that military fitness is entirely a question of education and training. If the necessary atmosphere is provided and the requisite education is given, young men drawn, no matter from what province, will show the aptitudes that are supposed to be peculiarly necessary in military officers. The Indian Sandhurst is a much more recent creation, but we have been told both by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and by the Commandant of that College that it has fully justified itself, the young men who have received training there have shown themselves worthy of their College and of the army to which they belong. Here you have before your eyes the result of a uniform system of education and of a uniform upbringing in the case of men belonging to varied races and drawn from various provinces. Why cannot then you have the same faith in connection with the composition of the lower ranks of the army? There is no reason to suppose that if men are chosen from a much wider area than at present, are thrown together, are made to live in a common atmosphere and trained under the same conditions, they would be found to differ from one another in respect of discipline, courage or endurance. Indeed, such result as has been achieved demands that the policy which has been successful in regard to the training of the higher Indian officer should be followed in regard to the recruitment of Indian soldiers both for the Indian army and for the replacement of British by Indian soldiers.

It also further requires that active steps should be taken to inform the people of the responsibilities, which according to the British Government will devolve on them, to rouse their patriotism and to ask them to take a patriotic pride in the defence of their country. Training is not everything. The armies of Napoleon showed that men fired with great enthusiasm, could defeat the strongest armies of the whole of Europe combined against one single country. And the experience of the recent war bears out the same truth. Marshal Foch who might be called the saviour of the Allies during the war, has in his memoirs pointed out that an army is not a fighting machine and cannot be a proper fighting machine only by virtue of technical training. It must be imbued with an idea. It must have an ideal before it. It must be moved by feelings of self-sacrifice before it can be depended on in crucial moments. The French army confronted by admirably trained opponents who heavily outnumbered them held its ground in the face of the greatest difficulties, not because of its superior military training, but because it felt that the future of its country depended on its gallantry and its sincerity to the ideals to which it had sworn fidelity. It is ideas that move men in different spheres of life. The soldier is no exception to this rule. Inspire then the people of India with the idea that self-government is theirs for the asking if they would but prepare themselves for the defence of their country. And then you will be surprised at the enthusiasm that this will evoke. Not hundreds but thousands and hundreds of men will spring over the length and breadth of this country who will be willing to join the army so that they might be a shield in times of danger and represent its honour in crucial moments. Nay never in the past, never with the mercenary army, has the name of India been stained by its soldiers. Is it conceivable that men who will know that on their action will depend the fate of their country, men who will be moved not by personal thoughts but by great impersonal ideas, will fail to act in such a way as to be worthy of their country and to be examples of military ardour, valour, and discipline to other armies in the world?

Prof. B. B. Roy (Calcutta):—Mr. President and Delegates,—The whole of this morning, member after member spoke on the subject of promoting unity amongst the nationally-minded men in all parties. In my judgment, Sir, that unity already exists on this supreme question of defence. Everyone of us who has studied the present constitution knows that we can never have complete self-rule in the real sense in which it is used so long as defence continues to be a reserved subject. We can never have

national self-government until defence becomes a responsibility on the Federal Legislature. My predecessor, Mr. Kunzru, has pointed out to you in much more eloquent terms than I can command, that Indianization in the army is so slow yet that it will be impossible for us within a measurable distance of time to get the subject of defence transferred at the centre. Now, sir, I take my stand upon this, that in any programme that might be evolved by the Liberals and the other progressive parties in this country this subject should form the first item. We should exert all possible constitutional pressure upon the Government here and upon the authorities in England to concede to us this, that they must take in hand a policy, which was once talked of but which was afterwards discarded, of Indianising the Indian army during a reasonable period.

Let me ask each single delegate here — does it not pain us to think that the defence of our country, of our hearths and our homes is being undertaken today not only by British soldiers but also by mercenaries from across the Nepalese border? It pains me much, it humiliates me as a Bengalee, to think that my people, the people of my province, of Bengal should be branded as a non-martial people, particularly when I remember that it was with the help of soldiers drawn from my province that the East India Company's rule was extended in eastern and northern India. For all the pains that our soldiers took in those days we are now branded as a non-martial people (applause).

There is one subject in this resolution which my predecessor could not take up on account obviously of lack of time. It was the subject of military expenditure. I was reading in a scholarly book the other day that the question of military expenditure was raised in India not only by the late Mr. Gokhale, not only by the Indian National Congress but even so early as the middle of the last Century by the British Indian Association of Calcutta. This subject has been before India for nearly eighty years now, and it has not been our Indian politicians alone who have in season and out of season, year in and year out, drawn the attention of England to this fact that far too large a proportion of India's revenues, central and provincial, was being spent upon the defence of this country. It was a detached British economist associated with the Simon Commission who drew pointed attention to this fact five years ago. In the memorandum which he wrote Sir Walter Layton in very forceful language pointed out that a poor country like India could not afford to pay so much on defence. He also pointed out that India was paying a far larger proportion on defence than on education. That observation occurs early in his memorandum.

Now, Sir, since Sir Walter Layton reported, the British Government has made a contribution of near about two crores of rupees towards the alleviation of the financial distress caused by military expenditure in this country. But two crores where well over forty crores are still spent out of Indian revenues, are a drop in the ocean. England should pay much more. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the days before he was Prime Minister of England—in those unregenerate days when he was merely a Labour leader and when he visited India in connection with the Public Services Commission—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote a book entitled 'The Government of India' and there he made very drastic comments on the scale of military expenditure in this country. He put it down with all the bluntness that he could then command, and which he does not command today,—nor did he command it at the Round Table Conference,—he stated, with all the bluntness of which he was then capable, in that book, that England should be made to pay half the total amount of military expenditure in India. All that has gone by the board. We get a paltry two crores in the course of a year. It has also been claimed on behalf of the retired Commander-in-chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, that during his tenure of office he reduced India's military expenditure by about ten crores. What does that reduction come to? It was near about 55 crores when Sir Walter Layton reported: it is nearly forty six crores today. Granted; but the proportion to the total revenues remains much the same as it was before Sir Philip Chetwode became the Commander-in-chief. It yet remains a large proportion. Look at the other side of the picture. Very recently the Central Government was induced to earmark one crore of rupees for village uplift and a demand was made by the President of the Educational Conference in this city two days ago that the Central Government should earmark and spend one crore of rupees

on education. Now, sir, if the military expenditure of India could be substantially reduced by the adoption of new policies by internal economies and by other means, many crores of rupees would be automatically released for ameliorative work throughout India (applause). This is a fact to which we have drawn the attention of the Government, year after year, but they have invariably turned a deaf ear.

Sir, I do not propose to take more of your time, but may I suggest that whatever the nature of the platform that might emerge, whatever the programme of work that might arise out of discussions during the next month, this must be the first item on that programme, namely the reduction of military expenditure, the speeding up of the programme of Indianisation in the army and, further, the adoption of every possible step which will expedite the transfer of defence to the responsible legislature at the federal centre (applause).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Mr. President:— I am asked to put the resolution from the chair. I am reading the resolution to you.

Resolution VII

“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.”

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

RURAL UPLIFT AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Diwan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi (Surat):— Mr. Chairman, brother delegates ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I have the honour to move runs as follows:—

Resolution VIII

“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.”

The problem of rural uplift is a vast problem. It deals with 28 crores of men living in about 500,000 villages. It is either because of the vastness of the problem or for some other reason that Government did not evince that actual interest which the problem demanded till Mahatma Gandhi started his campaign of Rural Reconstruction. If it is to be adequate, well and sufficiently well, it should embrace improvement on the social, educational, sanitary and economic sides of the question, and it requires funds to a very very large extent. What has the Government done now? It has allotted a sum of Rs. one crore to meet the requirements of 5 lakhs of villages. It comes to about Rs. 20 per village. Even if we take a very liberal

estimate of a district containing 800 villages, the amount will come to about Rs. 15000 or Rs. 16000 for each district. The salary of the Uplift Officer, his travelling allowance and the cost of his establishment mostly would exhaust the whole amount. But that is not the only difficulty about it. You cannot really impose upon a people any real improvement unless desire for improvement comes from within. An officer visiting a village at the end of some months cannot really enforce or bring about village uplift in the real sense of the term. I know something can be done by a revenue officer appointed as an uplift officer going to every village and ordering cleaning of the village a day before the Deputy Collector or Collector is to visit it and showing in his diary that something is done. But beyond that nothing can be done, unless the people begin to feel themselves that they have to lead a more sanitary, a more healthy and a more prosperous life.

Now we know as a matter of fact that we cannot impose upon a people a desire to live that life unless and until we get them to feel that they are really not living that life which they are entitled to live. That can only be achieved by people themselves and now that we have got numerous agencies, such as Sanitation Boards, Co-operative Societies and other organizations spread over the whole district, that work can be done better by them but the only difficulty is that the Government tries to officialise the whole movement. It takes to itself the powers and functions which are absolutely unnecessary and which should be left to non-official agencies alone. Therefore what the resolution demands is that if the movement is really to progress, Government should allow more funds and should allow that movement to be done by non-official agencies. It is the people who really should be made to feel that they have to lead a better life and when they are trained to do so, it is not understood why those agencies are not utilised, so that they may work out their own social regeneration? Therefore I think the resolution rightly emphasises the fact. Not only will the work be done economically, but, in my own opinion, more economically and more efficiently, if Government only takes the leaders of the people into their confidence and entrust them with the organization of this work. With these remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. K. G. Sivaswami; (Madras):— Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been placed before you deals with the importance of rural uplift and requests that rural uplift work ought to be done more effectively through non-official agencies and that such agencies should be trained non-official agencies. I am here to place before you certain phases of this rural uplift problem which requires the help mainly of voluntary agencies. There are certain activities which voluntary agencies cannot undertake, there are equally certain activities which Government cannot undertake. For instance the making of a road, or the construction of a well or the putting up of a building may be left to institutions like local boards or the Local Government. But at the same time where real work has to be turned out, where you have to persuade and organise, where you have to create the new spirit in the villager, you do require propaganda agencies to be formed from among the non-officials. In our own part of the country as regards this rural uplift movement which is mainly done through co-operative societies, our feeling has been that Government has not consulted the non-official agencies in the manner in which they ought to consult them. Speaking on this subject of rural uplift, I would like to say that even though larger problems of rural uplift can wait till our country gets full powers and full self-government, when the Ministers will have more funds, there are certain aspects of rural uplift work which cannot wait until the attainment of fuller political reforms. We have today in the countryside a medieval mental attitude among ryots which is considered by certain people as the spirit of *ahimsa* and, by certain other people as loyalty to the British throne. We know full well that it is indifference, it is want of interest in life and a passive and dormant mind. We have therefore, in the first place, to make the people more lively, to take an interest in life, to remove their mental depression, to replace the sense of fatalism and the large dependence on Gods and divinities by a large amount of self-confidence. That is the first thing that has to be done. Secondly, the expenditure which is today incurred by the ryots on other worldly affairs as pilgrimages or for performance of marriages or deaths; the notions of life the people have, have got to be changed and their outlook has to be made secular, more enterprising, more materialistic, to

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have a desire for a higher standard of living. That is the first thing that has to be done. However much we might glorify village institutions, we have in the village only tribal organizations. We mistake it for local democracy. The candidate who asks for votes goes to these tribal leaders to consolidate his votes for any election. These leaders have got every kind of power in the village. The masses are afraid to control these leaders. We have to replace this tribal leadership by civic and economic organizations of the modern type which will take charge of the ryot. The old village was self-sufficient. The self-contained village about which we speak on platforms does not exist. The ryot of today has to be introduced to international commerce. He has to be organized on a national basis and not on a village basis. The village has been formed for the purpose of the collection of revenue by the Government. If you really want to help the ryot, you have to organize the village according to the commodity which he raises and to provide him with a market according to the needs which he requires in the village. If again we require civic amenities in the village we have to organize it on the basis of circles and district boards and on the basis of the constituency of the legislative council. We have to modernise the outlook of the ryot. These are things which can hardly be done by any official agency. The official agency may be helpful to grant moneys, to grant buildings, to put up roads and to do other kinds of physical service, but where the human mind has to be trained, where the outlook has to be changed, it is the non-official agency that can do it (hear, hear), and therefore I would submit that Government should give larger attention and larger assistance to these kinds of agencies. While on this subject, I would like to caution again about one result of the actions of Government. Whenever we have asked for any service from Government, it has taken the shape more of giving us a large staff of officials. We wanted to market the crops of ryots, and we have got a large number of marketing officers from Delhi to Cape Comorin, but we do not have efficient marketing agencies. Similarly, if we say that we want help for non-official agencies, it is quite possible that these moneys could be used for purposes other than rural uplift and for staff and agencies which might do work on other extraneous considerations than genuine rural uplift work. That is why this resolution has been moved that such help should be forthcoming for trained non-official agencies. I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Dr. K. L. Dey (Calcutta):— Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, in supporting this resolution wholeheartedly I beg to add a few remarks. By this resolution the Federation has appealed to the Government to spend the money allotted for rural uplift and village industries through non-official agencies. It has not been suggested as to what line of action the Federation and its affiliated bodies should take up in that behalf. We, the Liberals in Bengal, have already started some industrial, sanitary and other uplift centres in some of our villages. Our greatest centre is at Ghatabari—Bhaoikhola in the district of Pabna. It is not only a duty but a necessity to remove the stigma that we are a party always seeking Government's favour, not doing anything ourselves. People want some actual constructive work from us, they are not satisfied with mere political propaganda. Hence we want our central and provincial organizations to guide us in our village uplift work with men and money. Without proper directions and help from this Federation, our village centres cannot function effectively. I hope that help will be forthcoming. With these remarks, I support the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS

in. Mr. V. Venkatasubhayya (Madras): Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, you have just now accepted a resolution about rural uplift and village industries. The resolution which I have the honour to move is closely related to the previous resolution; in fact, it is necessary for the success of that resolution. The resolution which I move runs as follows:—

Resolution IX

“ 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 organisation of rural credit including the establishment of land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement.”

The subject of agricultural indebtedness is a vast one, and on other platforms it has been dealt with in detail and at length. If at this Federation meeting we pass a resolution on this subject, it is chiefly by way of recognising the great importance of the subject. Agricultural indebtedness has been very heavy in our country; that has been recognised. On certain occasions the importance of this subject — or this evil, I should call it — has been specially recognised. For instance, after famines. The Famine Commission have stressed agricultural indebtedness and, in fact, to remove this evil or to reduce this evil, the Cooperative Movement and other measures were introduced. Again, now, on account of great economic depression we are all thinking about it, and in various provinces legislation has been undertaken to relieve agricultural indebtedness. Such legislation has been undertaken in the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Madras and also in some of the Indian States. I do not propose to take you through them. Here I should acknowledge the lead which the Central Provinces have given to Madras in the matter of the Debt Conciliation Act which is being worked here with conspicuous success. This Act is taken as the model by the Madras Government, and it is just now on the anvil of the local legislature of that province. There are other measures which have been passed by our Legislative Council like the Money-lenders Act, the object of which is to restrict the rate of interest to 9 and 12 per cent in the case of secured and unsecured debts respectively. Again, the Land Mortgage Banks system has been started with conspicuous success in our province, and very recently the Agricultural Loans Act has been amended by which the Government advances money to poor agriculturists in order to relieve indebtedness. In the subjects committee meeting we had some difference of opinion about the advisability of Government money being made available for the removal of indebtedness. It is but natural that some people should consider it inadvisable. But there is this fact that agricultural indebtedness in this country is exceedingly great and resources from various sources are required in order to give relief to the agriculturists. For instance, it has been calculated that agricultural indebtedness in the Madras presidency is anything between Rs. 150 and 200 crores. I believe the burden is equally great in other provinces. We are told that there is the Co-operative Movement to meet this situation, but let me say that the whole resources of the Co-operative Movement available for the reduction of indebtedness would not be more than 4 or 5 crores. As a matter of fact, it is not even so much, because much of the co-operative money is required to meet the current expenses of the agriculturists. Land Mortgage Banks will not also solve the entire problem, because the entire working capital of these Banks comes to only Rs. 80 lakhs. Therefore it was that at the last Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference we welcomed the amendments of the Agricultural Loans Act, with a view to make Government money available for debt redemption at cheap rates of interest. I do not wish to take up more of your time. Suffice it to say that the heaviness of the indebtedness is recognized by all. Considering that the economic condition of the masses in this country is very poor, I am strongly of the opinion that unless the indebtedness of the agriculturists is removed and cheap money is made available to them, repayable during a long term of years, the cultivators will not live in hope, will not put forth that exertion which is needed, but will be gloomy, with the result that no rural uplift is possible. This has been evident during the last 4 or 5 years in the co-operative movement, where there is not the same hopeful outlook as there was before. Therefore I have suggested in this resolution that Government should take steps to make cheap money available and that Land Mortgage Banks and the Co-operative Movement should advance money

with a view to decrease the burden of indebtedness. With these few words, I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. Dalip Mansingh (United Provinces): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:— I need hardly tell you the importance of this resolution. The agriculturist is a person who cannot do without credit. People belonging to different occupations get their wages, weekly wages or monthly wages, but these poor people, the agriculturists, have necessarily to wait for at least 6 months before they get any return for their labour and capital. They are very heavily indebted and according to the Report of the Central Banking Inquiry Committee the total indebtedness amounts to several hundred crores of rupees. Merely the passing of legislation restricting the rates of interest will not afford any great relief to the agriculturists. On the other hand the poor agriculturists are feeling a very great difficulty in securing loans, as the moneylenders have decided not to lend them money in future. Therefore unless, as this resolution suggests, Government takes suitable steps to provide money, it will be very difficult for the agriculturists to do anything. As the time at my disposal is very short, I submit this resolution for your acceptance.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

SWADESHI

Mr. President: The resolution relating to Swadeshi will be put from the chair:—

Resolution X

“The National Liberal Federation once again accords its wholehearted 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 utilise 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, to improve quality and reduce prices, so that they may be able to compete with importers of foreign goods.

The Federation also urges the Governments in British India as well as the Indian States to afford greater facilities for technical education of all grades and in all branches.”

The resolution was passed unanimously.

UNTOUCHABILITY

Mr. President: The resolution relating to untouchability reads thus:—

Resolution XI

“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 nation-wide movement for the removal of this blot upon India and for the elevation of those classes.”

The resolution was passed unanimously.

COUNCIL AND OFFICE-BEARERS

Resolution XII

Resolved unanimously that—

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E. (Nagpur)
Mr. S. M. Bose (Calcutta),
„ E. Vinayaka Rao (Madras),
„ Suryanarayana Rao (Madras)

be the General Secretaries of the Federation, and that the Council of the Federation be constituted as follows :— *

Mr. President : One more thing I should mention. Mr. Bose remains as Secretary, Mr. Sapru and Mr. Verma are the outgoing Secretaries. I will ask you to pass a vote of thanks to both of them. They have rendered meritorious service during the last year and they deserve your thanks (Applause). You have already shown by your acclamation that you have accepted my recommendation that you should pass a vote of thanks.

NEXT SESSION OF THE FEDERATION

Resolution XIII

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) :— Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I have great pleasure in proposing that the Eighteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held next year at Lucknow in the United Provinces (Cheers). I am not a resident of Lucknow, but I have been authorized by a message from Raja Sir Rampal Singh, President of the Oudh Liberal League, and endorsed by Rao Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh and Rao Raja Shyam Bihari Misra, all of them prominent citizens of Lucknow, in extending this invitation to you. I have no doubt that if you will be pleased to accept this humble invitation, we of the United Provinces shall do our little best to make the next session a success (Cheers).

Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad) : Brother Delegates, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution proposed by our revered leader Mr. Chintamani. I am sure you will honour us with your visit. In Lucknow we may not be able to give you such a fine climate, but I can assure you that you will find Lucknow a more interesting place than Nagpur (Laughter).

Pandit Kishan Prasad Kaul (Lucknow) : Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by Mr. Chintamani. We being a very small party, I cannot say that we of Lucknow will be able to give you a very rousing reception or demonstrate any spectacular scene in honour of your reception there, but I am sure that we will be able to extend to you a most hearty and sincere welcome during the next Xmas Session when you are there (Applause). Of course, our friends from Bombay and Madras will have to face the cold weather of Northern India, but I may assure you all that we will try to soften the rigours of climate with the warmth of our affection (laughter) and try to make your stay as comfortable as possible. I hope you will accept my invitation in the spirit in which it is offered (cheers).

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT

Resolution XIV

Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Central Provinces) :— Ladies and gentlemen, before you proceed to hear the closing speech of the President you will permit me to detain you for two or three minutes more and that for a purpose for which I have not the least hesitation in saying that I have your assent; and it is to propose a vote of

* See Appendix A

thanks to our President. You have already heard the long list of good qualities that he possesses from our friend, Mr. Vinayakrao. But during the two days' experience and the personal contact that I had with him I have discovered two more qualities which even Mr. Vinayakrao, with closer contact in Madras, has failed to notice. The first is the extreme modesty. I have known of no President being so modest. Yesterday when we were in the Subjects Committee some of the delegates wanted the President to be more firm. Mr. Venkatarama Sastri with his characteristic modesty and determination refused to be firm, and that was not because he had not the firmness of character but because he wanted the delegates to have their full say before he would give his own conclusions. Now we should not really hesitate to thank a gentleman who possesses that quality, who combines modesty with intelligence, who combines firmness with characteristic sobriety and patience, and last but not the least who combines hope with effort. In the beginning of the session my friend, Sir M. V. Joshi, struck on a lower key in his speech as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. He thought that we were few. He thought that some of us were unfit to carry the flag of Liberalism in the country. By now he is convinced—and I have his authority to say to you—that with a correct lead from our President we have every hope of not only surviving but of asserting ourselves in the country. (Hear, hear). A great sage among ourselves—I need not name him because you all know him—says that the strength does not lie in numbers, nor is wisdom counted by the heads. We have amongst our midst gentlemen of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri's type and that is enough. You have already seen with what precision, modesty and patience he carried on the deliberations of today and yesterday. You have also heard the correct lead he has given in his presidential address and by now the papers are buzzing with his praise. If I were now to dilate upon that topic I will be accused by the President of praising him to his very face. But even with that fear I propose a vote of thanks not only for what he has done but what he promises to do. He is a President not only for the three days of the session but for 12 months from now. I have not the least hesitation in again assuring you that he is a gentleman who is capable of taking three steps at a time. That is a fact. He wanted me to take him upstairs. I do not know whether he is older than I or younger. But if he be older I feel somewhat ashamed of myself because I was unable to do what he did viz., taking three steps at a time with such a person at the helm of affairs why should we doubt about our future. Under his able guidance we shall forge ahead. With these words I propose a vote of thanks to him.

I would, however, not finish with this. I have to say something more, and with his permission I am going to do that. A speaker who moves a vote of thanks to the President has got the unique privilege of holding up the President's bell for the time being. I now propose to unite the vote of thanks to the President with a vote of thanks to some of the gentlemen of this city who helped us in making this session a success. I do that not because the President is not capable of doing it but I can do it now that he has taken me as his Secretary. The first gentleman whom I should like to mention is one gentleman who does not want to be seen, who does not want to be in the limelight as they say. He is Mr. S. B. Gokhale (Cheers). It is to him that the excellent arrangements in this hall were due. His son-in-law, Mr. Dabir, another gentleman who was responsible for the excellent arrangements for tea and other amenities of life that were provided here. I will then pass on to my friend, Mr. Dravid. He denied to you the excellent speech that he promised, and that was because he said that he would not like to be in evidence. Now it is that quality of Mr. Dravid which I admire most. It was he who got the inspiration of having this session here this year. I would name two other gentlemen and I would hereafter be naming in pairs now that C. P. and Berar is a combined province (laughter). The first couple that I wish to mention is Mr. Gupte and Mr. Shahane. The first is a gentleman without whose ungrudging work it would have been impossible to carry on the work of the session. The entire credit of printing and other arrangements necessary for dispatch of business is due to Mr. Gupte. Mr. Shahane is Mr. Gupte's second embodiment. Nothing that Mr. Gupte can do or will do will not have the approbation of Mr. Shahane. If we do not care to recognise Mr. Shahane's merit wisdom will be lost to us. Let me next mention too my former Secretaries and Treasurer. The excellent collection that the latter has made bears testimony to the interest that he displayed in this cause. My friend, Mr. Sheorey, and better

still his son, who carried the President too and fro in this city and who looked after his personal comforts in the house of Sir M. V. Joshi, deserves mention. I will be failing in my duty if I did not mention the name of Mr. Misra who superintended not merely by looking at but by actually working as the supervisor of the delegates camp. Now let me add that there were persons who were pulling the strings from behind, and one of them is a person who is now seated far behind you. I mean Mr. Ambekar from Poona who shared a large part of our worries. This gentleman was, also in charge of looking after the arrangements for the comfort and the wellbeing of the delegates here. Now, gentlemen, I do not know what we could have done if we had not the willing help of volunteers. (Cheers). One thing that I should like to mention in this connection is that the younger generation was very enthusiastic in coming forward to help the Liberal cause. I assure you this is not an exaggeration. When we asked for volunteers such a large number offered their services that with great difficulty we could limit the number to our requirements. Those who were selected worked hard and with great personal inconvenience and it is for this reason that I want to give a hearty vote of thanks to this band of young men.

I have now got to mention some institutions and some gentlemen in another connection. We have to thank the Rani of Rajnandgaon and her local agent here for having given us the use of their house for our delegates camp. We have to thank Mr. Chatterjee for looking after our leaders from Bengal. Mr. J. N. Basu is never known to be extravagant in his praise, but if I have heard him correctly he said Mr. Chatterjee would not go to bed unless the Bengal delegates had actually gone to sleep. Then we have to thank Mr. Tambe, our ex-Governor, for housing, if I may say so, such eloquent men as Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Dalvi. I wish to propose a collective vote of thanks to the members of Servants of India Society. Many of them do not belong to the Liberal Party as such and yet they are willing to give their help in anything good, and they believe liberalism to be good. I wish to mention Mr. Garud and his Sewa Sadan Institution in Nagpur. Mr. Garud gave us one of his houses for housing some of our delegates. He also extended to us the services of his pupils for the nice songs that you have been hearing these two days and the entertainment which you had last night. I have also to mention the Hitvada Press. I may say that in Nagpur we are not suffering from a superfluity of the press. The Hitavada was working at high presense. The men there turned nights into days for us; and that is how you had printed copies of your resolutions at 8 a. m. this morning when some of the drafts were sent to the press at 10 in the night. I will only mention one more gentleman and that is Mr. E. M. Joshi the illustrious son of Sir Moropant Joshi who unfortunately could not be here as he had to be with his mother at Amraoti.

Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me for detaining you for a few minutes more. I have been reminded that I should thank the host who gave us a nice 'At Home' this evening. I did not forget him. I did not make any mention of him because our President had already expressed our thanks to him downstairs. But I may be permitted to repeat that the Federation is indebted to Khan Bahadur Malak for the grand At Home that he gave us. I have also to mention that we are specially indebted to Dr. Khare and Dr. Sonak for looking after the health of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.

Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay):— Ladies and Gentlemen, I am glad to second this comprehensive vote of thanks moved by Rao Bahadur Brahma. As he has already dealt with a number of officers, I shall not refer to them in detail. I shall confine my remarks to seconding the vote of thanks to our worthy President for his able conduct in the Chair for the last three days. I am sorry I am not able to make a long speech on account of my ill-health, but I do not think it is necessary to make a speech after the elaborate description of civic virtues of Mr. Venkatarama Sastri just detailed. Mr. Sastri has been a rather silent, though a staunch Liberal, for the last several years, and I am glad that the almost unanimous voice of the Liberal Party has drawn him into the position of the leader of the party for the ensuing year. We have seen what excellent lead he has given to the party in his valuable address which he delivered before us two days ago (Applause), and I have no doubt that he

will continue to give us the same lead throughout the year when various developments may occur in this year of general elections.

In the second part of the main resolution, reference has been made to several parties being invited to act together in view of the coming elections. I think most of you know that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri possesses not only the entire confidence of the Liberal party in the country but also he is held in very high esteem by the leaders of the various parties in the country (Hear, hear). And secondly, if any effect is to be given to the second part of the resolution, I think that Mr. Venkatarama Sastri is pre-eminently fitted for the work that is required to be done in connection with that ideal. I do not think, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should detain you longer than is necessary for saying a word or two about a friend of ours, the most important man, Rao Bahadur Brahma and his service (Cheers). Rao Bahadur Brahma thanked everybody but himself, and I know that, being the superintendent of all the excellent arrangements that were made during these days, you will all join with me in passing a vote of thanks to Rao Bahadur Brahma for the burden he bore all these weeks in making this Conference a success. I hope you will carry this vote with acclamation (Cheers).

The vote of thanks was carried with loud applause.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Mr. President : Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise to acknowledge the generous vote of thanks that you have just now passed. My friend, Rao Bahadur Brahma, is a lawyer and he ought to have known that without previous vakalat he could not have acted for me (laughter). Though he may have assumed the pleasant duty of thanking all those that have served us, served me and the delegates from other provinces, it is my particular duty to acknowledge their services to all of us. I hope the Reception Committee will permit me to give due precedence to the young ladies that gave us fine music during the first day and again today (applause)—and precedence should be given to them in accordance with the spirit of the times. I must thank the Reception Committee for the excellent way in which they have provided for the convenience of all of us. I personally must acknowledge the services of the Reception Committee, not merely in these general words but I must acknowledge particularly those of Sir Moropant Joshi who has lodged us, that is, myself, the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and all the delegates from Madras (cheers). We must make our acknowledgments to him for the very kind way in which he has made provision for us, I must say this in addition. We brought our cooks from Madras but neither Sir Moropant nor Mrs. Joshi, his daughter-in-Law, would permit our starting a kitchen of our own. So we became part of their household. I acknowledge on behalf of myself and the other delegates from Madras our indebtedness for our temporary incorporation into his family. They have adopted us and so we are staying with them for as long as we stay here.

I hope the Secretaries to whom our thanks are so justly due will not feel that I am singling out Mr. Sheorey for acknowledgment. My justification is that he has particularly served us at Sir Moropant Joshi's house and his son has been kind enough to attend on us and drive us wherever we wanted to go in the city.

In connection with the volunteers' services which I gratefully acknowledge I ought to mention the names of Mr. Dabir and Mr. Padhye who gave us the young men that served as volunteers. The volunteers did all the work that we gave very willingly. I must acknowledge it on my own behalf; and I am sure that in the other camps they have similarly served other delegates, and therefore I acknowledge their services on behalf of all the other delegates also.

Among the other members here in Nagpur who have helped to make the celebrations all these three days a great success, I must mention the Servant of India Mr. Ambekar who came from Poona. To him we owe a special debt of gratitude. That has already been mentioned by Rao Bahadur Brahma and therefore I add my thanks

to the words of praise that he has already given to Mr. Ambekar; also to all those people who have given their houses for the purpose of accommodating the delegates from other provinces.

The two friends that asked you to record a vote of thanks to me have spoken of me as one who had done great service during the last three days. Of course, as President I have to deliver a speech. For the rest, the part that I played is very little. It is you delegates that have contributed to the success of the session. I was just like the Speaker in our Parliaments who does not speak at all. There was one resolution which was passed during the day, charging the working committee to take all the necessary steps to carry out the resolution. For my part, I think it is not a matter left entirely to a small body of people. It is a duty which must rest upon all the delegates present here. Neither the Working Committee nor the President nor the Secretaries can put through the enormous work necessary to carry out the second paragraph of the second resolution. The delegates of the Liberal Federation, each group in its province, will have to do a great deal of work. While we may promise to contribute our share of the help that could be given in a cause so great and so important, we cannot say that we shall be able, to put through the whole of that programme. Such work as any have to be done in the future for which I understood Rao Bahadur Brahma to thank me will be his work also. He is one of the Secretaries. It will be as much on his shoulder as on mine. I am not denying my share of the work that requires to be done; only I hope to be able to undertake it with the assistance of all of you in your respective provinces.

About the resolutions that have been passed today—it is usual for the President to refer to them. I do not think there is any resolution of which I should like particularly to speak. One thing perhaps I ought to acknowledge because it was made the subject of a friendly charge against my address. It was referred to as a matter worthy of notice as an omission in the presidential speech—I refer to the "Indians overseas." The only excuse for the omission in my address is that I am not very conversant with that subject. We found that when the matter was taken up at the open session, even people who knew the subject very well said that their knowledge was not upto date. If that was the case of those who had already studied the question, one who had not studied the question before might well hesitate to touch upon it. One friend from Poona drew my attention to that topic rather late when my address had been completed and had been sent to the press. I told myself that that item could be taken up in the open session and there it would be moved and seconded by people who had special knowledge of that subject. That problem of Indians overseas, I know, is a very sore problem. That problem is incapable of final solution until we are masters of our destinies, in our own country. It seems to me that nearly every proposition that came up leads us to the same conclusion. There are some things of importance—I have particularly in mind at the moment the speech of my friend Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy who said that things could not wait until we got self-government. That is quite true. Some things, many things, cannot wait. We must go on doing things from day to day. It is only by doing things from day to day that you can effectively deal with things of your future. Everything comes again and again to the one basic problem of how to create a united front in regard to all our problems. On that problem I am not going to speak again. You have heard weighty speeches today. At one time it looked as if we had serious differences. It seemed to me, that there was something to be said for the view that Mr. Chintamani presented and there was also something to be said for the view presented by Sir Cowasji Jehangir. There can be no doubt that the question of responsible Government is not a question for which we are going to have a solution from Great Britain herself. We have, indeed, statements a hundred years old that it would be a glorious day in the history of Great Britain when India became a self governing country. When that day is far off it is easy to speak of it as a glorious day. But when the time comes for parting with power, it is difficult for any people to do it. If Britain finds it so it is not difficult to understand. It is we who should make every effort to attain the desired goal. That effort must be in the shape of creating unity in the country (Hear, hear). But to

achieve that unity, there is the difficulty that Mr. Chintamani pointed out to us. The Britisher in this country is not going to allow that matter to be easily done. I am not saying that every Britisher is bent upon producing discord in this country but, whether the high authorities of Government are responsible or not the differences will be fomented by quite a number of interested persons. On the other hand we have our internal differences independent of any fomentations by others. Against all these obstacles internal and external we have to work to produce unity in the country. That is the big problem.

I am tempted to narrate the story of a very peculiar institution in my part of the country. In my own province, very near Kumbakonam, there is a Darga, a Muslim institution with a mosque, in which the presiding Musalman is the eldest member of a Hindu family. The story goes that at some remote time, 100 years ago, a Hindu went to the Pir and got cured of his disease and he asked what remuneration he should give. It was suggested by the Pir that "the eldest member of his family should become the Sijjadanashin, half the income should be given to this Darga and the other half should go to feed the Hindu members of the family." That institution exists today. Differences arising in the matter of accounts of income between the Muslim and the Hindu members the case came to Court and I appeared for one of the parties and that is how I came to know of the story of the institution. I am giving this instance to show that there was a time when Musalmans and Hindus fraternised and there existed much more friendliness between the two communities than exists today. You know what the conditions are today; even yesterday we had clashes between Hindus and Muhammadans in the streets of Calcutta. All this trouble must somehow finally disappear. How this should be done we do not know. But it must be done.

There is only one other matter—I am not saying with a view to magnify it—but I should say it communalism of one kind and another exists in many parts of the country. And this communalism is often met by what I may describe as counter communalism. The result is that it goes on backwards and forwards and the acerbity between the groups increases from day to day. I should ask you, whenever there is an occasion for you to exhibit your personal attitude, do not recognise communalism (Hear, hear); if others exhibit communalism, quietly ignore it; in your conduct, show that you are not attaching any importance to the communal status of the person with whom you have to enter into relations in life.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have detained you at this late hour, I think, for too long. It is true, as my friend Mr. Chintamani remarked, when another friend spoke, that we are all in the habit of speaking of our times as critical but the situation is now really serious and does call for strenuous work. Before the end of the year, there will be the question of elections to the new legislatures. You have pronounced in no uncertain terms your own view that we would go into the Councils and work the Constitution, bad as it may be. You have, in each province, strenuous work to do in connection with the coming elections. Further it requires strenuous work on the part of all of us to enter into friendly relations with all nationalists. We shall have to make the work of the next Councils in every part of the country one which will tend to produce the result we have referred to in our resolution.

This session of the Federation will now stand dissolved. (Laud and prolonged cheers)

The Federation then adjourned *sine die* after the *Bande Mataram* song from the pupils of the Seva Sadan.

APPENDIX A

XVII NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA



COUNCIL FOR 1936.

President

- 1 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., Madras.

Vice-Presidents.

- 2 Sir P. S. Siwaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
 3 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
 4 The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., LL. D., Annamalainagar.
 5 Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, Vice Chancellor's Lodge, Lucknow.
 6 Sir M. V. Joshi, Kt. K. C. I. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
 7 Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., Malabar Hill, Bombay.
 8 The Hon. Sir Pheroze Sethna, Kt., O. B. E., Canada Building,
 Hornby Road, Fort. Bombay.
 9 Sir M. Ramachandra Rao, 40., Edward Elliot Road, Madras.
 10 Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., 14, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta.
 11 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Servants of India Society,
 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.

General Secretaries.

- 12 Mr. S. M. Bose, M. L. C., 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
 13 „ E. Vinayakrao, Mylapore, Madras.
 14 „ R. Suryanarayan Rao, Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.
 15 Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., O. B. E., Dhantoli, Nagpur.

Members Nominated by the President.

- 16 The Hon. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., Altamont Road, Bombay.
 17 Mr. B. S. Kamat, Ganeskhind Road, Poona, 5.
 18 „ Krishna Kumar Mitra, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
 19 The Hon. Dr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Canning Road, Allahabad.
 20 Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal, Berar.

Members Elected by the Federation

MADRAS

- 21 Raja Sir Vasudev Rajah of Kollengode, Kollengode.
 22 The Hon. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettier of Chettinad, Adyar, Madras.
 23 Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Mylapore, Madras.
 24 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Aiyengar, Poonamalle High Road, Madras.
 25 Dr. C. B. Rama Rau, Bangalore.
 26 Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, Mayavaram.
 27 Mr. M. C. Mukunda Raja Iyengar, Devakotta.
 28 „ M. Kulandaivelu Mudaliar, Sunkurma Street, Madras.
 29 „ K. R. Venkatarama Aiyer, Madura.
 30 Dr. P. Rama Rau, George Town, Madras.
 31 Mr. Ati Narayan Pantulu, Pariampet, Madras.
 32 Janab C. Abdul Hahim, Esqr., Pariampet, Madras.
 33 Mr. K. Balasubramani Aiyer, Ashram Mylapore, Madras.
 34 „ N. Ranganatham, Sweta Griha, Saidapet, Madras.
 35 „ M. Subaraya Iyer, Advocate, Pelthore, Mylapore, Madras.
 36 Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, Gopalpuram, Coimbatore.
 37 Mr. V. Rama Iyengar, Edward Elliot Road, Mylapore, Madras.
 38 „ A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Advocate, Devacottah.
 39 „ Jamal Muhammad Saheb, Madras.

- 40 Mr. C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapattam.
 41 Dewan Bahadur M. Pattabhirama Rau, Madanpalle, Madras.
 42 Mr. D. H. Nambudripad, B. A., B. L., Alarmelmagal,
 Agraharam Mylapore, Madras.
 43 Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundara Naidu Garu, Ritherdon Road Vepery, Madras.
 44 Mr. T. V. Ramamurthy, M. A., B. L., Edward Elliot Road, Mylapore, Madras.

BOMBAY

- 45 Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart, K. C. I. E., O. B. E., M. L. A., Readymoney
 Building, Churchgate Street, Bombay.
 46 Sir Byramji Jeejeebhoy, Kt., Alice Building, Hornby Road Bombay.
 47 Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Peddar Road, Bombay.
 48 „ J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay.
 49 Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
 50 Khan Bahadur H. P. Chahewala, Khanpur Road, Ahmedabad.
 51 Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Advocate, French Bridge, Chaupatty, Bombay.
 52 „ J. R. Gharpara, Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.
 53 „ N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.
 54 „ Madhavlal M. Bhatt, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay.
 55 „ A. D. Shroff, Svoy Chambers, Dalal Street, Bombay 1.
 56 „ Manu Subhedar, Bar-at-Law, Kodak House, Hornby Road, Bombay.
 57 „ N. R. Wadia, 120, Parsi Bazaar Street, Bombay 1.
 58 „ M. D. Altekhar, Park Road, Vile Parle, B. B. & C. I. Rly.
 59 „ B. N. Gokhale, Advocate, Girgaon, Road, Bombay, 4.
 60 „ K. J. Dubhash, Solicitor, 79, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
 61 „ R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay, 2.
 62 „ N. C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468, Kalbadevi, Bombay 2.
 63 „ Vasantrao S. Raut, J. P. French Bridge, Chaupatty, Bombay, 7.
 64 „ K. S. Jatar, C. I. E., Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
 65 „ H. G. Gharpurey I. C. (Retd), Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
 66 Prof. V. K. Joag, Bhamburda, Poona 4.
 67 G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 68 Mr. G. V. Ranade, Contractor, Vishnu Pura. Raviwar Peth, Poona 2.

BENGAL

- 69 Sir Bijay Prasad Singh Ray.
 70 Prof. Nibarchandra Ray 213, Cornawallis Street, Calcutta.
 71 Mr. C. C. Biswas, C. I. E., 58, Puddupukur Road, Calcutta.
 72 The Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu, C. I. E., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
 73 Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 25/1, Rowland Road, Calcutta.
 74 Prof. B. B. Roy, Scottish Church College, Cornawallis Street, Calcutta.
 75 Mr. Satinath Roy, 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
 76 Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
 77 Rev B. A. Nag, M. L. C., 1/2 College Square, Calcutta.
 78 Mr. B. K. Chaudhari, 99/1/C, Cornawallis Street, Calcutta.
 79 Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
 80 Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
 81 „ Probhanath Singh Roy, 15, Landsdowne Road, Calcutta.
 82 „ Sudhansu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
 83 Kumar Rajendra Narayan Ray, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
 84 Rai Nogendra Nath Mukerji Bahadur, Ranaghat (Bengal)
 85 Rai Keshav Chandra Banerji Bahadur, M. L. C., Sutrapur, Dacca.
 86 Maulavi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., Behrampur.
 87 Mr. S. N. Mallik, C. I. E., 2, Chandra Nath Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
 88 Rai Mahendra Chandra Lahiri Bahadur, Serampur, Hoogly.

UNITED PROVINCES

- 89 Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., Kurri Sudaui, (Rae Bareli. Dt.) Oudh.
 90 Rai Rajeshwar Bali, O. B. E., M. L. C., Daryabad, Dt. Barabanki.
 91 Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M.L.C., Rehwan, Dt. Rae Bareli.

- 92 Kumar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
 93 Shriman Rai Krishnaji, Pandepur, Benares Cantonment.
 94 Hon. Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, Bar-at-Law, Albert Road, Allahabad.
 95 Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Biswan, Dt. Sitapur, Oudh.
 96 Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Bihari Mishra, 105 Gola Ganj, Lucknow.
 97 Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdev Bihari Mishra, 105 Golaganj, Lucknow.
 98 Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
 99 Mehta Krishna Ram, Leader Building, Allahabad.
 100 Babu Gouri Shankar Prasad, Advocate, Bulanala, Benares City.
 101 Rao Krishna Pal Singh, Castle Grant, Agra.
 102 Rai Bahadur Lala Biharilal, M. L. C., Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
 103 Rai Bahadur Babu Brajendra Sarup, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
 104 Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhuwan, Fyzabad.
 105 Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
 106 Mr Ayodhya Das, Bar-at-Law, Anand Bhuwan, Gorakhpur.
 107 Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, Chili Int, Agra.
 108 Mr. Dalip Nan Singh, M. A. LL. B. Fatehpur.
 109 Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, Clive Road, Allahabad.
 110 Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
 111 Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Leader Building, Allahabad
 112 Mr. Vishnunath, 3 Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
 113 Babu Surendranath Varma, 7 Elgin Road, Allahabad.

THE PUNJAB

- 114 Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
 115 Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore.
 116 Lala Jagannath Aggarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
 117 Lala Kesheo Ram Shekhri, M. L. C., Vakil, Civil Lines, Amritsar.
 118 Mr Manoharlal, M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
 119 Rai Bahadur Lala Durga Das, 16, Mozang Road, Lahore.
 120 Lala Harkishanlal, Bar-at-Law, Ferozpur Road, Lahore.
 121 Mr Hardatta Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17 Machagan Road, Lahore.

BERAR

- 129 Rao Bahadur B. R. Angal, Amraoti.
 130 Rao Bahadur Dr. W. R. Bhatt, Amraoti.
 132 Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
 133 Rao Bahadur R M Khare, Amraoti Camp.
 134 Rao Saheb M D Deshmukh, Amraoti Camp.
 135 Mr T. S. Dighe, Akola.
 136 „ Shankerrao M. Bhalchadra, Yeotmal.
 138 „ V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal.
 139 „ J. B. Deshmukh, Amraoti.
 140 „ R. K. Thombre, Akola.
 141 „ T. R. Gadre, Pleader, Akola.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

- 131 Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Nagpur.
 137 Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Nagpur.
 144 Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewalla, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
 145 Pandit Sitacharan Dube, Hoshangabad.
 146 Rao Bahadur M. G. Deshpande, Nagpur.
 147 Mr. N. A. Dravid, M. A. Craddock Town, Nagpur.
 149 Khan Bahadur M. E. R. Malak, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
 150 Mr. K. B. Sheory, Dhantoli Nagpur.
 151 „ W. G. Mandpe, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
 152 „ S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
 153 M. D. Shahane, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

BIHAR & ORISSA

122 Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, M. L. C., Maksudpur House, Gaya.

ASSAM

123 Mr. Chandra Dhar Barua, Jorhat.

APPENDIX B.

XVII National Liberal Federation of India

List of Delegates

- 1 Rao Bao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Basavangudi, Bangalore.
- 2 Prof. M. S. Godbole, M. A., B. T., "Vinayak Ghar", Poona 4.
- 3 Principal J. R., Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., Law College, Poona 4.
- 4 Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal.
- 5 C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., Editor, "Leader," Allahabad.
- 6 Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Mylapore, Madras.
- 7 „ H. G. Gharpurey, I. C. S. (Retired), Shanwar Peth, Poona.
- 8 „ S. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law M. L. C., 3, Federation Street, Calcutta.
- 9 „ Jatindra Nath Basu, M. L. C., 3, 14/2 Mukataram Babu Ghose Street,
Calcutta.
- 10 „ N. C. Ray, C/o Indian Association Rooms, 62, Bow Bazar Street Calcutta
- 11 „ K. S. Jatar. C. I. E., Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 12 „ G. K. Gadgil, B. A., Bar-at-Law, Sadaehiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 13 „ B. N. Gokhale, M. A., LL. B., Ambewadi P. O. Bombay 4.
- 14 „ K. G. Warty, M. A., Gokak.
- 15 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.
- 16 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., LL. D. Annamalagar
(South India).
- 17 S. R. Venkata Raman, Esq. B. A., B. L., Mayanoor South India.
- 18 Mr. V. R. Nayanar, Calicut.
- 19 „ S. M. Ghatak, Nagpur.
- 20 „ G. V. Badkas, Wardhan.
- 21 „ M. B. Sanjana, Nagpur.
- 22 Prof B. B. Roy, Calcutta.
- 23 Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Surat.
- 24 Mr. A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E., C/o Birla Mills, Delhi.
- 25 „ V. Venkatasubhaiyah, Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.
- 26 Prof V. G. Maydeo, M. A., Poona 4.
- 27 Rao Saheb P. S. Vaidya, B. A. Sardesai's Bungalow, Poona 4.
- 28 Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B. A., Aryabhushan Press, Poona 4.
- 29 „ L. G. Ganu, Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 30 „ Kashinathrao S. Vaidya, B. A., LL. B. Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 31 Prof R. H. Kelkar, M. A. Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 32 Mr. Naushir C. Dharucha, B. A., LL. B., Princes Street, Bombay 2.
- 33 „ S. G. Gokhale, M. A., Amrai Camp, Poona 4.
- 34 „ L. N. Kullewar.
- 35 „ B. R. Sheorey, B. A., LL., Saugor.
- 36 Dr. Miss Nalini N. Dravid, M. B. B. S., C/o N. A. Dravid, Esq. Craddock,
Town, Nagpur.
- 37 Mr. K. G. Sharangpani, B. A., LL. B., Industrial Settlement, Jalgaon.
- 38 „ Surendra Nath Verma, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Allahabad.
- 39 „ Vishun Nath, Advocate, Allahabad.
- 40 „ Parameshwar Nath Sapru, Vakil, Fyzabad.
- 41 „ Vishwanath Pershad, C/o The Leader, Allahabad.
- 42 „ Krishna Ram Mehta, C/o The Leader, Allahabad.
- 43 „ R. Suryanarayana Rau, B. A., Servants of India Society Royapettah,
Madras.
- 44 Mrs. Anusuyabai Suranarayana Rau, B. A., C/o Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rau,
Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras.
- 45 Pandit Haradatta Sharma, B. A., LL. B., 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.
- 46 Prof. D. G. Karve, M. A., Willingdon College, Sangli.
- 47 „ V. G. Kale, M. A., 'Durgadhivasa' Poona 4.
- 48 Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.

- 49 „ Kisan Parsad Kaul, Aminuddaula Park, Lucknow.
 50 „ S. P. Andrews-Dube, Saminuddaula Park, Lucknow.
 51 „ Subba Rao.
 52 Hon. Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, Allahabad.
 53 Mrs. Indirabai Gokhale, C/o B. N. Gokhale, Esq., M. A., LL. B. Ambewadi P. O.
 Bombay 4.
 54 Mr. M. K. Paranjpe, Pleader, Basim.
 55 „ U. C. Gopalan, C/o Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mylapore, Madras.
 56 „ D. G. Dalvi, M. A., LL. B., French Bridge, Bombay 7.
 57 „ T. V. R. Moorty, C/o Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mylapore, Madras.
 58 Pandit H. C. Goswami, C/o the Indian Association 62 Bow Bazar Calcutta.
 59 Mr. S. N. Goswami, 3 Gosoin Para Lane, Calcutta.
 60 Dr. K. L. Dey, Hatkhola, Calcutta.
 61 Mrs. Saraswatibai Gokhale,
 62 Prof. V. A. Apte, Fergusson College, Poona 4.
 63 Mr. G. A. Gawai, M. L. C., Nagpur.
 64 „ P. S. Kolhatkar, B. A. C/o The Sanjivani, Bombay 2.
 65 Bao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Principal, Central Hindu College,
 Benares.
 66 Prof. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Vile Parle B. B. C. I. Ry.
 67 Mr. S. G. Vaze, Amrai Camp, Poona 4.
 68 „ K. S. Negi, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.
 69 „ Dalip Man Singh, Fatehpur.
 70 Prof. C. B. Joshi, M. A., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona 1,
 71 Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Jeweller, Khamgaon.
 72 Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I., O. B. E., M. L. A. Readymoney Mansions
 Churchgate Street, Bombay 1.
 73 Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, Esplanade Chambers, Bombay 1.
 74 Mr. R. R. Bhale, M. L. C., Servants of India Society, Bombay.
 75 „ K. G. Sivaswamy, Mayanoor, South India.
 76 „ R. T. Dashmukh, Nagpur C/o Rambhau Gupte.
 77 „ C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapatam.
 78 „ V. H. Barve, Hmrai Camp, Poona 4.
 79 „ Ibrahim Kasim, Zanzibar.
 80 Miss Dwarkabai Bhat, B. A., B. T., T. D. (London) C/o the Long Life
 Assurance Co., Laxmi Road, Poona 2.
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APPENDIX C.

 XVII National Liberal Federation of India

List of Members of the Reception Committee.

- 1 D. B. K. V. Brahma, Nagpur.
 - 2 Mr. S. B. Gokhale.
 - 3 Seth Gurmukhrai, Bilaspur.
 - 4 Mr. B. R. Agarwala, Pleader, Bilaspur.
 - 5 R. S. Udaisingh Bien, Bilaspur.
 - 6 Mr. N. N. Talati, Merchant, Bilaspur.
 - 7 Seth Ghewarchand, Mungeli, Bilaspur.
 - 8 Seth Surajnal, Bilaspur.
 - 9 Mr. J. P. Verma, Bilaspur.
 - 10 Seth Radhakisan, Merchant, Bilaspur.
 - 11 Mr. M. B. Ganorkar Pleader, Amraoti.
 - 12 R. S. Saranjame, Pleader, Amraoti.
 - 13 R. B. R. M. Khare, Pleader, Amraoti.
 - 14 Mr. B. W. Joshi, Advocate, Amraoti.
 - 15 R. B. B. R. Angal, Public Prosecutor, Amraoti.
 - 16 R. B. Dr. W. R. Bhat, Amraoti.
 - 17 Mr. N. M. Thakur, Printer & Publisher, Amraoti.
 - 18 „ N. R. Dole, Hony. Magistrate Amraoti.
 - 19 R. S. Dr. Bhagwat, M. B. B. S., Amraoti.
 - 20 Mr. R. K. Thombra, Pleader, Akola.
 - 21 R. S. Satarkar, Pleader, Akola.
 - 22 Mr. R. G. Utgikar, Rtd. E. A. C., Akola.
 - 23 „ Y. R. Dengre, Akola.
 - 24 „ S. G. Sapkal, M. L. C., Akola.
 - 25 „ T. S. Dighe, Akola.
 - 26 „ K. P. Paranjpe, Akola.
 - 27 „ M. D. Bhagwat, Akola.
 - 28 „ E. R. Mahajani, Akola.
 - 29 „ S. A. Bhagwat, Akola.
 - 30 „ S. D. Kama, Public Prosecutor, Akola.
 - 31 „ V. L. Oka, President, Bar Association, Akola.
 - 32 R. B. G. R. Kothare, Khamgaon.
 - 33 Mr. T. L. Oka, Khamgaon.
 - 34 „ Waman Keshao Dashmukh, Khamgaon.
 - 35 „ J. S. Jha, Rtd. A. D. J. Jubbulpore.
 - 36 „ L. R. Mote, Land Lord, Amraoti.
 - 37 „ Shamji Kheta, Merchant, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
 - 38 „ V. K. Rajwade, Advocate, Nagpur.
 - 39 Mrs. Bakulabai Abhyankar, Saugor.
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