

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NINETEENTH SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India

HELD AT CALCUTTA

On December 29th, 30th and 31st, 1937.



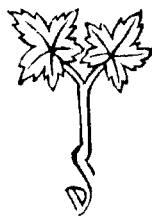
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Printed by Rangal Dutta, at the New Indian Press, 6, Duff Street, Calcutta
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MR. JATINDRA NATH BASU, M.A., M.L.A.
Chairman of the Reception
Committee.



SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, K.C.I.E., LL.D.
President.

Nineteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation, Calcutta, December 29th, 30th and 31st, 1937.

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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held in the hall of the Indian Association at Calcutta in the Christmas Week of 1937. It was the fourth session of the Federation held in the former metropolis of India and present capital of Bengal. The second session of the Federation was held in the historic town hall of Calcutta in 1919 under the presidency of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, certainly the foremost of living Indian Liberals as he is one of the most distinguished of lawyers, scholars and public men. The eighth session was held in the same hall in 1925 under the presidency of Sir Moropant Joshi, of the Central Provinces and Berar, one of the oldest of Congressmen and most prominent of Liberals. The chairmen of the reception committees of both of those sessions are alas ! no more. They were, respectively, Sir Binod Chunder Mitter, the great advocate who afterwards rose to be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and Babu Krishnakumar Mitra, the revered religious and social reformer. The fourteenth session held during the Easter of 1933 had for president Sir M. Ramachandra Rao, also unfortunately no more. A more careful student of public questions or a more conscientious worker we had not in our midst. Last year's chairman of the reception committee, Mr. J. N. Basu, was also the chairman of the reception committee of 1933. Mr. Basu is highly respected wherever modesty, disinterestedness and solid good work are recognized. Last year's president was Sir Chimanlal Setalvad of Bombay. Second only to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as a veteran, Sir Chimanlal had the honour conferred upon him for the second time, he having already presided over the eleventh session of the Federation at Allahabad in 1928. Sir Chimanlal had been a Congressman for the best part of thirty years before he joined the Liberal Party as one of the founder-members not on account of a change of opinion but because of consistency and courage of conviction. For, the present Liberal Party is nothing but the old Congress kept alive. Sir Chimanlal has had a most distinguished career both in the profession and in public life. He is the foremost advocate of the Bombay High Court and his Golden Jubilee as a lawyer has lately been celebrated. He has rendered remarkable public services in a number of distinguished capacities—in the University, in the legislature, in the Congress, in the Liberal Federation, in other public bodies. He combines in himself the qualities of ability, clear judgment, eloquence of expression and steadfastness of purpose. It is right that a man of his pre-eminent qualifications should have been honoured twice with the presidentship of the organization with which he has identified himself and which owes so much to him.

A word may be said of the propriety of the Liberal Federation holding its session in the hall of the Indian Association. The Association was founded more than 60 years ago by Surendranath Banerjea and Anandamohan Bose, two names to conjure with. As orators and as patriots they were equalled by few and surpassed by none in their day while after them there have been very few indeed to come up to their level.

The Indian Association has during three score years fought the political battles of India with a patriotism and thoughtfulness to which there can be a comparison only with the Presidency Association of Bombay and the Mahajana Sabha of Madras in their palmy days. It was an inspiration to the delegates who assembled at the last session of the Federation to look around the walls of the hall and cast their eyes on the portraits of some of the greatest of Indian politicians, including, among others, Lalmohan Ghose and Kalichurn Banurji, illustrious names that ought not to be forgotten, names which evoke both respect and gratitude.

The last session of the Federation was held in an atmosphere that was not particularly exhilarating. The Liberal Party had been wiped out in the first general elections held at the beginning of the year under the Government of India Act of 1935. And in six provinces out of eleven Congress Ministries were functioning with the support of large majorities. In a seventh too, the Congress has got into office after defeating the first ministry. But to those who recall the policy proclaimed by the Congress at the time of the election of 1920 and followed in the election of 1930, there would have been no difficulty in sharing Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's opinion that the change of Congress policy indicated, first by participation in elections and next by acceptance of office, is a triumph of Liberal opinion. In the work of Congress Ministries in the seven provinces one finds that, largely, it is Liberal policy which is being followed. Where it is departed from, the reason is to be found in the reckless promises made to electors to get their votes and the subsequent necessity of at least partial fulfilment of those promises to retain their confidence. More may be claimed for Liberal policy. Where Congress Ministries have not been doing well, in fact getting into trouble, is just where they follow their own nostrums for the reason stated above; whereas they are on firm ground in the pursuit of policies common to them and the Liberals. The address of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, and the speech of Mr. Basu, the chairman of the reception committee, embodied genuine Liberal opinions, which are a concrete expression of common sense and experience. On one or two points—for example, the Congress Muslim mass contact programme and the selection of Muslim members of Congress Cabinets—there is no unanimous Liberal agreement with Sir Chimanlal. But on almost all other points what he said is a faithful reflection of the thought and the feeling of every Liberal in the country.

The resolutions of the session dealt with the usual subjects but with a full regard for changes and developments that took place after the previous session. The resolutions on the new constitution, reform in Indian states, military policy and expenditure, Indians overseas, economic development and other subjects are such that any wise and patriotic Indian may be proud to own their authorship. We invite particular attention to resolution VIII which condemns both communism and fascism. It will bear transcription :

Convinced as it is that the best interests of India will be promoted by a constitutional system of government, in which the government is responsible to the people as represented in the legislatures, the National Liberal Federation of India is strongly opposed to communistic as well as totalitarian ideas as being detrimental to the well-being and advancement of the people.

Events that have since happened in Europe and a certain tendency of events in Congress circles in India, both emphasize the wisdom of the Liberal Federation's view of the necessity of active discouragement of both communism and fascism in this country.

What is the future of the Indian Liberal Party? It is easier to put the question than to answer it. Liberalism is flourishing in Canada and the United States. But it is on the wane in Europe including England. But what has lately happened in Egypt must be a warning to Congressmen proud of their triumph at the last elections. In Egypt the Wafdists, including their leader, Nahas Pasha, have been wiped out. As Lord Hailey has said, the only thing permanent in politics is that every situation is temporary. Who knows whether the Congress may not meet with a reverse at the polls if it does not succeed in office, who knows if Liberalism may yet not get into its own at some future date? Whatever the future may be holding in its lap, the duty of every convinced Liberal is clear. It is to keep the flag flying.

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते

मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, NINETEENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS.

I. Losses during the year.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose whose great achievements in the field of science won him world-wide recognition and whose devoted work was a beacon light to his countrymen to proceed onward in the field of scientific research.
- (b) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of the great loss the party and the country have sustained by the death of Raja Sir Rampal Singh of Lucknow, Babu Gouri Shankaer Prasad of Benares and the Rev. B. A. Nag of Calcutta. The Federation conveys its sympathy to the members of the bereaved families.
- (c) The Federation records its sense of the loss the country has sustained by the early death of Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawalla of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., a great financial expert who rendered valuable service in the furtherance of Indian banking enterprise.

Put from the Chair.

II. The New Constitution.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India reiterates its considered opinion that the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.
- (b) Nonetheless, the Federation repeats that it has to be utilized to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to Dominion Status.
- (c) The Federation views with satisfaction that Cabinets responsible to popularly elected representatives of the people have taken over the administration in the various provinces including those in which the Congress party commands a majority in the Legislature and hopes that those Cabinets will so work the constitution as to secure the confidence of all classes, creeds and interests, and specially the minorities, so as to facilitate

the early removal of the various safeguards, special responsibilities of Governors and other restraints that exist in the present Government of India Act, thereby leading to a full and complete transfer of power to the people's representatives in the provinces.

- (d) The Federation urges that no concession should be made to the Princes, in the course of the negotiations now being carried on with them with regard to the establishment of the Federation which is calculated to increase still more the powers of the Princes at the expense of the Federal Government.

Proposed by the Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri (Madras)

Seconded by Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay)

Supported by Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal)

„ Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (U. P.)

„ Mr. A. S. N. Murthey (Orissa)

III. Reform in Indian States.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of India States for civic and political liberties.
- (b) The Federation deeply regrets that no provision has been made in the new Government of India Act for the election of representatives of the States in the coming Federal Legislature or for the recognition of the people's fundamental rights of citizenship. The Federation, however, hopes that the rulers of Indian States will allow their representatives in the Federal Legislatures to be returned by election.
- (c) The Federation strongly urges once again that the Rulers of States should without further delay concede to their subjects the rights of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the Press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, as well as representative government as a prelude to responsible Government.

Proposed by Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra (U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. M. D. Shahane (C. P.)

IV. Military Policy and Expenditure.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India again condemns the continued unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers

and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The Government's unfavourable attitude is the more objectionable as the advance of India to self-government is held up on the plea of the unreadiness of Indians to assume responsibility for the defence of the country—unreadiness for which the whole of the responsibility lies on the British Government. Recent world events emphasise the necessity of the immediate utilisation of the vast man-power of India for the defence of the country.

- (b) The Federation urges that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities.
- (c) The Federation urges a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor and the selections of cadets from the Corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy.
- (d) The Federation further urges that steps should be taken in accordance with the recommendation of the Shea Committee to bring about the introduction of military drill and the establishment of cadet Corps in Schools.
- (e) The Federation strongly objects to the exclusion of Indians from the Auxiliary Force and urges the amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.
- (f) Pending the transfer of military control to Indians the apportionment of military expenditure between Britain and India requires further readjustment. As a measure of bare justice, the extra burden imposed on the country by the presence of British troops and owing to Imperial policies should be borne by Britain.

Proposed by—Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay)

Seconded by—Mr. B. B. Ray (Bengal)

Supported by—M. B. J. Shroff (Bombay)

V. Indians Overseas.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India urges upon the Central Government the need for the establishment for a special permanent Department to keep in touch with Indians overseas and a watch over their interests.
- (b) This Federation views with the gravest concern the recent legislation of a purely racial character passed in South Africa depriving Africans themselves of long cherished franchise rights which seriously threatens the Indian franchise in the Cape Province. It would point out that the evil principle of racial segregation which is involved, is in danger

of spreading to Southern Rhodesia and along the whole coast of East Africa with deleterious results.

- (c) The National Liberal Federation of India supports the Indians of Zanzibar in the stand they have made for the vindication of their rights, and calls upon the people and Government of this country to put an embargo on the importation of cloves into India from Zanzibar if the legitimate grievances of the Indians are not amicably settled.
- (d) The Federation condemns the refusal of the Ceylon Government to grant the franchise excepting to a very small number of Indians in rural areas under the Ceylon Village Ordinance. It strongly supports the decision of the Government of India not to permit the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon pending the enfranchisement of Indians on equal terms with the Singhalese.
- (e) The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to promote the interests of the Indians of Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad, particularly those of an economic and educational character. In Fiji in particular, steps should be taken to enable Indians (who number about 85,000 and are mostly Fiji-born) to acquire a permanent title to land without risk to the legitimate rights of the Fijians.
- (f) The Federation views with concern the proposed legislation in Kenya called the Co-ordination of Transport Bill which the Indian community regards as detrimental to its interests and presses the Government of India to take adequate steps to prevent the just rights of Indians from being encroached upon.
- (g) The Federation expresses its appreciation of the report of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on Indian labour in Malaya and views with satisfaction the increase in the wages of Indian labour so far as it has gone which his visit to Malaya has resulted in. It however, urges the Government of India, to take steps to bring about a further improvement in the conditions of Indian labour.
- (h) The Federation considers it necessary that agents of the Government of India should be appointed in (1) East Africa including Zanzibar, (2) Fiji, (3) British Guiana and Trinidad and (4) Burma.

Proposed by The Hon. Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru.
(Allahabad.)

Seconded by Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta.)

VI. Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions.

The National Liberal Federation of India has noted with regret and surprise conflicting statements by Congress Ministers on the long over-due

separation of judicial from executive functions and urges that this reform should be carried into effect without delay in every province.

Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Varma (U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. Mahbubul Huq (Bengal)

VII. Education.

- (a) Pending examination of the details of the scheme of education propounded at the Wardha Conference, the Federation views with alarm the decisions reached at the Conference, and in particular considers the proposal to make elementary education practically self-supporting to be entirely unpractical and calculated to subordinate the acquisition of culture to considerations of earning by children by their craft, and if persisted in, the Federation believes that it will put back the progress of the country.
- (b) The Federation strongly disapproves of the proposal to change the universities into merely examining bodies and is emphatically of the opinion that the progress of India is bound up with the development of our Universities as effective agencies for higher education and research.

Proposed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U. P.)

Seconded by Mr. M. D. Altekhar (Bombay)

VIII. Communism and Fascism.

Convinced as it is that the best interests of India will be promoted by a constitutional system of government, in which the government is responsible to the people as represented in the legislatures, the National Liberal Federation of India is strongly opposed to communistic as well as totalitarian ideas as being detrimental to the well-being and advancement of the people.

Proposed by Prof. J. R. Banerjee (Bengal)

Seconded by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U. P.)

Supported by Mr. M. D. Shahane (C. P.)

IX. Economic Development.

- (a) The Federation re-affirms resolution No. 9 of its Nagpur Session of 1935 on Agricultural Indebtedness and its resolution No. 8 of its last session on Economic development.
- (b) The Federation suggests the constitution, in the Centre and in the Provinces, of Economic Boards to investigate schemes of development both for urban and rural areas and advise on the lines of advance in respect of agriculture as well as industries.

- (c) The Federation urges the appointment of Trade Agents for India at all important Asiatic, European, African and American countries with a view to establish trade contacts and to explore new fields for the expansion of Indian Commerce.

Proposed by Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy (Madras)

Seconded by Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay)

X. Boundaries of Bengal.

The National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that the boundaries of Bengal should be readjusted by inclusion within that province of certain districts which formerly formed part of it.

Proposed by Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Mukerjee (Bengal)

Seconded by Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen (Bengal)

XI. Indian Medical Service.

The National Liberal Federation of India strongly condemns the present policy of Government as regards the Indian Medical Service and considers that the only proper solution of the question is (1) the organization of the Indian Medical Service as an exclusively military service which should not be used in civil administration, (2) the constitution from the ranks of private medical practitioners of a reserve of medical men for employment in times of military emergency, (3) the recruitment of the military service thus constituted by open competition in India alone, and (4) the placing of the civil medical services in the provinces entirely under the control of provincial Governments both as regards recruitment and employment.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Madras).

Seconded by Mr. S. N. Roy (Bengal).

XII. Detenus.

The National Liberal Federation of India has noted with satisfaction the release from detention of a large number of persons imprisoned without trial and conveys its acknowledgment to the Governments of the provinces concerned for acceding to the demand of the people in that behalf, and to Mahatma Gandhi for his powerful support of that demand. This Federation urges upon the Governments concerned the early release of those who are still in detention without trial.

Put from the Chair.

XIII. The Andamans.

This Federation has noted with satisfaction the repatriation of a large number of prisoners from the Andamans, and urges upon the Government of India the abandonment of the Andamans as a penal settlement.

Put from the Chair.

XIV. Excise Policy.

The National Liberal Federation of India urges the Provincial Governments and the people to make organised attempts to discourage the use of intoxicating and injurious drinks and drugs.

Put from the Chair.

XV. Untouchability.

The National Liberal Federation of India has watched with satisfaction the gradual change of outlook on the part of the people of this country as regards untouchability and exhorts both the people and Governments to put forth every endeavour to eradicate this evil from our social and religious systems as early as possible.

Put from the Chair.

XVI. Council and Office-bearers for 1938.

- (a) The Federation re-appoints Mr. B. N. Gokhale and appoints Mr. M. D. Altekar as its General Secretaries for the year 1938.
- (b) The Federation appoints the under-mentioned Council for the year 1938.

(Names printed in Appendix D.)

XVII. Next Session of the Federation.

Resolved that the twentieth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held in Orissa or in Bombay as the Council may decide, in the Christmas of 1938.

Proposed by Mr. A. S. N. Murthy (Orissa)

Seconded by Mr. L. N. Sahu (Orissa)

XVIII. Vote of Thanks.

Proposed by Babu Nibaranchandra Ray (Bengal)

Seconded by Mr. S. P. Basu (Bengal)

President's Closing Speech.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, NINETEENTH ANNUAL SESSION.

Calcutta, Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1937.

First Day's Proceedings

The nineteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held in the hall of the Indian Association, Calcutta, on the 29th, 30th and 31st December 1937, under the presidency of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

The proceedings of the first day (Dec. 29th) commenced at 2 P. M. with the "Bandemataram" song sung in chorus by a band of girls, belonging to the Bharati Vidyalaya.

Delegates from different parts of India attended the session, and prominent among those present were :—

The Right Hon'ble V. Srinivasa Sastri.
Lord Sinha.
Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
Mr. J. N. Basu.
Sir Bijay Prasad Singha Roy.
The Hon'ble Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra.
Dr. C. Y. Chintamani.
Pundit Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru.
Sir Cowasji Jehangir.
Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao.
Mr. A. D. Shroff.
Mr. H. G. Ghurpurey.
Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul.
Mr. Sukdeo Behari Misra (Rai Bahadur).
Mr. M. D. Altekar.
Mr. M. D. Shahane.
Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru.
Mr. A. S. N. Murthy.
Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle.
Pandit Sriram Bajpai.
Mr. S. M. Bose.
Dr. Miss Rama Bose.
Mrs. Kumudini Basu.
Mr. Sati Nath Roy.
Mr. Malli Nath Roy.
Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray.
Kumar Saradindu Roy.
Dr. M. N. Bose.
Dr. J. N. Ghosh.
Principal J. R. Banerjee.
Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh.
Mr. B. B. Roy.
Mr. K. C. Neogy.
Mr. Amulya Dhone Addy.
Mr. Surendra Nath Varma.
Mr. Shyamlal Tandon.
Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu.

The President-elect, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, was received at the entrance of the Indian Association premises by Mr. J. N. Basu, Chairman of the Reception Committee and others and conducted to his seat in a procession amid a fanfare by boy scouts. After the singing of Bande Mataram, Mr. J. N. Basu, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcoming the delegates, said:—

Welcome address
of Mr. J. N. Basu

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee, I extend to you a hearty welcome to this the Nineteenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India. Our deliberations have not in the past aimed at any spectacular effects, but have been directed to a close and careful study of the problems that face us in the present and to the laying down of a policy, which though looking to the future, does not ignore the present. That was the path chosen by us.

Recent events have shown that the path so chalked out has been resorted to by other important sections of political opinion in India. While we have held as strongly as any other political party in India, that the Government of India Act of 1919 was not and the Act of 1935, is not all that we desire or aim at in the way of our constitutional advance and have declared in unambiguous terms our views as to what the framework and the vital forces of the constitution should be, we have steadily set out our face against the introduction into the life of this country, distracted as it is by social, religious and other kinds of untouchability, of a new species of untouchability, political in character, and consisting of the methods of non-co-operation, civil disobedience and social ostracism. It is a great satisfaction to us that those who ridiculed our policy have ceased to continue in their negative attitude of criticism and destruction and have turned their attention to positive work with the materials that are available.

The Government of India Act of 1919 contemplated a review of the working of the State in India at intervals of every 10 years with a view to further constitutional advance, and also provided for an earlier advance, such as the transfer of authority to the legislatures in the Provinces in all departments of the State. There was however violent agitation against the Act of 1919. The scheme of graduated but steady advance on broad lines, contemplated by the late Mr. Montagu was neglected. The result has been that at the end of sixteen years, a change has come, accompanied by safeguards and reservations, which did not find a place in the Montagu Scheme. There was a greater measure of trust in the people of this country in the reforms of 1919 than has been conceded in the reforms of 1935.

We have now legislative powers given to the Governor-General and the Governors. The Ministers are expected to function with the aid of the superior services, whom they do not control, and who are largely independent of their authority. The Governors have been given the power of interference in the work of administration in the name of tranquility and order. The political Status ardently longed for by all political parties in India is nowhere in the picture.

But in whatever shape it may be, and though we may continue to agitate against it, the constitution laid down by the Government of India Act, 1935, has commenced functioning in the Provinces, and may soon be expected to commence to operate in the Centre. While we do not yield to any political party in continuously striving for complete self-rule, our policy is not to ignore the resources that are now available, however meagre and defective they may be. We have endeavoured to have those resources worked to the fullest extent for the uplift of the people.

We are glad that the Congress Party, which is the most powerful political organisation in India and has won majorities in the legislatures in seven out of the eleven Provinces of India, has accepted the responsibility of administration in those seven Provinces. It is a good augury for our future that the idealism which has characterised the Congress movement and its great leaders during the past eighteen years is now being deliberately weighted with the ballast of realism. Faced with the realities of the day-to-day working of the State in all its departments, a fund of experience will be accumulated which will help the people in achieving further advance.

The Provincial Governments will now be faced in a great many cases with adverse views from different sections of their own people. The parties, who constitute those Governments, should remember that those that oppose them are in most cases not a bureaucracy, alien in composition and sympathies, deriving their impulse and authority not from the people, but from extraneous sources, but are parties coming from the people. It should also be remembered that we are so backward, that instead of stressing the differences that exist amongst different groups of the people advantage should be taken of the agreements that exist in vital matters, such as those affecting economic progress, the improvement of public health, the growth of industries and the advancement of education. In engaging in mutual controversies we should not neglect immediate measures to see our people well fed and well housed, with plenty of remunerative work to do, and with a fair amount of knowledge to appreciate their own condition, and the world currents of thought and progress. It appears however that a large part of public time is taken up in controversies of a sectional and often a bitter and personal character. We appeal to those in office and to those in opposition and particularly to the Press, to do their best to encourage the achievement of quiet, steady, constructive work, on the basis of as wide an agreement amongst different sections as possible, and not to give way, even under provocation to the use of words or the doing of deeds, which are likely to lead to acerbation of feelings and mutual recriminations, retarding, instead of attaining the progress and solidarity which we all desire.

Most countries are divided into majorities and minorities. It is regrettable that in this country such division in recent times has taken place not on the basis of political opinions, but on the basis of creeds and castes. The tendency to such division has unfortunately been made rigid and inelastic by what is known as the Communal Award. Mr. Montagu had in his reform measure made the system elastic. It is more necessary in this country than in countries which do not have a

Welcome address
of Mr. J. N. Basu

system like the Communal Award, that the majorities should so use their position of predominance that there may be no occasion for distrust or grievance amongst the minorities. It may be noticed with satisfaction that whenever any charges have been levelled against the new Governments of Bihar and the United Provinces as regards the treatment of minorities, those Governments have promptly placed the public in possession of facts showing that they have held the scales even for all communities, and that nothing had been done to injure minorities or to give them any cause for grievance.

The working of the Provincial Governments, the progress they achieve, and their treatment of the minorities will to a great extent be the stepping stones to further advance. The responsibilities of Provincial Ministers are great. The desire to please some factions may sometimes predominate. But the country consists of several factions. Real and lasting progress can be achieved expeditiously if the way is so laid out as to enable all to participate in the endeavour instead of confining the work to any particular faction. Let the same opportunities and facilities be open to all, and let there be no special treatment except for backward classes. There should be no breath of suspicion of class or communal bias against those in charge of administration.

In considering the question of minorities we are apt to forget those that constitute small minorities, like the Parsis, the Buddhists, the Anglo-Indians and others. Though small, their contribution to the progress of the country has been very considerable. So far as these important elements in our population go, we shall not only be doing them an injustice, but ourselves great injury, if we ignore them. Some of them, with characteristic patriotism, have not sought any special consideration by reason of their belonging to a minority. Many representatives of such communities have been and are, leaders, trusted and held in regard by all communities.

Let us hope that minorities, whether they are Moslem or Hindu will have no occasion for any grievance about any injustice being done to them. Measures like the division of the electorates into separate groups according to creed or caste are a passing phase. It will soon be apparent that attempts at benefiting one community only can only be a temporary expedient, while benefiting the country as a whole will probably benefit minorities more. Society is an organic whole. The strengthening of the entire human body brings strength to all parts of the body. Serving the interests of some communities only to the neglect of those of others, or of general welfare might result in a serious set back to general progress.

With the inauguration of the Minto-Morley reforms, the talk of Hindu-Moslem differences and Hindu-Moslem unity arose, and those differences have since grown in volume. In their ordinary relations in life, there is not much of Hindu-Moslem difference. They live and work together and mix with one another as neighbours and fellow citizens. Let those relations continue to be amicable as before. If considered necessary committees may be established in different localities for establishing further points of amicable contact. Ceremonial functions may be organised for the exchange of friendly greetings between members of the communities on the occasion of their respective festivals, like the Id and the Dusserah. The

Committees may so regulate the religious observances of each community that Hindu or Moslem may freely go through those observances without any inconvenience to the other community. The spirit of antagonism that has been fostered in some quarters has been barren and fruitful of mischief. It should give place to the spirit of amity.

There is general anxiety as to how the Federation will work. There is apprehension that the Indian States, some with their mediaeval systems of administration, will be a drag, retarding the proper functioning of the Centre as a progressive State. The Constitution of the Centre, both legislative and executive, is such that there is occasion for such apprehension. But we should note that the impulse of progress is gradually making headway. Some of the States have already adopted advanced systems of administration. With the commencement of the working of the Federation, and the active contact with British Indian Units and their representatives, the pace of the Indian States is likely to be expedited. These circumstances, combined with the normal urges for progress as time rolls on, are expected to imbue the States at an early date with progressive impulses. The Federation realises the ideal of the people of India about constituting one united State. If in the working of Federation, defects appear, the units may strive for amending the constitution. If the spirit of disruption tends to grow instead of the spirit of cohesion, it may be necessary to invest the Centre with some powers over the component units. But the apprehensions to which I have referred should not stand in the way of the great experiment being undertaken.

The improvement of our economic condition should receive much greater attention both in the Centre and in the Provinces than in the past. Certain aspects of agriculture in this country have attracted the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy. We are grateful to him for the impulse he has given for progress on the lines indicated by him. But the question of proper utilization of our agricultural resources, of interprovincial distribution and foreign exports and of proper marketing, including the question of finance, requires careful examination and is awaiting solution.

There is also the question of industries. It is a difficult question. But with our large and growing population, it is a question that should be taken up without delay. To decide upon our course of action, the inception and development of industries in countries like Japan and Soviet Russia may be investigated. Large results have been achieved in those countries within a short space of time. In view of the rate of growth of our population we should not delay organised attempts at industrialisation, with due regard not only to large industries, but also to small and home industries. The policy of drift should no longer continue.

In this connection we should try to establish touch with outside markets both for purposes of sale and purchase. At present our trade relations with foreign countries are not always regulated with a view to our advantage. We should have independent trade agencies in the countries of Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia. These agencies may help us in establishing trade contacts where none exist now, in widening our field of operations, and in extending our markets. There have been agents

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in Hamburg, Milan and New York. An Agent has recently been appointed for East Africa. But the sphere of their work should be better defined. They should have guidance from a Board of Foreign Trade in this country constituted mainly of business men of experience. The Centre and the Provinces should encourage the study of the languages of Asiatic countries, of their trade requirements and of their agricultural and industrial products. India's foreign trade should not be left to chance. There should be planned endeavour on the part of the State to develop foreign trade.

In negotiating trade agreements with other countries it should be ensured that the agreements should be of mutual advantage to both parties. We are economically so situated that we cannot afford to be over-generous. There should be no agreement with any country if such agreement is likely to lose us our trade elsewhere, and does not bring us any compensating advantage.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to the provisions of the Government of India Act as regards commercial discrimination. With our industrial and commercial backwardness we are faced with competition from countries, not only with very considerable resources, but with efficient, powerful and strongly supported organisations. It is difficult for some of our industries, such as shipping, to grow unless there is discrimination in our favour. Other countries under similar circumstances resort to protection and subsidies. But at this early stage of our industrial progress we are expected to achieve, what no other country has been able to achieve. The provisions of the Government of India Act should without delay be brought into line with the realities of the situation.

The treatment of Indians overseas is felt keenly in this country. There is a general idea that such treatment is due to the inferior status that India occupies in the commonwealth of nations which has Britain for its Centre. Our thanks are due to the Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri for his work in the Dominions and Malaya and to our Agents in South Africa for their attempts at removal of our disabilities. The clove regulations at Zanzibar are aimed at depriving Indians of their long-standing rights. The Government of India should insist upon the question of Indian rights abroad being kept to the fore until our wrongs are remedied. Having regard to the number of Indians residing in the Colonies, the Dominions and foreign countries, there should be a special Department of the Government of India to look after their interests.

Regarding our Defence we cannot but look upon the position with some anxiety. In various ways we have been excluded from the knowledge of defence with modern arms. There may be no immediate danger. But we have noticed the breakdown of the League machinery for maintenance of peace. We know of the seas and lands that intervene between India and Britain. It should not be difficult under the circumstances to appreciate what we feel.

The policy of Defence requires a thorough change. Distrust of the people should disappear. There should be no delay in framing a policy aimed at facing the situation. We should not look merely to campaigns in Waziristan. We have extensive land borders and a very long seaboard.

We have no organisation of coast-defence and no arrangements to face air inroads into the interior. For these, reliance must to a great extent be placed on the people. While other countries are preparing for self-defence, those that control the Government of India appear to be almost sleeping. They require awakening. Otherwise, it may be too late.

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of Mr. J. N. Basu

In conclusion, I appeal to all interested in this country, Europeans and Indians, not to forget the great work that lies before us. If the country is strong, healthy and prosperous, the relations that will normally develop will render Ottawa pacts, trade agreements and Communal Awards unnecessary. The best agreement is a bond of mutual sympathy and understanding. The trust that Lord Linlithgow extended by his momentous declaration, and the trust with which the Congress party accepted office must grow from more to more. There must be keen desire for mutual understanding, so that the clouds of distrust may ultimately be scattered. It should be recognised that India's aspiration for self-rule is normal and just. Delay in the recognition of that fact is likely to aggravate the situation. The work before all of us is a ceaseless endeavour to raise the people materially and morally. With the stigma of an inferior status removed, with chronic poverty, disease and ignorance successfully combated and with facilities for the free exercise of the powers of a Self-Governing State, India will be one of the strongest factors in ensuring world peace.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

In proposing Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to the Chair, the Right Hon'ble V. Srinivasa Sastri said :—

Election of
President :
Rt. Hon. Mr. V
Srinivasa Sastri

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sister and Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

To me has been assigned the honour this afternoon of proposing that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad should be requested to preside over our deliberations. I do so with the greatest pleasure. For some years now it has fallen to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to propose the President of these meetings. Today I take the honour from him. He is the victim today and we all can have our revenge upon him (applause). Sir Chimanlal, if I may say so, is the oldest Congressman amongst us all here (hear, hear). That he is from the beginning associated with the Liberal Federation is not saying much by the side of the other statement. Sir Chimanlal has had the exceptionally good fortune of being associated with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and other veterans of that type. There is almost no branch of public life with which Sir Chimanlal has not been associated. His experience of affairs has come full circle. Sir Chimanlal, if I may say so, is a gentleman

endowed with somewhat exceptional qualities. His intellect is as keen as a razor. Nothing escapes him. He is quick to grasp things, and in presenting them to others he takes the shortest route. Sir Chimanlal is, if I may say so, a curious contradiction. Look at him. It may take some effort on your part (applause). There is nothing superfluous about him (applause). It is all compact of intellect. Sometimes I think he is a triumph of God's handiwork—minimum of machinery with maximum of out-turn (applause). Sir Chimanlal, as I say, is gifted with rare powers of discernment, his judgment is unailing; no sophistry can deceive him; no foe can frighten him, and no bubble, however glittering, can dazzle him. We are exceptionally fortunate in having secured him to be our president this year. Let us, therefore, acclaim him with cheers and ask him to conduct our proceedings.

Election of
President :
Dr. C. Y.
Chintamani

Dr. C. Y. Chintamani (U.P.) : Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition that has been placed before you by my Right Hon'ble friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad needs no introduction to any assembly of educated Indians, be it liberal or any other. He has been before the public for a longer period than almost any other man now living, a most prominent exception being Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He joined the Congress in the same year in which the present president of the Congress was born, and he came under the influence of the greatest of political leaders that India has known, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the uncrowned King of Bombay. He distinguished himself at the bar. He made himself most useful in the Bombay Corporation, particularly as the chairman of the Schools Committee. He distinguished himself in the Bombay Legislative Council, which he entered as an elected member at the early age of 28, and worked there with such assiduity that the "Times of India" paid him a compliment, without intending it to be such, describing him as the inquisitor-general of the Bombay Legislative Council. He later distinguished himself in the Indian Legislative Assembly. He was on the Bench of the Bombay High Court, and he was for two and half years a member of the Executive Council of Bombay. To him fell the distinction in the latter capacity of piloting through the Council the Sukkur Barage scheme, for which the province of Sind should for ever be grateful to him. By his unsurpassed ability and skill in debate he converted a hostile Council into a friendly assembly and carried that matter through without opposition. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad having adorned the Bench of the Bombay High Court, has now the unique and singular distinction of being the father of the Advocate-General of Bombay.

My friend Mr. Sastri referred to Sir Chimanlal's earlier association with the Congress. All of us not merely were, but are Congressmen in the sense in which we at any time were, and the Liberal Federation to-day is as faithful to that Congress as at any time it was.

Last night in the train a noble friend of mine expressed surprise that the Liberal Federation should still be in existence after the verdict of the electorate at the polls. Well, gentlemen, if a political party was to wind itself up the moment it had sustained an electoral reverse, no political party could exist for more than a few years. I would say of the Liberal Party that it may have been defeated and may again be defeated, but it has never been and God willing will never be, disgraced. It has committed no sin

that it should dissolve itself in a moment of crisis. It has never been and will not be under the obligation of paying a heavy price for inculcating in the minds of the people lessons which it finds very inconvenient and embarrassing when it finds itself in office. It has enunciated no political proposition which it need revise, except on points of detail, and yet it is adaptable to changing circumstances, always taking care that its principles, its convictions and its honour remain in tact. We are not the only Liberal Party in the world, and except in Canada our fortunes are no more adverse than the fortunes of Liberal parties in other countries, we continue to function in the hope and belief that one day the electorate will shed their passion for extremes and will revert to the path of sanity and once more pay allegiance to the agencies to which people everywhere have owed the largest amount of economic and social progress.

Election of
President :
Dr. C. Y.
Chintamani

To-day it may seem madness for any one to think of a bright future for the Indian Liberal Party. But stranger things have happened, and those who in the moment of triumph seek to tread the path of despots, while muttering the accents of democracy, may yet, who knows, regret the excesses committed by them in the fullness of pride and in the moment of success. At such a juncture, when people are wondering that the Liberal Party should be endeavouring still to hold a session, who will be more fit as the leader of the party than the veteran who has fought many a battle with success and even where he has not succeeded, he has fought it in such a manner as to cover himself with distinction.

There is one quality in Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, which in recent years I have learned to admire, more than his ability and other qualities. That quality is even temper. I have seen him in circumstances which might provoke any other man but they leave him unruffled, calm, cool, collected. He never allows his emotions to run away with his judgment.

I am very glad that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is going to be the President of the Federation a second time. He should have presided 17 years ago, but having been summoned by the Governor of Bombay to his Council, that particular session of the Liberal Federation at Madras was deprived of the honour and advantage of having him as president. That honour came to him at Allahabad eight years later, and I am glad that this year Calcutta, as in the early periods of the Congress, has shown its unmistakable partiality for Bombay in the selection of President by choosing Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Last year at Lucknow Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in proposing Sir Cowasjee Jehangir to the chair mentioned that the United Provinces had always gone for presidents to the Bombay Presidency, and that rather raised the jealousy of Mr. Basu. I am glad that now Bengal has shown equal partiality and again gone to Bombay. As a Bombay public man presiding over a Calcutta political assembly Sir Chimanlal Setalvad succeeds Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Mr. R. M. Sayani and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and he is in the regular line of succession.

With these words I second the proposition placed before you.

Election of
President :
Sir Cowasji
Jehangir

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay), in supporting the motion said :—

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

Coming from Bombay it naturally gives me peculiar pleasure to support the resolution that has been moved and seconded by, may I say, two of the ablest men in India. You will perhaps be surprised to hear, at least those of you who see Sir Chimanlal for the first time, that he is I believe without exception the oldest active politician and statesman in India. I believe, he entered politics and took an active part in politics some time before even the distinguished gentlemen who proposed him and seconded him to the chair. You would not believe it, if you look at him, but it is a fact. When Sir Chimanlal first became a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, I was merely a child. He was a prominent Congressman, associated with men whose names to-day are household names all over India, such as Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Bhupendra Nath Basu, and many others. When he was their active associate in Indian public affairs many of us present here to-day, were not born. Well, if these are not strong arguments, for electing him as the President of the Liberal Federation, I would ask you for a better one.

My friend, Dr. Chintamani, said that some have expressed a doubt as to the advisability of our meeting and expressing our views. I for one believe that the events of last year justify our meeting this year more than ever before, for you will be hearing, as you know already, that the policy of the Liberals has been more than justified and there can be no greater compliment to a party or its principles than imitation without acknowledgment ; and that is exactly what has happened within the last few months. That I claim is the justification for us meeting here.

I do not desire to stand between you, ladies and gentlemen, and Sir Chimanlal's Presidential address which is sure to be very able and instructive.

I heartily support the resolution moved by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and seconded by Dr. Chintamani.

Election of
President :
Lord Sinha of
Raipur

Lord Sinha : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that it is a great privilege to be allowed to come in and support the resolution which has been moved by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and seconded and supported by Dr. Chintamani and Sir Cowasji Jehangir. My only grievance is that they have left me very little to say. Sir Chimanlal is well-known to all of us here, and I have the greatest pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Election of
President :
Rao Bahadur
R. G. Mundle

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle : On behalf of Berar, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposal put forward by the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Chintamani and Sir Cowasji Jehangir for the election of the President.

Mr. J. N. Basu

Mr. J. N. Basu : Ladies and gentlemen, Sir Chimanlal has been proposed to the Chair. The proposal has been duly seconded and supported. May I take it that you unanimously approve of his election to the Chair ?

The House having signified its approval to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's election to the Chair, he moved to the Presidential Chair and was garlanded.

After the singing of another patriotic song ("Jana-ganamana-adhinayaka he, Bharata bhagya bidhata" etc.), Sir Chimanlal Setalvad delivered his Presidential address, as follows :

MR. BASU, DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Address of the
President :
Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

I have to tender my grateful thanks for the confidence you have reposed in me by asking me to preside at the present Session of the National Liberal Federation. During the year we have suffered several losses in our ranks. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, President of the National Liberal Association of Oudh and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the last Session of the Federation at Lucknow who was ill during that Session and was unable to attend it, has passed away. He was one of the old veteran Congressmen who in 1918 founded the Liberal party. His death leaves a void which will be difficult to fill. We have also lost Babu Gowrishanker Prasad of Benares, a prominent Liberal from that place, a social reformer and educationist, and Rev. B. A. Nag from Bengal, a member of the Council of this Federation. There has also passed away a great son of India, one who belonged to no party nor to any particular country but to the whole world; I mean Sir Jugdish Bose. His researches in the field of plant life had revolutionized human knowledge in that branch and had won for him an abiding place amongst the greatest scientists of the world.

Congress Ministries a Liberal victory.

Since our last Session at Lucknow, events have moved very rapidly. The general elections for the Provincial Legislative Assemblies under the new constitution were held and the Congress candidates in seven out of eleven provinces won a sufficient majority of seats in the legislatures in those provinces to be in a position to form ministries. I claim that the Liberal party won a single victory—not at the poll—but in the acceptance of liberal principles and constitutional methods by the Congress. The Working Committee of the Congress decided in favour of office acceptance which the Liberal Federation, while condemning the new constitution and protesting against its ugly features, had recommended at its last Session. The comment on that decision of the Working Committee by a leading Congressman who is now, I believe, a minister, was that “it is simply a resolution of the Lucknow Session of the Liberal Federation rewritten in Congress language.” For some time the Congress majorities hesitated to shoulder the responsibility which naturally fell upon them as the result of the polls. After fussing over for three months over a demand for an assurance from Governors which was both unnecessary and constitutionally untenable, the Congress Ministries came into existence and have been functioning ever since. The prospective wreckers have become ardent workers. They have now come to realise what the Liberal had said that in spite of all the limitations and undesirable features of Provincial Autonomy, there is considerable scope for doing good to the people. One Premier is reported to have said that “Whatever may be the defects in the present Government of India Act, it has enabled us to wield power for the good of the masses.”

Congress and Responsibility.

The Congress Ministries have begun to feel the obligations of responsibility and have learnt how far removed from the realities of practical administration were the slogans they had shouted and the glib promises they had made to the electorates during the elections. In some provinces, the ministries had

Address of the
President :
Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

to resort to Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which they had time and again proclaimed should be abrogated. Lathi charges and firing had to be resorted to. Congressmen had to be warned not to associate themselves with Kisan Sabhas and Kisans had to be told that if they did not pay rent under existing laws, their lands would be confiscated. In one province they had to prosecute a Congressman under Section 124A. The Premier of the province in which that prosecution took place is reported to have said that if people from other provinces come here to do mischief by inciting people to violence, he could not keep quiet but must snatch a revolver and do something to curb such things. Another Minister said that the Congress Ministry would not countenance any subversive activity to bring about political change. I am not for a moment finding fault with them for the action these ministries had to take. On the contrary I commend their courage and good sense in doing so.

Socialists and Ministries.

For taking such measures, the Congress Ministries are attacked by the left-wingers of the Congress as making use of laws which they, when out of office had vehemently condemned, and are accused of resorting to violence while pledged to the creed of non-violence. They also accused the ministries of infringing the civil liberties of the people. If there is an outbreak of communal violence or strikers use coercion or intimidation in preventing those who want to work from doing so, is the Government, because it is a Congress Government, to allow public peace to be jeopardised and industry to be ruined and look on impotently while chaos and anarchy spread? Is it part of the civil liberties of strikers to be allowed to intimidate and use violence to others who want to work?

Difficulties of their own creation.

Several Ministers have said "Even a Congress Government has to govern." I wonder why they are so apologetic about it; why the use of the word 'even'? Is the implication that a Congress Government is ordinarily not expected to govern and maintain peace and order? I venture to think that it is the first duty of any Government, be it Congress or any other, to take all steps necessary to maintain law and order and protect the law-abiding population from violence of others, however unpalatable the fulfilment of such duty might be to some of their following. One can, however, well understand the mind of their protesting following. They are naturally puzzled to find that Congress leaders who, when out of office were making all sorts of extravagant demands on behalf of the peasantry and labour, who themselves had resorted to Civil Disobedience and breaking of laws, who had encouraged a non-payment of rent campaign and gone to jail for doing so, who had connived at coercion and intimidation against those who were against such activities, should when in office, discourage, curb and punish the same subversive tendencies and acts. They are still more puzzled when they find the Ministers returning lands that were forfeited for non-payment of rent as part of the Civil Disobedience movement and at the same time warning Kisans that their lands would be forfeited if they do not pay rent. They accuse the Congress Ministries of kicking the ladder by which they climbed

to office. They have still to digest the fact that Congress in office with its tremendous responsibilities is and has necessarily to be different from Congress in opposition and with no responsibility to run the administration.

Address of the
President :
Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

These difficulties that are harassing Congress Ministries are largely of their own creation for, once you create in the people a spirit of disobedience of laws and authority, that spirit will break forth against your own Government. To preach restraint and patience at this stage does not avail much. Pandit Jawharlal, the idol of young India, preached restraint to the Allahabad students who had gone on strike but the students discarded his advice and approved of the strike and the Pandit left the meeting in disgust.

Congress Ministries have done well but must not be hasty.

I sympathise with the Congress Ministries in their difficulties and I hope they would be able to overcome them by firmness and sound thinking. Till now they have on the whole done well and it must be acknowledged that the Governors and the Services have done their best to help them. They will continue to do well if they do not allow themselves to be pushed by their clamorous following into undesirable steps and do not attempt too many things at the same time. One incessantly hears of overhauling this and overhauling that, but any hasty action in changing systems and methods without mature consideration must lead to disaster.

Prohibition.

Their scheme of prohibition though excellent in theory, is beset with many practical difficulties bound to bring them into financial trouble. The Madras Premier said the other day that the sacrifice of revenue by prohibition policy can be made up by righteous conduct on the part of people and thereby saving money to the State in crime prevention activities and other departments for dealing with breaches of law. One is amazed that a practical administrator should imagine that people would overnight or at any time be of such strictly righteous conduct so as to enable the State to do away with or very substantially curtail departments for prevention of crimes and breaches of law in order that the savings thereby effected may fill the Treasury depleted by prohibition policy.

Education.

It is also contemplated to make education self-supporting and that the State universities should be merely examining bodies. The great need of the country is really teaching universities with post graduate schools of scientific and other research. It is the universities that will make good citizens and supply the leaders and pioneers of industries. The salvation of India lies in mechanised industrialisation in the manner of Japan and for that purpose great national expenditure is necessary for scientific research and technical training. It is no use in modern times sighing for old old days when people could sit carefree under trees in philosophic contemplation. Those days are gone, never to return. The impact of the modern materialistic world would not let India alone and if she is to hold her position she must compete in the world with modern methods and implements.

Address of the
President :
Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

I cannot conceive any more retrograde measure than turning the Universities into mere examining machines and it would be an irony of fate if such course is adopted by Ministers who are most of them products of the Universities.

As regards elementary education the idea to give it vocational bias is good but, to attempt to make it selfsupporting by the sale of articles manufactured by the pupils, appears to be inadvisable and impracticable. The proposal to devote only a little more than an hour to general education and nearly four times as much for some particular craft is quite disproportionate. Further, the craft chosen for any particular school or locality may not be suitable to the adaptability of particular pupils or the means of their parents. And where are you going to get the teachers versed in all the different crafts? Further, if 30 millions of school going children are to turn out really marketable articles, what would be the effect on cottage industries producing the same or similar articles? All this shows the danger of paper schemes evolved theoretically. Cultural education is necessary for training the mind and vocational education should not be imposed till after a certain age.

Rural Indebtedness.

Similarly, take the measures they propose to take about rural indebtedness. The drastic provisions of the Madras Bill on the subject are calculated to destroy rural credit. Unless the resources of the agriculturist are increased so as to make it unnecessary for him to borrow for his agricultural operations, or other sources are made available to him, the measure will merely penalise creditors without helping the agriculturist. Even if all his debts are wiped out at one stroke, he would get into debt again unless some other mode of credit is provided and his habits of wasteful expenditure on marriages and deaths are altered. It is necessary to stop fragmentation, provide good seeds and rational marketing. It appears as if the physician is dealing merely with the symptoms and not the causes of the disease.

In the Punjab by good seed and manure supply, better methods of cultivation and proper cattle breeding, the yield of lands has been appreciably increased. The same can be done elsewhere.

Labour Legislation.

The Congress Governments seem to be in a great hurry to implement their promises about the wages of labour. It is again a very complex question which cannot be disposed of lightly or in a hurry. Mere increase of wages will do no good to labour. They will spend more in drink, marriages and funerals expenses. They are not going to be benefited unless they are educated and their ways and habits of living are improved. Provision for sanitary housing, medical help, education, physical exercise are more immediate necessities than increase of wages. Moreover unless some uniform policy is adopted in all provinces and further protection is given to Indian industries they will suffer by the competition of foreign goods who would benefit by the rise in the cost of production of indigenous goods. Incentive to investment and enterprise should not be curtailed.

Constituent Assembly.

Then look at their demands for the convening of a Constituent Assembly for framing a Constitution for India. The appeal is, I suppose, to the British Government to call such an Assembly. A Constituent Assembly is known in history when existing Government has been overthrown and a sovereign people want to establish a new constitution. An appeal to a foreign government to call such an Assembly is indeed a very novel idea. And what is to happen if and when such an Assembly is called? How are matters to be decided if the Moslems and other minorities do not agree with Congress proposals? If some agreement is arrived at, is the British Parliament to be requested to give effect to the resolutions of the Constituent Assembly? And if the British Parliament decline to give effect to the proposals, what then? To talk of a Constituent Assembly under present circumstances is to ignore realities.

Address of the
President :
Sir Chimantal
Setalvad.

Fascism.

The Ministries are in an unenviable position between two forces. One is the tendency on the part of those in high command to centralise authority and turn the Congress ministries in the Provinces to mere instruments of carrying out the dictates of the High Command. It is a grievous mistake for the Working Committee to claim to examine and pronounce upon the individual acts of administration of the ministries in the various provinces. The Committee should only confine itself to laying down broad general principles of the party and leave the Ministers free in their administrative acts.

Unfortunately a wrong constitutional principle appears to have been laid down by the present President of the Congress. He asserts that the Ministries are not directly responsible to the electorate but their responsibility is to the Congress and only indirectly through the Congress to the electorate. If this proposition is accepted, there is grave danger of fascism developing in the Congress organization. Not only would the Ministers but all members of the Congress will lose their independence of judgment. The Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri in a recent pronouncement referred in his inimitable language to this danger. He deprecated party politics which would do away with independence of judgment and compel people to speak, act and vote at someone else's bidding. He pointed out that the High Command of the Congress was developing into a dictatorial body resenting all criticism from not only outsiders but from their own rank and file. This inculcation of herd mentality among even the intelligentsia of the country is regrettable.

Communism.

But to my mind the greatest danger not only to the Congress but the whole country lies in the growing progress of communism under the name and guise of Socialism. Speaking for myself, and I venture also for our party, if by Socialism is meant equal opportunities for all, an equitable sharing of profits between industry and labour, improved conditions of living and in some cases even nationalization of some industries, I am all for such Socialism. But the conception of Socialism is quite different in the minds of those who are advocating it. What they want is really

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Communism of Soviet Russia, all abolition of classes and private property and the rule of the proletariat and not parliamentary democracy. The Congress President has openly avowed this to be his ideal for India and when such a declaration created considerable agitation he, I believe, said that the question of the inauguration of such Socialism was far away and that the present objective was the attainment of freedom for India. The implication, however, must not be ignored that when freedom is attained, he and those who think with him will use that freedom for the purpose of introducing a regime of the Soviet Russia type. Lenin himself gave the following definition of communism; "Communism is a materialistic philosophy of life which advocates the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries throughout the world by violent revolution or by means which may be deemed necessary in order to ultimately arrive at and preserve a classless Society in which there should be no private ownership and in which all property shall be vested in the community as a whole, and all labour and human activities organized for the common benefit by a centralised group of workers representatives." He further said that such dictatorship of the proletariat meant unlimited powers resting on violence and not on law.

There was as much cruelty murder and oppression and as little liberty in Russia now as there had ever been. Having suffered from cruelty and oppression itself, when Socialism achieves power, its only effective weapons are the very cruelty and barbarism from which it has rebelled.

Detenues.

The successful efforts of Mr. Gandhi to bring about the release of the Bengal Detenues commands the greatest admiration and the action of the Bengal Ministry in taking that step has received the commendation of the whole country.

Federation.

At this Session you will have to deal with the all important question of the impending Federation. That Federation is the only way of bringing together the whole of India cannot be denied. The Liberal Party has accepted the principle of Federation but has been rightly critical of the detailed constitution in which that idea has been embodied. All political parties have strongly put forward their objections to the present scheme but with no effect. Even the modest proposals embodied in the joint memorandum of the British Indian Delegates comprising members of all communities and parties met with no response. The proposed Federation is indeed a novel one as it is to be a Federation of British Indian Provinces with parliamentary government and autocratic Indian States. But this owing to existing circumstances cannot be avoided. To wait till the administrations of Indian States are brought into line with that of British Indian Provinces will mean indefinite waiting for United India. The bringing together of the States and British India will itself much accelerate the process of introduction of representative Government in the States.

Long drawn negotiations are going on with the States about the terms on which they are to come into the Federation. British India hopes that more and more concessions would not be made for the purpose. It is

unfair to British Indian people that they are not kept informed of the progress and various phases of these negotiations so that Government may have before them the British Indian view in the matter.

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Defects Of Federation Scheme— Defence.

Under the new constitution defence will be entirely reserved from effective influence, let alone control, of the legislature. The Army administration and its finances will be entirely under the control of the Governor-General and a Councillor appointed by him. The instruction to the Governor-General to encourage joint consultations between the Ministers on the one hand and the Governor-General and his Army Councillor on the other will not be of much effective use. No definite programme of Indianization of the Army within a reasonably short time will be laid down in the absence of any power in that behalf in the Federal Legislature and Ministry. The Legislature will have no control over the Military expenditure which absorbs a large proportion of the country's Central revenue. Any Government that has no control over the defences of the country cannot be called really responsible Government. Then there are the stringent safeguards regarding financial matters, currency and exchange and the safeguards against commercial discrimination, both legislative and administrative.

Commercial Discrimination.

The power the Central Legislature at present possesses of enacting any discriminatory measures against British Companies or shipping, for the protection of indigenous companies and shipping, is taken away under the new constitution. To cover up the iniquity of such prohibition, it is enacted that if Companies or ships registered in British India are subjected to discriminatory treatment in the United Kingdom then India would be free to impose similar restrictions on British Companies or ships. At no time within reasonable expectation Indian Companies would be trading in the United Kingdom to the extent British Companies are trading in India. Indian Shipping has not got any firm footing in Indian waters and it is an impossibility that they would go and compete with British ships in the United Kingdom for many generations if at all, and still the promoters of the Act have the effrontery to say that they have given reciprocity to India.

No Elements of Growth.

The most vital defect in the Federal Constitution is that it has no elements of growth within itself. There is no provision about transferring the subjects at present reserved and the time, manner and conditions in which such transfer can be made. There is even no provision for undertaking a revision of the situation after a fixed period as was the case in the Act of 1919. The Chief Justice of India speaking at the inauguration of the Federal Court spoke of the Federal Constitution as a "living and breathing organism which contains within itself, as all life must, the seeds of future growth and development" and that the canons of interpretation which the Federal Court may adopt will not "hamper the free evolution of constitutional usages and conventions in which the political genius of a people can find

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its most fruitful and effective expression." It is forgotten that a Federal Constitution is of necessity the creation of Statute and unless the statute is amended the nature of the Government cannot be altered. The vital element of growth and development from within has very limited scope in a Federal Constitution. It is true no Constitution can be kept in a straight jacket. In its functioning it must bring into existence certain practices but they can hardly touch the fundamentals. In the case of India, apart from the rigidity of a Federal Constitution, there is a further complication arising from embodying in one structure two different kinds of units. No amendment is possible except by the will of Parliament and Parliament have pledged themselves in the statute that no amendment in the fundamental structure shall be made without the consent of the States. The Federal Constitution derives its power not from within (the Indian people) but from outside (the Parliament). The seeds of growth towards full responsibility are absent. There is also not much room for growth of constitutional conventions. In the Dominions, responsible Government was established through the growth of conventions facilitated by the alteration from time to time of the Instrument of Instruction which remained a Prerogative Document. The representatives of the Crown in the Dominions came gradually to occupy the position of purely constitutional heads by directions given to them through Instructions without the intervention of Parliament. As regards India, Instruments of Instruction have to obtain Parliamentary sanction and no alteration therein can be made without the approval of Parliament. Statutory provisions regarding reserved departments, non-votable nature of considerable part of the budget, powers of the Governor-General to act in his discretion or individual judgment must prevent in a large measure the growth of conventions. Growth of some conventions is inevitable but their power to achieve responsible government is much more restricted as compared with the position in the Dominions. However much the Federal Court, as observed by the Chief Justice, may strive to interpret and declare the law so as to give free play within the limits of the law to those political forces and currents which alone can give vitality to a constitution, the Federal Court cannot alter the nature of the structure and the nature and extent of the distribution of powers under the statute.

What is to be done.

All these shortcomings of the Federal Constitution are staring us in the face but the vital and practical question is what should the various political parties in the country do when the Federation will come into operation as it must in a short time. I venture to think that it would not be a wise step to try to boycott it. The only sensible way is for all progressive groups to align themselves together and extract the best out of it for the benefit of the country and at the same time incessantly work for its being replaced by a more genuinely responsible democratic Federal Government.

Unity.

In order, however, to achieve the above object, the most immediate and important question is the attainment of unity between the various communities in this country, particularly the Hindu and Moslem communities. But unfortunately, the differences are increasing instead of diminishing. It was at

Lucknow in 1916 that a complete understanding and agreement was arrived at between the Congress and the Muslim League. It is an irony of fate that it was at Lucknow again in 1937 that a complete breach took place between those two bodies and the Muslim League has declared open war against the Congress. Charging the Hindus with the desire to crush Moslems and trample upon their rights, of retaliation against Hindus by Moslems in power in some provinces, talking of Moslem India and Hindu India, on the one hand and belittling the Muslim League and the attempt to ignore the natural leaders of the Moslem community by so-called Muslim mass contact, on the other, will not only do no good but worsen the situation. I do not think the Congress wants to harm the Muslims but even assuming that the Congress is not well disposed towards the Muslims, why accuse the whole Hindu community of hostility to the Moslems? Surely the Congress does not comprise the whole Hindu community and there are non-communal parties and organizations outside the Congress. I was surprised to see it reported that my friend Mr. Jinnah has said that the Hindus want to do away with separate electorates in order to crush the Moslems. All the many years that I have known Mr. Jinnah as a personal friend and a political leader of large vision and deep patriotism, he has always been in favour of joint electorates and I am unable to understand this sudden change in his views on the matter. In fact in provinces where Moslems are in a perpetual minority in the legislatures joint electorates are really a genuine protection to them for the Hindu candidates for the legislatures will have to seek the suffrages of the Moslem voters and they could not afford to ignore their wishes and demands. Hindus, Moslems and all other communities are subject to the same laws, same taxation, same abilities and disabilities. All that the minorities should be assured of is full freedom for their religion, culture, language and ample facilities for their education and uplift and that they should not be subjected to any discrimination or disability on the ground of religion. I am afraid the Congress has given great provocation by trying to ignore the Muslim League and to go over the heads of the Moslem leaders to the Moslem masses. Such an attempt can only lead to further disruption among the Moslems and render more difficult an honourable understanding between the two communities. In provinces where the Congress are in a majority in the legislatures they have not given a fair deal to the Moslems in choosing the Moslem members of the Cabinet. The very essence and test of inclusion of a Moslem member in the Cabinet as representative of that community is, that such person should command the confidence of the majority of the Moslem members in the legislature. It is not carrying out the spirit of the provision for representation of minorities in the Cabinet to take a Moslem member who is ready on the eve of the formation of the Cabinet and with the prospect of being included in it, to sign the Congress creed although he may not possess the confidence of the majority of the Moslem members of the legislature. It should be considered enough if the most suitable person commanding the confidence of his Moslem colleagues in the legislature, is prepared with the concurrence of his associates to agree to the programme of the Congress Cabinet. If the majority of the Moslem legislators do not agree to his adopting the Cabinet's programme then certainly the Prime Minister is at liberty to choose any Moslem he likes.

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The trouble in this matter is that the Congress flushed with victory at the polls in various provinces, ignores and refuses to recognise any other party or view opposed to their own. In this direction lies great danger not only to the Congress party but to the proper development of National Democratic Government. I entirely agree with what Mr. M. R. Jayakar said in his Convocation address at Lucknow about this feature of Congress mentality. He said that he hoped that "in their desire to erase all opposition and establish themselves in the seat of Power the new Government does not become what one may briefly call an authoritarian State using every instrument at its command for the inculcation of its own political views and the suppression of those which are regarded as unfavourable to its strength and permanence."

It is, however, fundamentally essential that the Congress should realise the great importance of creating political solidarity among all communities. This is to my mind the first task to which this and every other party should apply itself. Some of the Congress leaders have said that the minorities question is a very minor and subordinate issue, and can wait till the major objective of "freedom" is attained. I wonder why it is forgotten that for the very attainment of freedom, complete understanding between all the communities and an united front are essential.

It is a curious phenomenon that it is in provinces with non-Congress ministers that active attempts are being made to achieve national solidarity by removing the communal virus. It is in the Punjab that the ministry initiated the Communal Peace Conference. It is in Sindh that Moslems and Hindus fraternised and felicitated each other on the Diwali and Ramzan Id. It is in the Punjab again that a move is afoot to organize a non-communal National festival and the Government are lending their support to celebrate the first day of Vasant as a day of national rejoicing in which Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs are to participate.

Instead of long-range shots at each other the Congress leaders and Moslem leaders should sit together and hammer out an agreed solution.

The Government of India Flouts Public Opinion.

It is astounding how on the eve of the advent of Federation the Government of India are still flouting public opinion. The irresponsible manner in which the Government of India act in matters affecting the vital interests of India and the studied disregard they show to Indian opinion is illustrated by their action with regard to the Indo-British Trade Negotiation and the International Sugar Conference. I will take the latter first.

International Sugar Conference.

Ever since the proposal for International Sugar Conference was talked about in February-March of this year, the Indian Sugar Mills Association told the Government of India that the Association should

be consulted about the selection of the Indian representative to the Conference. But without any consultation either with the Association, the legislature or the public, the Government of India nominated a representative to the Conference and it was later announced that India had agreed at the Conference to prohibit export of Indian Sugar to other countries except Burma. That the Government of India should have permitted itself to treat an important national industry like sugar so cavalierly is incomprehensible. The Central Legislative Assembly not only refused to ratify this agreement but adopted an amendment asking Government to adopt all possible measures for stimulating export trade in sugar. It was pleaded by Government that if India did not subscribe to this agreement the markets of the world would be thrown into confusion. Canada has not joined this Agreement and yet no disaster has overtaken the world markets. During the last five years, the industry has so expanded that India is now producing 21 per cent. of the total world sugar production and ranks as the largest sugar producing country in the world, and the output is so fast outstripping the consumption in the country that it must have an outlet almost immediately. The excuse given is that the self-imposed prohibition against export has not much meaning as the cost of production of sugar in India is considerably higher than in any other sugar producing country and therefore India will not be able to compete in foreign markets. But if this is so, why did not the Government of India take those controlling the industry into their confidence and discuss this point with them? As it is, the cost of production is steadily lessening and research and investigation are busy to find means to grow cane of improved variety and to make the industry more efficient. If the cost of production of Indian Sugar is higher than in other countries, the duty of Government is in co-operation with the industry to make efforts in every direction appreciably to lessen the cost of production so as to enable the industry to compete in foreign markets and not to agree to a prohibition of export. It was said on behalf of Government that India by this self-denial would secure the goodwill of the world. Britain herself does not put evidently much value on the goodwill of India towards her, for this sacrifice of India's interest has naturally evoked resentment. It was admitted that if the Colonial rate of preference was accorded to Indian Sugar in the United Kingdom, India would be able to export her sugar to that country. Evidently, however, Britain does not care to secure the goodwill of India by doing so while she forces India to secure the goodwill of other countries.

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Indo-British Trade Agreement.

Take the question of the Indo-British Trade Agreement. The Ottawa Agreement was denounced by the Central Assembly in April 1936 and ever since then a new Agreement between India and England is under negotiation. In this long interim period the terms of the Ottawa Agreement are still being followed. At Ottawa the negotiations were concluded in about four weeks while in this case more than a year has elapsed and the public are not told what is going on behind the scenes. In the meantime various extraneous developments are weakening the

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bargaining power of India and increasing that of Britain. The trend of international trade, projected Anglo-American trade treaty, the domestic position of England and America and similar factors have tendencies in that direction. It is essential, therefore, in the interest of India that there should be no further delay in bringing the negotiations to a very early termination.

Palestine.

The action of the British Government in Palestine in attempting a partition of the Muslim holy land and the repressive measures taken against the Muslim leaders in Palestine who were opposing such measures has caused widespread discontent in the country and the Government of India should apprise the British Government of the great resentment in the country created by this policy in Palestine.

Indians Overseas.

The question of Indians overseas has been thrown into bolder relief in the course of this year by development of fresh sinister features, which reveal a tale of new encroachments on the slender, political and economic privileges enjoyed by Indian nationals abroad.

Zanzibar.

In Zanzibar, the Binder Report recommending vesting of wider powers in the Clove Growers' Association caused consternation in the Indian community. Notwithstanding the protests of the Indian National Association in Zanzibar and the universal opposition to it by Indians in this country, three Decrees, namely, the land Alienation Decree of 1937, the Cloves Purchase and Exportation Decree, 1937, and a Decree to provide for settlement of Mortgage Debts were introduced in the legislature by the Government of the Zanzibar Protectorate. The Land Alienation Decree of 1937 made the provisions of the Land Alienation Decree of 1934 more drastic, while the Decree for Debt Settlement introduces cumbrous and dilatory procedure in the matter of valuation, adjudication and determination of the amount of debt. However, the most strenuous opposition has been advanced to the Decree to regulate and control purchase, sale and exportation of cloves. This Decree gives effect to the Binder recommendations and vests in the Clove Growers' Association complete monopoly of Zanzibar's clove trade. The Clove Growers' Association has a Board of Management consisting of five non-Indians and two Indians and is assisted by an Advisory Committee and a Clove Purchasers' Licensing Committee. The main grievance of Indians in Zanzibar is that they have been effectively squeezed out of the clove trade by the monopoly of the Clove Growers' Association and the so-called concession by way of representation of Indians on the Advisory and the Licensing Committees would not neutralise the pernicious effect of the monopoly. We regret that the Government of India should have entered into this compromise without adequate consultation with affected interests, and accepted representation in lieu of the basic demand for abolition of the Clove Growers' Association's monopoly.

South Africa.

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In South Africa we find the paradox of the efforts of the Goodwill Deputation synchronising with manifestation of increased dislike of Indians. We cannot ignore the grim fact that economic interest coupled with racial prejudice against colour proves stronger motive power than mere good will. There were attempts made to legislate against mixed marriages between white women and Asiatics, though only four such marriages are contracted annually on an average. The European Women's Employment Restriction Bill sought to restrict employment of white women in Indian business houses. A Commission will shortly examine this question among other matters. Proposals were also made to refuse trading licenses to Indians contracting mixed marriages and to deprive the white woman of rights in property if married to an Asiatic. If matters did not quite come to a head it was largely due to the conciliatory attitude displayed by Indians. I also understand that the Asiatic Land Tenure Commission has made its report which has not yet been published. The Agent General for India sounded a note of warning last September that if its recommendations are framed in the same spirit as has characterised the land reservation policy of the Government, it is apprehended substantial damage would be caused to Indian interests. An attempt is now being made to give to the administrative policy of the Government in the matter of Highland reservations legal sanction by the promulgation of an Order in Council. These developments indicate how racial discrimination against Indians persists in this part of the Dark Continent.

Kenya.

The Indian community has suffered considerably from the restrictions on marketing areas put by new legislation in that behalf. The Co-ordination of Transport Bill, "designed to check wasteful and cut-throat competition," has been introduced which affects Indians adversely.

Fiji.

In Fiji, the question of land tenure is assuming grave importance and without active intervention of the Government of India the position of some 85,000 Indians residing there may become serious.

Ceylon.

In Ceylon, a problem of major importance, besides the question of immigration on which the report of Sir Edward Jackson is awaited, has been raised by the Village Communities' Ordinance Amendment, which measure denies franchise to the Indian estate labourer. Sir G. S. Bajpai recently stated in the Legislative Assembly that the "Ordinance was principally designed to assimilate as far as possible, the powers, duties and functions of the village committees with those of district councils and though Indians as such were not prevented from acquiring franchise under the Ordinance, it is proposed that the Indian estate labourer should not be eligible to it." The Government of India have

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since then adopted a firm attitude and have declined to permit fresh recruitment of Indian labour till this grievance has been satisfactorily redressed. As native labour cannot effectively replace Indian labour, we hope this stoppage will induce authorities in Ceylon to view more sympathetically the identity of interests between India and Ceylon.

You will thus observe that the position of Indians overseas has on the whole, considerably deteriorated during the course of this year, and that the increased consciousness on the part of our countrymen abroad has provoked intensified bitterness as manifested in fresh attempts at legislative and administrative discrimination against them. I do not speak in a spirit of levity or defeatism, when I conclude that mere negotiations will not solve their grievances. The painful realisation must dawn on us all that India must design and wield—as indeed she is in a position effectively to do—fiscal or commercial sanctions and convey to authorities in Colonial possessions that legislative discrimination is a game which more than one party can play. Will the Central Government at Delhi and their masters in England wake up and do their obvious duty to India by forging such sanctions?

Ourselves.

I have heard it said that now that the Congress has dropped Civil Disobedience and has returned to constitutional methods the Liberal Party should join hands with them. The Liberal Party has always been willing to co-operate with the Congress or any other group or party so long as the particular objective in view is one which is consistent with their principles and which commends itself to them as being in the best interests of the country. It is the Congress who spurns the co-operation of any other party. But there are fundamental differences between the points of view of the Liberal Party and the Congress. True, for the moment the Congress has abjured Civil Disobedience and direct action, and are working the Constitution in the Provinces with sense of responsibility after all their tall talk of wrecking it. But it was only the other day that, a prominent Congress leader declared that if the Federation was forced upon the country they would resort to mass Civil Disobedience and direct action to stop it. The Socialist element in the Congress may at any time gain ascendancy. At the last A. I. C. C. meeting the Socialist motion for direct action secured as many as 63 votes against 92. Then the Congress policy and mentality is much too idealistic and removed from what is practical. Take their creed of complete independence involving the severance of the British connection. Every Indian cannot but feel the humiliation of being governed by a foreign country thousands of miles away. But in the present state of India's defences can it afford to go out of the British Commonwealth of Nations? If India were to-day to lose the protection of the British Naval and Air Forces, she would immediately fall a prey to some Imperialistic Nation of the West or the East. Our immediate goal, therefore, of Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster is more sensible and practical. Mr. Gandhi himself said

in his letter to Mr. Polak that he would be satisfied with such Dominion Status and he had said so at the Round Table Conference in 1931. A Congress Minister the other day said that he wanted for India a first class Citizenship in a first class Commonwealth. That is exactly what the Liberal Party demands and yet we are maligned because we do not demand complete independence. Mr. Gandhi said the other day that "If in spite of honest effort by Congressmen forces of disorder cannot be brought under control without the assistance of the police and the military, in my opinion acceptance by the Congress of the burden of office loses all force and meaning and sooner the ministries are withdrawn the better." Can any practical administration of any country be carried on on these principles? When are you going to attain the Utopia when every person in a country would be such a votary of the cult of non-violence that the Government will not have to use the Police and Military for combating the violence of turbulent people? I have already referred to what one Premier said that the sacrifice of revenue by prohibition could be met by righteous conduct on the part of the people thereby saving money to the State on crime prevention activities and other departments for dealing with breaches of law. If such are the sources from which they hope to make up their deficit in the revenue, to be caused by some of their schemes, all that one can say is that they are far removed from the hard facts of practical administration.

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Our party has always grasped realities and worked for what we conceived to be in the interests of the people irrespective of popular applause or disfavour. We need not be discouraged by the fact that our party cannot claim the large numbers in our fold as some other party is able to do. But there are thousands upon thousands of intelligent citizens who though they do not label themselves as Liberals, approve of and follow our principles. What our friend Dr. Chintamani says in his masterly introduction to the Report of the proceedings of the last session is quite correct. "Human nature in politics is least swayed by reason. A people once awakened to national consciousness and adjured in the name of national honour to throw off the foreign yoke, is naturally prone to prefer such an appeal to counsels which take account of what is feasible as they do not flatter the national vanity." As I have pointed out already, the Congress after years of suffering and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of its policy of direct action have come to believe in parliamentary action and have thereby paid homage to Liberal principles. We should pursue steadfastly our policy and work for the uplifting of our motherland, co-operating with all who are engaged according to their lights in the pursuit. (Loud Applause.)

Message of
Sympathy.

At the conclusion of the Presidential Address, Mr. N. C. Ray, Secretary to the Reception Committee, read the messages received from the following gentlemen regretting their inability to attend and wishing the Conference success : Mr. Bhatkalkar (Kumta), Sir Moropant Joshi (Nagpur), Mr. Bhagwati Swarup (Allahabad), Mr. Kamat (Poona), Dewan Bahadur K. Brahma (Nagpur), Mr. P. N. Sapru (Allahabad), Prof. Kelkar (Poona), Mr. Gokhale (Bombay), Dr. Despande (Yeotmal), Mr. Gadgil (Poona), Mr. Natesan (Madras), Mr. Sirdar (Sholapur), Mr. Sathe (Sholapur), Mr. Sapru (Bombay).

FORMATION OF THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

Subjects
Committee.

The President : I propose that all the delegates constitute the Subjects Committee. This Subjects Committee so constituted will meet to-morrow at this place at 12 Noon. After the Subjects Committee have done their work, the open session will meet again the day after to-morrow at 12 noon.

This concluded the proceedings of the first day.

SECOND DAY (DEC. 30, 1937).

Subjects Committee's Sitting

Second Day.

The Subjects Committee of the National Liberal Federation, consisting of all the delegates, met at 12 noon on December 30 in the Indian Association Hall with the President, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in the chair and discussed the draft resolutions. The Subjects Committee after a prolonged sitting lasting nearly six hours, agreed upon the various resolutions to be discussed at the open session of the Federation on the next day.

OPEN SESSION—THIRD DAY—(31st DEC. 1937)

RESOLUTIONS

I. Losses during the year

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved the following resolution and it was passed in solemn silence, the whole House standing :—

Third Day
Resolution I:
Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose whose great achievements in the field of science won him world-wide recognition and whose devoted work was a beacon light to his countrymen to proceed onward in the field of scientific research.

(b) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of the great loss the party and the country have sustained by the death of Raja Sir Rampal Singh, of Lucknow, Babu Gouri Shankaer Prasad of Benares and the Rev. B. A. Nag of Calcutta. The Federation conveys its sympathy to the members of the bereaved families.

(c) The Federation records its sense of the loss the country has sustained by the early death of Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawalla of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., a great financial expert who rendered valuable service in the furtherance of Indian banking enterprise.

II. The New Constitution

Rt. Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastri (Madras), moved the following resolution :—

Resolution II:
Rt. Hon.
V. Srinivasa
Sastri.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India reiterates its considered opinion that the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.

(b) Nonetheless, the Federation repeats that it has to be utilized to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to Dominion Status.

(c) The Federation views with satisfaction that Cabinets responsible to popularly elected representatives of the people have taken over the administration in the various provinces including those in which the Congress party commands a majority in the Legislature and hopes that those Cabinets will so work the constitution as to secure the confidence of all classes, creeds and interests, and specially the minorities, so as to facilitate the early removal of the various safeguards, special responsibilities of Governors and other restraints that exist in the present Government of India Act, thereby leading to a full and complete transfer of power to the people's representatives in the provinces.

Resolution II:
Rt. Hon.
V. Srinivasa
Sastri.

(d) The Federation urges that no concession should be made to the Princes, in the course of the negotiations now being carried on with them with regard to the establishment of the Federation, which is calculated to increase still more the powers of the Princes at the expense of the Federal Government.

He said :—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have had the rare privilege of moving the main resolution on this subject at three successive meetings of our Federation. To-day too the privilege has fallen to me. In speaking to-day I shall try and avoid what was said on previous occasions. There is so much to say of importance on the subject that the avoidance will by no means be difficult. I must ask the indulgence of the President for a little more time than he has specified in the case of the proposer.

I am glad, in the first place, that the resolution mentions Dominion Status in prominence, as you will see in section (b). That requires some commentary. There is an episode in the history of the enactment of this Act, to which sufficient attention has not till now been paid. I propose to bring it to your recollection in a few words. You may all remember that one of the chief grounds upon which we complained against the action of Parliament was the omission of all reference to Dominion Status in the papers that preceded the Bill, and also in the Bill. We had attached the greatest possible importance to the promised status. It marked the chief distinction between us and the Indian National Congress, and now, curiously enough, a great section of our Mohamedan fellow citizens, and we could not therefore afford to see it dropped out of all these preliminary discussions. We went so far as to accuse British people of something like breach of faith, with the result that they thought it necessary to conciliate us in a certain fashion, and the expedient they devised was rather strange. They proposed to drop and repeal the whole of the 1919 Act, retaining however the preamble, for in the preamble, if you remember, was promised to us progressive stages in responsible government, and Lord Irwin with the sanction of the Labour Government of the time made a declaration in which he commented upon this preamble and interpreted it to mean Dominion Status at the end of the process of development. So that there was a text and a commentary, the commentary to us being more valuable than the text itself. The expression "Dominion Status", however, and its meaning were not acceptable to the Tory Government of the time. They resolved, therefore, to meet our wishes in their own way. They said, "We will give these people the preamble, the discontented people of India. We will repeal the whole of the Act, but retain the preamble." At that time lawyers both in England and in India were found who maintained that a preamble without an Act had no significance whatever, and no validity, and that it was no use retaining it while repealing the whole of the Act itself. But the Crown lawyers decided that there was virtue in it and they decided to keep the preamble.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that preamble referred only to British India, to progressive self-government in British India. They were the

words of the preamble. The commentary, therefore, referred also to British India--Dominion Status for British India.

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Now, this episode took place while they were passing the bill through Parliament. That bill contained full provisions for the attainment of Federation in India. So they kept this preamble referring to British India alone. At that very time they were planning Federation to British and Indian India. Now, was there anything appertaining to British India when they were actually planning Federation? That preamble could not be made applicable in the new condition when Federation had been enacted, and yet the people of India were told that they must be satisfied with the retention of the preamble. The commentary was gone, nothing was said about Dominion Status or self-government for federal India, and yet we were asked to be contented with that concession. The point was not fully noticed at the time. But it is worth while recalling now that we have got that preamble. The Federation is going to come into force very soon. What that preamble is going to do to us we do not know. You may ask me, why then Parliament wasted time in retaining this preamble? Why did Sir Thomas Inskip, whom they speak of as the future prime minister, go to the trouble of enacting a provision of this kind? There is no use asking me. I could not tell you the answer. I think we must all ask the stars, who in their movements in the heavens, wink with amusement at the deeds of men. We may ask the wind which runs away with our words before they are fully formed on our lips. That is the episode which throws a commentary on the nature of the whole of this Act.

Now, this Act enacts Federation. The question has been asked whether the ideal of Dominion Status still holds, for there is some reasonable fear that things are not as secure in that respect as they were some time ago, for in Federal India when the Princes come in they have stipulated that their connexion with the Crown and dependence on the Crown and protection by the British forces of the Crown in India, must all be maintained in tact, no time limit being fixed in perpetuity. Now, how can India, whether Federal or British, have Dominion Status so long as a great part of the country remains integrally connected with Britain, dependent on the Crown for its privileges, for its maintenance of those privileges, and for its protection as well? The question has, therefore, been raised whether Dominion Status can still be spoken of as a probability or even as a possibility in connexion with our future progress. I am not so very diffident as to answer that question in the negative. I still think that we are entitled to hold Dominion Status as the goal of this constitution, and I am very happy to find that you have accepted it by means of your resolution.

Nevertheless, we have got to consider what the position of the Princes really is. They at first agreed to this ideal of Dominion Status. If you read the first speeches made by them in the Round Table Conference--there are several here who personally attended the

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conference—you will find that they all expressed adherence to this ideal—acceptance of Dominion Status as the goal of Federated India. Gradually however, for some reasons that must remain occult, the Princes receded from the position and for years we have not been hearing from them any hopes as to Dominion Status, thus giving support to the pessimistic view of those that hold that Dominion Status as an idea for Federated India has practically been killed by the indifference of the Princes of India.

Now, there is no means by which this point can be finally settled. But there is one gleam of hope that has recently come above the horizon, and I think I ought to mention it to this meeting. Speaking on the occasion of his Jubilee in the presence of His Majesty's representative the Viceroy of India, the Maharajah Bikaner, who played the most important part in the Round Table Conference in the first two years, emphatically declared that he still held to the ideal of Dominion Status for India, and I think we may take it as typical of the attitude of the Princes and reassure ourselves that this status of Dominions may be kept by us as our final objective in the path of our progress.

The resolution says that our working of the Federation, our utilization of its provisions for the best advantage of India would be a kind of preparation for Dominion Status itself. Now, that is a statement which has repeatedly been called in question by some of our harsh critics. We have, however, definitely and consistently held to the view, that defective and in many parts obstructive as this new constitution may be, so long as we work it patriotically, bravely and with the interests of India steadily in front of us, we are bound to increase in strength and in solidarity, and in the end that would be a preparation for Dominion Status. Our critics, however, are not slow to point out that in the Act itself there are no definite stages pointed out as our steps in this process. There is no provision for our taking these steps without reference even in the smallest particular to the authorities in Great Britain. Although the intention was to specify the stages through which India should pass automatically without reference to authority, in this process nothing has been done and the Act now is marked by nothing so much as by the absence of provision for definite progress from stage to stage. It takes, therefore, some courage on our part in the face of that fact to assert, as we do here and as the president himself has done in his speech, that a faithful and courageous working of the Act will itself prepare us for Dominion Status, there being nothing in the Act. But the statement requires some little elaboration.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, progress by means of a constitution does not mean that the definite stages should be set out definitely and precisely in the Act itself. If that had been done, it would have been welcome. But does it mean that because no such provisions are there we are tied for ever, we should be able never to help ourselves in this business, and that Dominion Status not being found within the lines of the Act will still remain in the air? No. A people's progress cannot be prevented altogether by the provisions of an Act. Our strength will enable us hereafter to start movements aimed at the

obtaining of Dominion Status, and when that strength is sufficient, not this Act nor any Act of that nature could really hinder our onward march. In this view I am upheld by the testimony of a great man, whom I do not often quote either for guidance or for advice, Mr. Smuts of South Africa. When speaking of his own countrymen in the South African Parliament, when they were considering an Act there to enact the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, critics pointed out in very definite and emphatic language that the Act was a derogation in some respects of the full independence of the South African Republic and that it would be necessary, therefore, to amend the Act in important particulars, taking a step in advance of the Statute of Westminster. General Smuts resisted this proposal, and in resisting the proposal he made a statement, which marks him out as one of the greatest statesmen of the world, a statement which it would be profitable for us always to remember in our struggles. He said "I realise that there is a step or perhaps two steps wanting before South Africa can be called completely independent. But shall we be for ever denied the privilege of taking those steps? They are not necessary at present. Wise men do not raise these difficult issues prematurely. When really the heart of South Africa desires those steps to be taken, what can prevent us? The world affairs there are; our strength there is, which we may trust to help us in this matter. Do not speak about that delicate affair just now. There will be a time when we can speak about these things, and in the very speaking achieve our object." (Hear, hear.)

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Now, ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me that there is much wisdom in that statement. It is not in the provisions of this constitution that we place our faith. It is rather in the strength that we shall acquire by the operation of this constitution. It is in world affairs that from time to time come into operation that we place our faith. We are not mistaken in that step, and it seems to me, therefore, that the phraseology of section (b) of our resolution is completely justified in the light of the commentary that I have just now made.

A word as to (d), which in my judgment ought to be really (c) in this resolution, (c) being (d). The resolution does not make a complaint, which we legitimately make, that to the whole course of the negotiations of the Government of India with the Princes as to the nature of this Federation and its details we have not been taken fully into consultation. In this last stage we understand that the Princes are still making some difficulties or other and that the Government of India are engaged in the very difficult task of persuading them. I hope really that the Government of India will succeed, for whatever the critics may say you and I in this Federation are definitely of opinion that the enactment of a Federation of British and Indian India is a distinct step in advance towards the attainment of Dominion Status. That is a point which we have clearly to grapple, and it is, therefore our great anxiety that the negotiations now going on between the Princes on the one side and the Government of India on the other should come to fruition early.

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Now, what the Princes are asking we do not know. But, ladies and gentlemen, the Princes have already had so much conceded to them that some of us are already afraid that the Federation, when it comes, about, will be a thin and anaemic affair, not going far really to consolidate India; and yet if more is to be granted to the Princes, it means that the Federation, that the Governments, will be no binding force whatever between the two communities. I am afraid that the Princes may win a small percentage of their demand and that the Federation, weak as it is, when it actually takes shape, may be still weaker and may be even thinner. Nevertheless, we go in for Federation. Deliberately and with our eyes open we say that Federation is a distinct step in advance towards the consolidation of our country, and I am one of those who hope that, whatever the Princes and their attitude may be to-day, it will change quickly for the better under the stimulus of our influence. Though their representatives in the Parliament may be only nominated for the first few years, we hope that in course of time they will be elected men, and as the process of election reaches its completion the representatives of Princely India will take their politics from us, will range themselves along with us in the struggle for Dominion Status and that we shall not find the Princes such an handicap in the progress as at present we are sometimes inclined to think. (Applause). We trust to the progress of time; we trust to the silent influence of our own people and the Princes and their representatives; we trust further that as the strong hand of Great Britain is withdrawn slowly from the direct conduct of affairs in this country and we approximate more and more steadily to the status of Dominions, we trust that as this process goes on, the identity of interests between British India and Indian India will declare itself fully and completely, and we shall find the Princes our allies and not our opponents in the attainment of our goal.

Now, we have inserted a provision here under (c) expressing our hope that the Congress Governments established in the seven provinces and the other Governments, which, though not Congress, are still turning the Act to their benefit in the other provinces will have their eyes fixed steadily forward and will strive to get rid of the safeguards, plentifully provided in the Act, so that in course of time by elimination of the differences and discords that now exist, full provincial autonomy will have been quietly attained.

Considering the attitude of our Muslim brethren this hope may seem to be very visionary. I am sorry to think that the relations between Hindus and Muslims have in recent days been assuming worse and worse form. Our President in his address has lamented this unfortunate feature of our national life. He was one of those who at the Round Table Conference, when everything seemed dark and depressing, still held out hopes and never ceased to urge both on Hindus and on Muslims that their best interests lay in being fully reconciled, on whatever terms might be acceptable. His hopes were never abandoned till the last extremity. They have now been dashed to the ground, and we now find our Muslim League running full tilt at the Hindu Mahasabha and at the Indian National Congress and openly

avowing sentiments of hostility towards these bodies. We in this Federation, while acutely regretting this state of things, have not ventured to propose any definite solution. The Communal Award so-called, supposed to have emanated from the Prime Minister of the day, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, but I believe really the product of the ingenuity of the India Office, cannot be called a Communal Award at all, but a communal decision. That in Bengal has caused the most acute distress. In the Punjab it is felt no less as a calamity. All through India the fact that it perpetuates the separation of electorates and therefore the separation of interests into several groups is bewailed as likely to stand in the way of our achieving unity amongst our people. I have no doubt that it is calculated to bring about that disaster, and perhaps some of our friends are correct in saying that it is meant also towards that end.

But, ladies and gentlemen, we express the hope, as we have always done, that the provincial governments will be so operated that these differing creeds and religions and peoples will slowly understand the identity of their interests and agree in course of time to drop their separate existence and help towards the attainment of national solidarity, so that provincial autonomy, however much it may be disfiguring the statute book by the existence of the safeguards and reserve powers, may in actual practice be a better thing by reason of these safeguards and reserve powers never being called into existence. That is at present a very distant hope. A few days ago news from one of our provinces furnished a sad commentary upon this hope of ours. One Governor has felt himself compelled to use these reserve powers. We do not know what the future may hold in prospect. But we trust that the Congress governments at least will use all their endeavours in the direction of unifying our peoples and setting their gaze steadily towards the practical repeal of these disfiguring safeguards.

Now, speaking of our Congress Governments, a word may be allowed to us, having now four or five months' experience of their working. I am not one of those who are disposed to be unduly critical of the work of the Indian National Congress during these months that they have held office. On the whole, ladies and gentlemen, I think they have done well, and in their endeavours to carry out their election promises they are entitled, so far as we can consistently do so, to our co-operation and support. I am a member of the legislature in Madras and in that capacity I am a discriminating supporter of Congress policy and Congress measures.

Now, in working this rather difficult piece of governmental machinery, clear ideas of democracy have to be kept in view. I sometimes doubt, ladies and gentlemen, whether the leaders of the Congress movement in charge of these various Governments always bear the orthodox principles of democracy in view. Along with other changes that are taking place all over the world in the affairs of nations, democracy too seems to be departing from its classical position in mid-Victorian times, and is assuming phases which seem to bear too prominently the impress of autocracy. Everywhere there seems to be a desire on the part of leaders to assume too much power. Everywhere there seems to be a

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caucus which wants to regulate the activities of all the members, and unfortunately even the members themselves are quite willing to surrender their freedom and act more or less as automatons in the work of legislation and administration. I view these developments with some alarm.

More than these, there is a view which I have heard very emphatically expressed in the Madras legislature by a prominent member of the Government that as Congress members of the legislature have been elected by the suffrages of the people, they are entitled to proceed just as they please—an idea more undemocratic I cannot conceive of. For, ladies and gentlemen, just cast your eyes back upon a few years earlier when we were all brought up upon the pure milk of democracy. We were taught to believe that when a great election was fought, the people, unable to judge between the numerous issues that were placed before them, fixed their eyes, not on the various proposals of legislation, but on the men that stood out on both sides as protagonists. They voted for this man and they voted for that man because to them he seemed to represent their best aspirations and hopes. If that is the case in countries like England and America, here is it possible to contend with any measure of truth that when people vote at general elections they vote for precise measures, for certain proposals that were to be placed before Parliament? It is obvious that here, more than elsewhere, people vote for the individuals. And is it a secret that I have for the first time to mention to you that during our last elections here the thousands and the tens of thousands that voted for no measure that they comprehended, but voted for the Mahatma? They thought that he was the person to be supported. The Congress was his creation and when Congress candidates stood forward they felt it their duty, for his sake, to vote for them. In one election I happen to know that the great majority of the voters did not know the person for whom they voted. They thought they were voting for the Mahatma, and some perhaps imagined that he was himself the candidate, and into the box they put in a few coins along with their votes as their homage to his greatness (applause)!! If that is the way our people voted I do not grudge the success that has attended the Congress. But I claim that it is not proper for the Congress Governments in proposing various measures to state with confidence that those measures had already received the consent of the electorates. The electorates were utterly innocent in the matter. All these measures, whether they had actually been proposed, whether they had actually been adumbrated at election time or not, must now be considered in the various legislatures on their respective merits, full opportunity of discussion must be allowed, and I will venture to claim further that the Congress Governments will not be doing their duty fully unless they reascertain in a definite form the views of the electorates on the various provisions, and furthermore make concessions to the strong wishes of non-Congress parts of the legislature, thus guaranteeing that any measure that was finally enacted was representative not merely of the Congress programme but of the wishes and sentiments of all sections of the population. That is a lesson on the classical nature of democracy which I think will not be without profit for Congress governments now functioning.

As to their desire to cripple the individual initiative of the members, I have already had my say in another place, and today I will allow myself the freedom to point out that when we criticise the Congress Governments in this respect we are liable to be censured somewhat for being rather envious of the discipline prevalent in their ranks which contrasts strongly with the indiscipline prevalent in our own ranks. As we look round this table we find a curious assortment of old veterans in politics. We have each our own peculiar characteristics. We have developed specialities and individualities not always compressible into one mould. I do not say it is our fault at all. On the other hand, I am prepared to claim that we round this table represent in some ways the high water mark of Indian statesmanship and Indian patriotism. Still let us see for a while. Take, for instance, my friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir. Sir Cowasji is a very fortunate gentleman. He has wealth, he has fluency of speech, he has handsome features (laughter). He has held office. He is an expert business man. What does he not possess which will mark a man out for command? He may not be commanded. My friend Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, who sits next to him to rare knowledge of public questions almost unsurpassed in our day, he adds a reputation as a keen and ready controversialist not easily to be put down, alert and imperturbable with a strong individual note of his own. My left hand neighbour Dr. Paranjpye, not much need be said about him. When he first came to Poona after his successful career in England, he took charge of the Fergusson College, and without losing a day started a first class controversy with the prince of controversialists, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I am not sure that he had the worst of it in the end, and I have heard this in confidence, ladies and gentlemen, my own master Mr. Gokhale occasionally wished that Dr. Paranjpye did not walk so stiffly and in so erect and unbending a posture. For myself, I am supposed to be very gentle and accommodating, and I yield always at the first pressure (applause), unfortunately. I remember being the despair of Sir Dinshaw Wacha for many long years, and if perhaps the President's heart were to be examined as to what he thinks of me, I shall have no reason for self-congratulation. As to himself, the President, well, he may have been willing to subordinate his views once to Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, but after his death, tell me, Sir, whether you have ever bent the knee to any other God (The President: To you, very often) (Loud applause). I ask you, gentlemen, not to believe him for a moment (applause). He is not accustomed to wait for other peoples' judgment to form his. He is quick, he is decisive, and he has always known his own mind. Mr. Basu, in a difficult province, has kept his head free of all distractions, and remaining true to the principles of Liberalism has given a clear proof that he is to be trusted always to depend on himself and not blindly to follow others. Dr. Chintamani, whom I have reserved to the last—I hardly know how to describe him ladies and gentlemen. His is the individuality most strongly marked amongst us all. I may almost call him the Pope of Indian Journalism. Accustomed to thunder his opinions daily, mastering all subjects with a thoroughness that we are accustomed

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to associate with him, and having no doubts at all upon any topic, Dr. Chintamani takes his views from none at all. He is, if anything, an exemplar of independence of judgment, and I do not know of any single person whom he will consent to obey, even though that person be a Maha-Mahatma.

A body so composed, a Federation of which the prominent men are men of such strongly marked individuality, cannot be said to have no future. And yet the President himself asked the question and answered it in his own way what is to be our future ? There are critics and friends of ours who ask us to commit "*Harikiri*." "Wind up your concern" they say, "What good are you doing ?" May be, ladies and gentlemen, the days of our power are gone. But the days of our influence are by no means gone (hear, hear, and applause). Few though we are, we are not without the power of warning against danger, of advising in difficulty, of pointing out the way of safety and sanity. These things we can do always, and now that we are totally free of all temptation to consult the polling booth, now that we can look facts in the face, we can afford more than any other persons in the political life of India to speak the truth (hear, hear) just as we see it, to serve India whom we love so much without fear or favour (hear, hear). It is not a small role to play, and so long as we still can do it, we of ripe years will not be found wanting. No, Sir, if this Liberal Federation is to terminate its existence, it will not be by an act of *felo de se* ; it must be under an inexorable decree of Nature to which in the long run all organisations, even stronger and more efficient than ours, must succumb.

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Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay) : Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—it has always been said that it is no easy task to follow Mr. Sastri. But luckily for me, the President has ruled that the seconders shall only have five minutes and I am going to try my best to follow that injunction, and therefore I will plunge into my subject without further preliminaries.

Mr. Sastri has dealt at great length on the federal part of our constitution. It is not for me to express opinions on grave constitutional issues with which he has dealt. The resolution divides itself into four portions. The first portion reiterates in fairly strong language our discontent with the present constitution. We have expressed it more or less in the same language for the last number of years. The second portion again states our faith in constitutional methods, and urges whatever the constitution may be, it should be worked for all it is worth. The third expresses our gratification that those parties, which have been returned by a majority in the provinces, have chosen to take office and it further goes to Express our hope and faith that they will work the constitution not only for the present benefit of our people but that it will lead us to the goal of our ambition. And the last portion merely expresses the pious hope that Federation, however bad it may be, may not be made worse by Government.

Now, dealing with the first portion which expresses our condemnation of the constitution under which we are governed, may I point out one fact which has been brought to our attention times out of number in England and sometimes in India by friends of the constitution, Englishmen. May I point it out as I believe the truth of it may now begin to dawn on us. We have condemned these safeguards in the constitution, and rightly condemned them. We pointed out in England during the three or four years that some of us had the privilege of being there how dangerous these safeguards might be, not only to India and to Indians but even to the British and the British Empire. Now, the whole point is, how are these safeguards going to be worked? Under what conditions will they be brought into operation? It was pointed out to us there, it is pointed out to us now, that if a Government is in power with a huge majority in any province, no Governor can use his safeguards without thinking twice, for if he does, what does he bring upon himself? He wrecks the constitution, and will have to use those sections of the Act which give him autocratic powers. No man in his senses, is going to bring upon himself such a disaster which may end in his own withdrawal from politics in India (Hear, hear). Now, Sir, if the Government in power has not a strong backing in the Legislature, the Governor may be tempted to use his powers if he conscientiously believes he is right. The same result will be effected if the majority of the people believe that the Governor is wrong. But if any Government acts in a manner which is really suicidal to the interests of our people, then if the Governor takes action under the safeguards, he will be confident that a majority of the people will be behind him and will be ready to throw out the Government and bring in another; and therefore these safeguards, although they look formidable on paper, cannot be used by Governors unless they have lost all their senses, unless we are so unfortunate as to get Governors,—and we may, we have so many provinces and we never know what sort of Governors we may have in any province,—who with such responsibilities thrust upon them may lose their senses or are allowed to lose their senses, then there must be chaos and some of our warnings may come true. But the last few months have shown that this constitution, bad as it is, condemned as it has been, may work for some length of time, certainly not for any great length of time, and can, with the assistance of our best men, be made to yield fruit to the advantage of our people in general. I did want to point this out at this stage, Mr. President, as at present there is a possibility of the fact being understood, whereas a year ago it seemed impossible to be able to impress such a fact upon any audience in India.

Now, Sir, the present working of the constitution by all the provincial governments, whether it be Congress or otherwise, has to my mind brought to the fore one motto which should never be forgotten—a motto which I am proud to think we Liberals have very seldom forgotten, we may have on certain occasions, but very seldom. That motto is "Say what you mean". If you say what you mean, and are conscientious, and honestly speak your mind you need

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not be afraid of the future and of your actions in the future. You will be in the position of being able to admit your mistakes. But if you say one thing and mean another in order to obtain popular applause, in order to win the votes of hundreds and thousands of people, believe me, you must get into trouble if you have a democratic government; you must get into trouble when you get power and influence, and the one motto that we have to learn is, that if we are to use this constitution or any constitution that we may get in future, "say what you mean". (Hear, hear). And you need not fear anything in the future. If the present Governments are suffering from any handicaps, they are suffering from the non-realisation of the truth of that motto.

Now, Mr. Sastri has very rightly said that he is to a certain extent satisfied with the way things have worked in the provinces where there are Congress Governments. As a whole we Liberals, having the motto of saying what we mean, ought to be prepared to acknowledge that. We have differences of opinion on certain details, there may be differences of opinion on questions of prohibition, there may be differences of opinion as to certain actions taken by certain governments in certain provinces, but on the whole we express our approval of what we have seen during the last four or five months, and in expressing that opinion may I, Mr. President and Mr. Sastri, be allowed to compliment the senior members of the Liberal Party for being in a position to pay that compliment. I had occasion to say only the other day that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and this has been said by congressmen all over India. The question is, what is the difference between the Congress Governments as they act to-day and any Indian Liberal Government that might have been? Surely if there are Congressmen, who can ask that question and wait for a reply, not from us Liberals, but from their own people, it is the greatest complement that could be paid to the Liberal Party. And it gives us peculiar gratification to find that condemned as we are and have been certainly during the last 10 or 12 years as unpatriotic men who would sell their conscience to obtain office, as men who had no regard for the interests of their country, there should be arising in this country a school of thought that believes that these old, decrepit men—I am getting on to 60 years myself—after all, are people who have served their country and did, like Feroze Shah Mehta, Dadabhoy Naoroji and Gokhale, speak the truth and continue to speak the truth, although they were not believed. If that reputation can be maintained by the Liberal Party, the reputation of being able to speak the truth under all conditions, whether the truth brings you popularity or whether it brings you the severest condemnation, whether it brings you applause or rotten eggs at public meetings, if you can maintain that spirit and that ability to speak the right thing in the interest of your country, the Liberal Party will live, (Hear, hear).

Mr. President, one part of the resolution expresses the hope that the Governments should be so conducted as to lead to a full and complete transfer of power to the people's representatives in the provinces.

Now, I see one great, danger, which I am never tired of bringing to the attention of our friends, and warning them against the school of thought that is growing, that has developed in our country, which unfortunately seems to attract the attention particularly of many of our youngmen, the school of thought that does not believe in constitutional government, the school of thought that is coming to the conviction that democracy has seen its best days and that the world cannot be governed under any democratic form of government. That is the greatest danger to this country. It is the greatest danger to many parts of Europe. If any thing will prevent our attaining the goal of our ambition it will be the widespread belief that a democratic government has failed. I am one of those who believe that in a country like India no school of thought will really capture the imaginations of the people, which goes against our ancient culture, a school of thought that will uproot our social system, a school of thought that goes against the grain of everything that we have been taught and made to believe during the last 2000 years of our existence, a school of thought that teaches that the day of religion is over, I believe that that school of thought will never capture India. (Hear, hear). But while it will never capture India, it may prevent India from gaining the goal of its ambition, Dominion Status. It may do a considerable amount of damage, it may retard our progress, it may set back the hands of the clock, and it will bring strife, more strife than we have got already. God only knows how many differences we have to face: religious differences, cultural differences, and we beg of our people not to add to those differences by bringing a more fundamental difference between us, which will be the cause of the greatest trouble, and suffering. It will bring disaster when we are hoping and praying for Liberty, for Dominion Status, liberty of action and liberty of thought. That warning has been expressed so often and it has been poohpoohed and laughed down so often by even wise and old people as a state of affairs, which will never get a footing in this country, that I think a repetition can never do any harm.

Now, Sir, although I could go on some time longer, I realise that I am monopolising the time of others. I trust and hope that although the Liberal Party may be small in numbers, its principles may live for ever (Hear, hear). The name of the Liberals may disappear, but I hope and pray that its principles will be upheld by the Congress itself, and that when a split comes in the Congress, which is bound to come as I have just said with greater power obtained by the other party to which I have referred, I feel confident that the right wing of the Congress, whether it is still called by that name or by some other name, will adopt and will have for its guidance our Liberal principles. The name may not live. We are all soon to depart. But our principles will live, and God helping, may our principles be adopted by a majority, a vast and huge majority of our countrymen and countrywomen throughout the length and breadth of India.

Resolution II :
Mr. J. N. Basu.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen— We are discussing in this Resolution the Government of India Act and its operation. You are all aware that the Government of India Act was preceded by a long and persistent agitation in this country. To what was that agitation directed? It was directed towards gaining for India a completely responsible government. When the Statutory Commission was appointed with Sir John Simon as chairman there was a protest all over the country that in the appointment of that commission due recognition had not been given to the claims of the people. The people were still to be deemed as men who pleaded their case at the bar while the decision would be in the hands of others. After the agitation that arose over the statutory Commission, Lord Irwin made an important declaration which preceded the convoking of the Round Table Conference. In that declaration it was stated, if not in very clear terms but by very clear implication, that India was being placed on the way to Dominion Status, and that the future stages of the development of the constitution of India would be in the hands of the people of this country. We are disappointed with the Government of India Act in as much as Dominion Status is nowhere to be found in it. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri has pointed out that only an inkling of it can be found in the preamble. But the preamble is not the Act, and it does not lay down the operative provisions enunciated in the Act. It must be made clear that the people of this country will not be satisfied until they have full responsibility in the matter of the administration of their own country. The Montagu Act was in some respects better than the present Government of India Act in as much as so far as the transferred Departments were concerned the elected representatives of the people were to have the final say. But in the present Act we have limitations on the powers of the legislature, notwithstanding the establishment of a kind of provincial autonomy, hedged about with distrust of the people. That distrust was not so prominent in the Montagu scheme. When one great people is dealing with another, unless there is trust in a full measure, on the part of one party, it cannot be expected that full trust will be rendered by the other party. In the South African settlement, though Britain and South Africa had fought only a few years previously, Britain chose to extend, in the fullest measure, the hand of fellowship and trust, and you all know the result. When the Great War broke out South Africa stood with all her resources by the side of Britain. So far as the present Government of India Act goes, it shows almost at every step distrust of the people of this country. It is hedged about with various safeguards.

As regards the power that has been transferred to the governments of the provinces, you have amongst others this great difficulty, that the provincial Governments have no voice in the appointment of the higher services, nor have they any control over those services. The number of men to be appointed and the posts to which they have to be employed continue to be entirely out of the hands of the Ministers.

Then there is another serious objection namely, the grant of actual legislative powers to the Governors and to the Governor-General.

Under the Montagu scheme the Governor or the Governor-General could issue ordinances, but they were to be of a temporary character having a currency only of six months. But under the present system the power is of a permanent character.

Resolution II :
Mr. J. N. Basu.

In this way there is a great deal of going back upon what we had under the Act of 1919. We cannot, therefore, say that we have gained very much under the present Act. We must continue our agitation until we gain what we want.

As regards the operation of the Governments of the provinces, it had been pointed out by the previous speakers that it is our earnest desire and request that those Governments should be conducted in a way which would show that they have regard for those who hold other points of view and that they have regard for the minorities. India is a country of numerous minorities. We trust that the Governments should be so conducted that the minorities may not complain that their interests are being overlooked or injured.

Gentlemen, in Bengal we are in a peculiar position. The present Act provides, as the Montagu Act did not provide, that there should be separate compartments in the electorates and amongst the members of the Legislatures, divided according to castes and according to creed. In Bengal the Hindu community happens to be in a minority, but the special privileges that attach to minorities in the other Provinces have been given here to the majority community, whilst the Hindu minority has been treated as the majority community. That unfortunately is a serious grievance, but that is being overlooked—why, I do not know. Mr. Montagu in his report laid down expressly that he wanted to treat this desire for separate representation as a temporary phase and that he did not want to accentuate it by introducing into his Act provisions which would divide the electorates and the representatives to the legislatures. With the growth of time, he had expected that the separatist tendency would grow weaker and the differences would be obliterated. But it has so happened that in this Act that tendency has been encouraged and pushed to the fore by recognition of rights and powers on the basis of creeds, castes and classes.

Pandit Parameswar Nath Sapru (U. P.) : Mr. President, brother and sister Delegates,—after you have heard so many learned speeches I am certain you would not like to hear me at length. I will therefore make just a few observations.

Resolution II :
Pandit P. N.
Sapru

So far as the condemnation part of the resolution is concerned, it has been universally condemned and it has been condemned even from this platform.

The second part expresses our feeling of helplessness, that is to say, the Liberal Federation have no alternative but to work the reforms as they were given to us; otherwise they would have been worked by people of less liberal views much to the disadvantage of the country. It is simply for this reason that we have incorporated in the resolution that in order to ameliorate the social and economic condition of the people the Constitution has to be utilised to the best advantage.

Resolution II :
Pandit P. N.
Sapru.

The third part expresses satisfaction at the elected representatives of the people having taken over the administration in the various provinces. So far as their administration is concerned, I think there can be no two opinions that it is a very great improvement on the past administration, and Congressmen, therefore, deserve every praise from us on that account.

There is, however, one thing which strikes me as of very great disadvantage. The Congress people think that they are the servants of the Parliamentary Board or of the Congress, and not of the people who have sent them. Now, the first principle of democracy is—and they must understand this—that they are answerable to the people who have sent them to the legislature. In this respect I submit they are going on quite wrong principles, and on principles generally accepted to be wholly untenable. It is, therefore, necessary to warn them that they must understand that they have gone into the legislatures not merely on the votes of Congressmen, but also on the votes of non-Congressmen, zemindars and may be, many Liberals. Therefore, their bounden duty is to work the Constitution not in the interests of Congressmen alone or in the interests of those alone who pay a registration fee of four annas, but in the interests of the whole country. They have to safeguard the interests of every class and of every community.

The last clause deals with the Federation. I have only to say that so far as Federation goes, it is a force, and it should not be reduced to a greater force by giving more powers to the Princes.

With these remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I support the resolution.

Resolution II :
Mr. A. S. N.
Murthy.

Mr. A. S. N. Murthy (Orissa) : Mr. President, brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not desire to enter into any argument or make any speech on this motion, because it does not require any cement to reinforce the concrete support that has already been given to this resolution. I only desire to state that the time is not very far distant, seeing how events are taking place, when many Congressmen would be Liberals and many Liberals would be Congressmen. I am only awaiting the time when the principles of Liberalism would receive concrete support from a very large body of men, whether Congressmen or others.

Resolution II :
Mr. B. J. Shroff.

Mr. Burjor J. Shroff (Bombay) : Mr. President, I desire to move an amendment for the deletion of the words "altogether unacceptable" etc.

The President.

The President : You have not given any notice of any amendment and I cannot allow it now.

(The Resolution on being put to vote was declared to be Carried).

III. Reform in Indian States.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra (U.P.) :—

(a) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civic and political liberties.

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Rai Bahadur
Pandit Sukhdeo
Bihari Misra.

(b) The Federation deeply regrets that no provision has been made in the new Government of India Act for the election of representatives of the States in the coming Federal Legislature or for the recognition of the people's fundamental rights of citizenship. The Federation, however, hopes that the rulers of Indian States will allow their representatives in the Federal Legislatures to be returned by election.

(c) The Federation strongly urges once again that the Rulers of States should without further delay concede to their subjects the rights of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the Press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, as well as representative government as a prelude to responsible Government.

Mr. President, Sister and Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—the resolution which has been entrusted to me by the President is with regard to the Reform in Indian states. Although the resolution runs into very few lines, it contains seven different points on which I have to say a few words. I will take as little of your time as possible, in order not to encroach upon the time for other more important resolutions.

The gentlemen who moved, seconded and supported the second resolution which has just been passed by you, have clearly shown how unsatisfactory and bad the rules governing the Federation are, and I want to emphasise before you the unsatisfactory position in which we would find ourselves under the Federation. A very substantial number of seats have been given to residents of Indian States. So far as that goes, there is nothing to cavil about. It is in fact very good. But the trouble is that the representatives of British India in the Federal Legislature will all be elected by the people, whereas everyone of the representatives of the Indian States will be nominated by their rulers. With such a medley of representation in the Federal Legislature there can absolutely be no team work. That is the greatest drawback of this Federation. First of all, it does not concede even to British India the right of direct election, as only indirect election has been provided for. Then again they have put together these indirectly elected representatives and nominated ones from the States. There will thus be a solid block of conservatives of a very bad type, and it will be very difficult for any measure intended for the benefit of the people to be carried through. The resolution before you emphasises this drawback of the proposed Federation.

Then the resolution goes on to emphasise six other points with regard to the position of Indians in Indian States. So far as these

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Pandit Sukhdeo
Bihari Misra.

are concerned, I myself have worked in an Indian State for 15 years and a half, and I am supposed to know a little the state of things there.

Excluding five or six major big States like Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore etc., we have got three grades of States. There are about 600 States in India, some of which have a revenue of about one crore of rupees per year. They may be said to be States No. 1. There are other States with a revenue of about Rs. 50,00,000/- per year. They may be said to be States No. 2. Those with a revenue of below Rs. 20,00,000/- may be said to be States No. 3. The fourth class consists of those which were called Jaigirs. "Jaigir" was really a misnomer, because they are ruling princes all the same, and are now known as minor states. Some of them are like big landlords of British India. A few of them have got only third class powers, and the real power is exercised by the Political Department.

So far as the big states are concerned, there is not much of personal rule there. They may be said to be like the provinces of British India. Something may be said by the people against those States as to the methods of their rule based on non-representative institutions. But apart from that, personal rule is not much in evidence in these big States. In the smaller States, however, personal rule is very much in evidence, and in this resolution we make six demands of the Princes. First of all, we desire that the representatives sent by them to the Federal legislature should be elected, even though they have got the power of nomination. Secondly, they should recognise the fundamental rights of citizenship of their subjects. We want them to treat their own people with common courtesy and not as slaves. One without the fundamental rights of citizenship is, practically speaking, a slave, and no man has any right to treat his own men as slaves. It may appear to be a big demand, but in reality it is a demand of an elementary nature.

The next thing that we ask for is that the Princes should concede to their subjects security of person and property. This is a very modest demand, and I think it requires very little argument to support it. The people of British India generally think that people of the States have no security of person and property, but I know that there is sufficient security of person and property in the States. The people of British India have very poor ideas as to the efficiency and goodwill with which the people of the States are ruled. The States are much maligned from the point of view of strict principles, but in practice I think they treat their people much better than is supposed as regards security of person and property. Everybody there is supposed to have some rights, and everybody goes to the Princes and represents his grievances. Everybody claims some concession or other. In fact, they are treated with such an amount of indulgence that when they are not given a special extra-legal concession, they seem to have a grievance. I therefore do not think that there is much in this question of

security of person and property, but what we want by this resolution is that the States people should have this security in writing also, for if it is given in practice but not in writing, one fine morning we may wake up and find ourselves deprived of this cherished right.

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Then we want liberty of speech and of the press. So far as that is concerned, it seems to me they have enough of it, but it is not on the Statute Book. In reality the Princes usually do grant this right in practice and they will not suffer much if they grant it in writing also.

Then we ask for an independent judiciary. The Princes are gradually introducing this reform these days. Having worked in an Indian State for a long time, I believe some of them seem to be trembling in their shoes. They seem to think that every power of theirs is going. However bad the Federation may be in the beginning, the Princes may feel it is the thin end of the wedge, and once they come into it, they cannot get out of it. The Federation will improve in time, and then the Princes may think they stand to lose everything. So they themselves seem to be contemplating quickly to have an independent judiciary in the States.

We next come to representative government. That also exists at least partially in the big States, but in the smaller States it does not always exist. In the smaller States it may be difficult to have representative government. In such cases eight or ten States may combine and introduce representative institutions.

I have given you a picture, however hazy, of the state of things in the States, and I have shown you that the demands made in the resolution are not extravagant demands, and they should be granted. With these words I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. M. D. Shahane (C. P.) : Mr. President and Brother Delegates—the fact that a person like the Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra, who is somewhat partial to the States, has proposed this resolution is enough to convince us that it is very moderately worded indeed. What does the resolution ask the Princes to do? It asks, first, to grant their subjects civic and political rights. Secondly, it asks the princes to send their representatives to the Federal Legislature through election and not through nomination, and in clause (c) it asks for the grant of fundamental rights to their subjects. If the matter is to be put in a nutshell, this resolution asks the Princes to emulate the example of His Majesty King George VI. The Princes who claim to be loyal allies of His Britannic Majesty should have no objection if such a demand is made of them. If my own personal opinion is asked, and speaking entirely in my sole individual capacity—I should say that the cause of Indian freedom and Indian unity will not succeed as long as a single State remains in this country. But circumstances as we are, we have to make the best of a bad job, and therefore we move this resolution in all humility, with no sanction behind us. We cannot force the princes to accede to our demands.

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Mr. M. D.
Sbahane.

We cannot hold a sort of threat of direct action against the princes, but the resolution is at once a demand and a warning to the Princes. Let not the Princes think that because the people of British India have today no power to present them with an alternative, total annihilation or the grant of fundamental rights and these demands, let not the Princes think that because of the powerlessness and abjectness of their subjects they can go on in their jolly old ways defying the popular cry. If they but read what is appearing in print, what is happening in the world, they will find, I am sure, that within the last five years there has been one Prince less because of the defiance with which he looked upon popular demands.

Recently many Jubilees have been celebrated in the Indian States, and our Princes have been gracious enough to grant certain rights to their subjects, but those rights amount to practically nil, paltry bits thrown to quell the growlings of unrest. The Princes are being weighed in gold for Jubilees, it has become quite in fashion. I am sure that all of you will agree that every ounce of that gold meant a ton of misery to their subjects. That is the condition in the States.

I know, as my friend Rai Bahadur Misra has said, that there are enlightened Princes, there are good Princes, who want to give rights to their people. But the whole system is vitiated by a sort of trade union amongst the Princes. If the history of the grant of rights to the subjects of some of the States is studied, if you can get at the archives of the Princes, you will perhaps find that pressure has been brought on them to hasten slowly, that pressure has been brought to bear on them not to put their brother Princes in an awkward position by being too forward with their gifts. That is the position, and I am certainly at one with those who say that the people in British India should extend their hand of sympathy and help to their brothers in the Indian States in their struggle for human rights.

Clause(c) of the resolution I consider to be more important than the other two clauses. It has been found in many States—and I have personal experience of one of them—that the Ruling House or the Kingly House is many-a-time confused with the Government, and any criticism of the Kingly House is taken as criticism of the Government, as sedition. Now, no one will deny that even Royal houses contain miscreants, as all human families do, same time or other. But such miscreants cannot be criticised. They are above law. This is because of this confusion between the Royal Family, persons and the Government as such. The right of free speech is a long long way off indeed in those States and our brothers are prevented even from demanding small insignificant rights to exist. I am sure those who have been reading the bulletins published in newspapers from time to time by the Indian States Peoples' Conference are fully aware of the hardships and privations which the leaders of Indian States people are undergoing at present in the States. This resolution gives them the assurance that the people in British India, who are certainly more fortunate in these

respects, have not forgotten them. They are aware of their hardships, and they are ready to co-operate and extend their hand of help to them.

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Mr. M. D.
Shahane.

I am sure as a warning to the Princes and as a demand on behalf of the States people the delegates of the Indian National Federation will give their wholehearted support to this resolution.

The resolution on being put to vote was declared to be carried.

IV. Military Policy and Expenditure.

Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay) moved :—

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India again condemns the continued unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The Government's unfavourable attitude is the more objectionable as the advance of India to self-government is held up on the plea of the unreadiness of Indians to assume responsibility for the defence of the country—unreadiness for which the whole of the responsibility lies on the British Government. Recent world events emphasise the necessity of the immediate utilisation of the vast man-power of India for the defence of the country.

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Mr. M. D. Altekar

(b) The Federation urges that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities.

(c) The Federation urges a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor and the selections of cadets from the Corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy.

(d) The Federation further urges that steps should be taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee to bring about the introduction of military drill and the establishment of Cadet Corps in Schools.

(e) The Federation strongly objects to the exclusion of Indians from the Auxiliary Force and urges the amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.

(f) Pending the transfer of military control to Indians the apportionment of military expenditure between Britain and India requires further readjustment. As a measure of bare justice, the extra burden imposed on the country by the presence of British troops and owing to Imperial policies should be borne by Britain.

He said : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to move is about military policy and expenditure. The resolution is before you and it is rather a comprehensive one. So I will not take up your time in reading it but will only refer to some of its salient points.

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Mr. M. D. Altakar

Here again we are condemning the unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The last line of this clause states that recent world events emphasise the necessity of the immediate utilisation of the vast man-power of India, and it is our complaint that this vast man-power of India is not being trained for the purpose of defending India, particularly at a time when war clouds are gathering everywhere and when every country is preparing for its own defence in a very aggressive manner. We have been agitating over this question for a pretty long time. It is this unresponsiveness of Government which, it appears to me, has been one of the main features of Government policy during the last 75 years or so, and we again want to urge upon Government to change this policy and replace it by one by means of which more and more Indians will be enabled to become officers in the army, and the vast masses of India will be trained to become suitably prepared for the defence of their own country.

It is a trite proposition to say that every country should be able to defend itself, and it is a curious state of things that we are not being given rights on the ground that we are not yet able to defend ourselves, and at the same time not much is being done to train us to defend ourselves. It is this vicious circle against which we wish to protest very strongly. This vicious circle is visible not only in the military policy of Government but with regard to education also. You have heard the complaint that India is not fit for Swaraj because India is not educated. But whenever any proposal was brought forward for the diffusion of primary education it was never supported by the powers that be. Those of you who remember the late Mr. Gokhale's agitation for primary education will realise the policy that the Government adopted towards that movement.

We have put down here several complaints together, and it leaves very little for a speaker to say because we have stated in very clear language what we want the Government to do.

Clause (b) urges recruitment to the army to be made from all provinces and all communities, because it is said by those who manage our army affairs that certain communities in India only are fit for military service and that others are not. Preference is given to certain provinces for military purposes over other provinces, and it is our desire that the whole country should be treated on an equal footing in this respect. We do not know whether we now believe in certain differences that were supposed to exist between different provinces and different countries with regard to intellect, military power and so on. You know that in old Rome the Romans used to believe that God had created them to rule the world and it was the duty of other people to be ruled by them. I am afraid similar notions even now exist in the mind of some European countries, and the latest cult of Fascism takes it for granted that certain countries in the world and certain people are there to hold power

and others must enjoy their rule. As far as our country is concerned, we do not want to make any such distinction between one province and another. Differences there are enough already, and we do not want to accentuate these differences by introducing any military differentiation as between the various provinces of the country. We have yet to find out that certain provinces, even after necessary preparation, are really unfit for military training.

I have also to bring to your notice that clause in the resolution which asks for wider opportunities being given to University students to get military training, wherever they ask for it. I would go further and say that if it were made compulsory for them it would be a really good thing.

With regard to the extent of military expenditure, one clause points out that "pending the transfer of military control to Indians the apportionment of military expenditure between Britain and India requires further readjustment. As a measure of bare justice, the extra burden imposed on the country by the presence of British troops and owing to Imperial policies should be borne by Britain." It is a language that requires to be explained a bit. You will easily understand what it means ; that readjustment means readjustment, as far as finances go, in favour of India. At present a good deal of expenditure that is shown in the name of India is not really incurred for Indian purposes ; it is incurred for Imperial purposes, for purposes which England wants to carry out, and not because we want it. What we now want is that if England wants to conquer a neighbouring country and add it to her Empire, the expenditure in connexion with that instead of being made a burden on India should come from the Imperial Exchequer. This is a very fair demand, and I think it is but right that this demand should be acceded to. We must carry on an agitation for this purpose, because this military expenditure has been a very heavy burden on the purse of this country.

During the last few years we have ceased to talk about military expenditure, and particularly during the last six months looking to what has been done with regard to financial matters in the different provinces where elected Ministers are now ruling and where proposals for economy are now coming out in a curious manner, for instance, because they want to do a certain thing, expenditure on education must go in order that money must be saved and there are ideas mooted that education should be self-supporting and so forth. If we look to the fact that a great deal of money is spent for military purposes, for which India really is not responsible, and if that expenditure could be cut out, a good many crores of Rupees could be saved for more useful purposes in this country, and the reform this resolution urges is this that pending the transfer of military control to Indians there should be a further readjustment of the apportionment of military expenditure between Britain and India. There is a very great need of that readjustment, and particularly the expenditure that is incurred by England for British purposes should not be at least put

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down to our side of the balance sheet ; it should be borne by England. That is a very fair demand.

On the whole we must say that even after such a long time India is quite unprepared in military matters. Supposing anything happens—let us hope it will not happen—we have entirely to depend upon others for the protection of this country. That is not a very happy state of affairs, and in order that this country should be able to stand on its own feet in a critical moment that may come, we require all these things to be done.

With these words I beg to move the resolution for your acceptance.

Resolution IV :
Mr. B. B. Roy

Mr. B. B. Roy (Bengal): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—This morning we heard, as we heard year after year from our leaders round this table, much criticism of the present constitution in India. In the first resolution, which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri moved, all our Liberal grievances in regard to the constitution were put forward. He later amplified them in a masterly fashion.

One principal grievance against the constitution, which we Liberals share with all other parties, or rather which all other parties share with Liberals, is the withdrawal of Defence from the responsibility of the Central Legislature. I am not one of those who criticise the Federal provisions microscopically as such ; I am not one of those who pay much attention to that side of the matter ; but to me the great drawback of the Central constitution is the reservation, for an indefinite and interminable period, of two vital subjects, from the purview of the Legislature, namely, Defence and External Affairs. So long as Defence continues to be withheld—no matter what you call the Constitution, a Federal constitution or a Unitary constitution, and no matter what minor amendments are initiated or accepted by the British Parliament—so long as the Defence continues to be a reserved subject, we shall never have responsible self-government in the real sense of that expression ; and it must be the concerted endeavour of all political parties in India, of the Congress, the Liberals, the Hindu Mahasabha and all other organisations, to put the utmost pressure on the authorities to transfer this vital subject of Defence to us within the shortest possible time that we can think of now.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this question of the transfer of Defence is a fairly old one. I think, during the constitutional discussions that have gone on for well over ten years now, the argument was often offered from British side that India cannot have Dominion Status so long as she cannot take responsibility for her defence. One of our brilliant jurists, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, whose knowledge of the history of Dominions and Colonial constitutions is almost unparalleled in India, showed clearly that some of the Colonies, were given responsible government, although they were not in a position to take full responsibility for their defence. But, unfortunately, that argument provided by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, did not impress those gods who rule over our destinies. A counter argument was offered, if I remember

aright, in the pages of the Simon Report. The position, therefore, is that those men in Parliament who are responsible for the Government of India Act and who will in some manner continue to control our destinies will always come forward with the argument that we are not ready for self-defence and therefore defence cannot be a transferred subject. Ladies and gentlemen, it is very interesting that the late Mr. Montagu saw the absurdity of this argument. I do not quite remember where I read that passage, whether in his Diary or in one of his speeches in Parliament, but Mr. Montagu said something like this. "We will not train Indians to be fit for taking responsibility for defence, and then when Indians come forward and say 'we want self-government' we will say 'Oh, you are not fit for self-defence. Therefore we cannot give you self-government. We will not give the training that they have been asking for well over half a century. We will deny them opportunities for becoming able to shoulder the responsibility for defence, and then we will turn round upon them and say, 'well, you are not fit for having the responsibility; therefore we cannot make you responsible for defence.'" That is a strange argument but it is still used and that is why we should put the greatest possible pressure on the British Parliament and on those who control our destinies to remove those conditions and to accede to our demands in the shortest possible time.

Sir, the great fact staring us in the face is that we are "unprepared" for self-defence in the world conditions of to-day. Now, the British might say that the Government are spending money in one way or another to improve India's position from the military point of view. Very alarmist speeches were made in Calcutta, a few weeks ago, picturing aeroplanes arriving from Hongkong *via* Bangkok over Rangoon to Calcutta and razing this city to the ground and ships making a sudden and magical appearance in the Bay of Bengal and bombing the city of Calcutta. All these pictures, some fantastic to the point of ludicrousness, are sometimes presented to us, in order to make us agree to the expenditure of more and more money on all manner of fortifications and all processes of defence from enemies, real and imaginary, on sea and land and in the air. But I submit, sir, that it is not enough to spend money and to make India self-sufficient in the military way in an abstract sense. We Indians must become ready and fit to defend our country. It certainly hurts the pride of any patriotic Indian to see mercenaries from Nepal and British troops from Great Britain being stationed here permanently, as more or less as an army of occupation, as the late Lord Rawlinson frankly admitted, in order to do the work of defence for us. India has a vast man power. India ought herself, given the opportunity, to be able to shoulder the entire burden of the defence of her country with the strength of her manhood. That opportunity is not being given to us.

The mover of the resolution pointed to one disability which goes on year after year and against which all arguments offered by our leaders seem to be unavailing. Ladies and gentlemen, in the

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volume which few of us read to-day called the Simon Report, there is a map showing a distribution of the martial races of India. I can never turn to that map except with a feeling of amusement. Some provinces are marked red or some other colour; I forget which colour; I am glad that I forget the colour. Some provinces are marked martial, other provinces are marked non-martial. My own province is marked non-martial. So I believe is Madras. They have divided the people of India, the fine men of India, into sheep and goats; some are martial and some are non-martial! They have done so for reasons of high imperial strategy. But the whole arrangement is an insult to us, and even if we do nothing else, even if we Liberals shut our show and go into retirement and have no voice in the actual day-to-day administration of India, we will meet every year in Calcutta or in Bombay or in Madras, and protest against this discrimination between one province and another and one people and another. Many insults have been hurled on us; but to my mind no insult is deeper, no humiliation keener, than this wholly arbitrary and artificial delimitation of the so-called martial and non-martial races of India. Not only is the description arbitrary, but it is opposed, as Dr. Kunzru once pointed out in this hall, to the testimony of history. The people and the provinces which are called non-martial to-day are the people and the provinces which gave great military assistance to former rulers of India.

Now, Sir, I have taxed your leniency to a much greater extent than any other seconder of a resolution. But I beg your indulgence for another two minutes. Clause (c) of this resolution refers to the University Training Corps. At one time, Sir, I was a great enthusiast for the University Training Corps and a great believer in it. I used to go round my classes, my first year class, my second year class, my third year class and my fourth year class, and say, "Do not read so much, do not prepare for your examination so much, go and join the camp and enroll yourselves as members of the University Training Corps, and get into a condition of physical and military efficiency." My enthusiasm, it never was a secret in Calcutta, brought me into conflict with the-then principal of my college. My enthusiasm too sent me once to a camp of the University Training Corps and I observed the life and behaviour of young men there for nearly a week. I spoke to everybody there; I studied their advantages and disadvantages; I had a heart-to-heart talk with all the officers of the University Training Corps; and the impression I came back with was that in the high quarters some where, at Simla or Delhi, or even in higher quarters still, there is some inclination to regard the University Training Corps as a somewhat bombastic affair, an affair which is meant to look big, but which is also meant to be hollow within. With that impression in my mind I came back to Calcutta and queried the young men, the men who had come out of the University Training Corps, and they told me, "Sir, the University Training Corps leads to nothing at all. The University Training Corps is only a matter of a few drills. We never learn the really important things. The University Training Corps does not lead to material advancement. The University Training Corps

does not take us anywhere. The University Training Corps does not take us to the Indian Sandhurst". (Hear, hear). That is the point of clause (c) in our resolution. The high authorities in India want to create the impression that they would do anything in the world for the University Training Corps. But when it comes to the question of doing any tangible good to it, of spending a considerable amount of money on it, or of giving those facilities to the members of the Corps which they desire, the same authorities confront our leaders, as they confronted Dr. Kunzru and Sir Pheroze Sethna the other day, with mere platitudes, with a number of words which, added together, become a negative.

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Now, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot tolerate these things any more. The mover of the resolution spoke about further readjustment of expenditure between India and England. We all know the reason why, for sometime now, we have not been talking of a reduction of military expenditure. Reduction of military expenditure was the slogan of Indian politics for well-nigh half a century. To-day we do not talk of reduction, and the reasons are to be found in world politics for our having practically abandoned that slogan. But although we have abandoned it, we are very strong and emphatic in the demand which we have put into the last clause of this resolution. We want an equitable adjustment of army expenditure between England and India. What does England contribute to-day? Near about two crores of rupees a year; not quite two crores. That was under the award of a Committee which sat a few years ago under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Garran of Australia. From our Exchequer between 40 and 50 crores of Rupees are spent, and all that Great Britain gives us annually is a paltry two crores or less. India will never consider that to be an equitable payment. During this year, or possibly from to-morrow, for a period of three years England will make a further sum available to India. That sum will be earmarked for mechanization. That amount does not touch our military expenditure at all. It is a grant for a specific purpose and that grant, so far as I have been able to ascertain, will go only towards a certain number of British troops, for mechanization of certain British units. The Indian troops do not come into the picture at all. Therefore this new grant for a period of three years does not constitute any relief to India's burden. If I had the time I might have gone into the history of the expenditure, but possibly I have spoken too long. But I will say this that all impartial investigators of this question said in the past, have said recently, and will go on saying, that England has not contributed enough.

The late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, whose name is often taken by our countrymen in a rather uncharitable manner for his somewhat accidental association with an award, as was pointed out by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri this morning, in his younger days wrote a book, which is not much read to-day, but which deserves to be read. (The President: It was banned in India at one time.) That book is "Government of India"; that is the name of the book. I remember

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that many of the gentlemen who went out to England as delegates to the First Round Table Conference, fingered a copy of the "Government of India", which I happened to carry with me. There was a great demand for it on board the P & O boat "Comorin". In that book, Ramsay Macdonald, after devoting many pages to the question, said something like this. "It is my deliberate conclusion that England should either quietly modify the existing arrangements for defence, or contribute exactly half of the expenditure for which India is made responsible to-day." Fifty per cent. was the amount allotted to Great Britain by Ramsay Macdonald. Several years later, a distinguished economist, Sir Walter Layton, who was associated with the Simon Commission, and who submitted to that Commission an independent report on India's finances, gave it as his considered opinion (Dr. Kunzru will correct me if I am wrong) that England should contribute at least a third of India's total military expenditure. Fifty per cent. was Ramsay Macdonald's estimate; thirtythree and a third per cent. was the estimate of Sir Walter Layton. But what is the percentage to-day? Two crores in about fortysix crores. I will not trouble to work out on a piece of paper what percentage that would be. It would not be pleasing to contemplate the exact percentage.

Sir, I do not wish to take more time. I believe the mover and my humble self have done our best to commend this resolution to you. In certain quarters I have heard this resolution, emanating from us and from others, being described as a hardy annual, but I do not mind the hardy annual. It will continue to be a hardy annual on this platform and on many other platforms until England concedes the demands put forth here and until England transfers responsibility for defence to the Central Legislature.

With these words I commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause).

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The President : Mr. B. J. Shroff wishes to speak on this resolution.

Mr. B. J. Shroff.

Mr. Burjor J. Shroff (Bombay): Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I should like to propose an amendment in clauses (c) and (d) of this resolution.....

The President.

The President : I cannot allow you to do that. I have only allowed you to speak on the resolution as it stands. You sent me an amendment and I ruled it out of order. If you want to speak on the resolution, you can do so for two minutes.

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Mr. Burjor J. Shroff : The resolution as it stands states that the Federation urges "a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor". But there may be a demand and there may not be a demand; there may be disinclination on the part of our boys for military training and consequently there is an apathy for military career. Therefore, what I want is that just as there is compulsory military training in western countries, we must have compulsory training in our schools as well, so that our school boys of to-day may be and should be the soldiers of to-morrow.

Another thing I would suggest is the introduction of Air Raid Precautions course in schools, together with the training in anti-gas measures; because we are all exposed to these dangers of air raids from outside. Italy has come as far as Ethiopia 400 miles into the Arabian Sea far more eastward towards India than the British outpost at Aden, and has occupied it, establishing thus a direct contact with Italian Somaliland. To safeguard that there is the island of Socotra, but that won't be of any avail because there are fast bombers which can come straight from Italian Somaliland right up to Karachi. There is also another danger. As has been said by General Sir Ian Hamilton, the course of Japan is from Shanghai to Hongkong, from Hongkong to Singapore, from Singapore right up to Bengal. I suggest that the General has committed a mistake. The Japanese are not such fools as to go down 700 miles southward to Singapore. There is a straight course to Siam. There is an army of 20,000 in Siam, and there is a very great amity between Siam and Japan; Siam has been supplied with 200 machines by the Japanese, and as such they will come straight from Hongkong to Siam and from Siam to Bengal. This on-coming catastrophe, this calamity, is before us in the shape of gas and gas attacks and so on, and I suggest that there should be imparted instruction in Air Raid Precautions course and training in anti-gas measures in all the cities of India vulnerable to air raids. We must also be provided with gas masks. Two crores of gas masks have been provided in Britain with a population of four crores, whereas we have not even two dozen gas masks in India.

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The resolution was put to the vote and declared to be carried.

V. Indians Overseas.

Hon'ble Dr. Hridaynath Kunzru (Allahabad):—

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(a) The National Liberal Federation of India urges upon the Central Government the need for the establishment of a special permanent Department to keep in touch with Indians overseas and a watch over their interests.

(b) This Federation views with the gravest concern the recent legislation of a purely racial character passed in South Africa depriving Africans themselves of long cherished franchise rights which seriously threatens the Indian franchise in the Cape Province. It would point out that the evil principle of racial segregation which is involved, is in danger of spreading to Southern Rhodesia and along the whole coast of East Africa with deleterious results.

(c) The National Liberal Federation of India supports the Indians of Zanzibar in the stand they have made for the vindication of their rights, and calls upon the people and Government of this country to put an embargo on the importation of cloves into India from Zanzibar if the legitimate grievances of the Indians are not amicably settled.

(d) The Federation condemns the refusal of the Ceylon Government to grant the franchise excepting to a very small number of

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Indians in rural areas under the Ceylon Village Ordinance. It strongly supports the decision of the Government of India not to permit the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon pending the enfranchisement of Indians on equal terms with the Singhalese.

(e) The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to promote the interests of the Indians of Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad, particularly those of an economic and educational character. In Fiji in particular, steps should be taken to enable Indians (who number about 85,000 and are mostly Fiji-born) to acquire a permanent title to land without risk to the legitimate rights of the Fijians.

(f) The Federation views with concern the proposed legislation in Kenya called the Co-ordination of Transport Bill which the Indian community regards as detrimental to its interests and presses the Government of India to take adequate steps to prevent the just rights of Indians from being encroached upon.

(g) The Federation expresses its appreciation of the report of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on Indian labour in Malaya and views with satisfaction the increase in the wages of Indian labour so far as it has gone which his visit to Malaya has resulted in. It however, urges the Government of India, to take steps to bring about a further improvement in the conditions of Indian labour.

(h) The Federation considers it necessary that agents of the Government of India should be appointed in (1) East Africa including Zanzibar, (2) Fiji, (3) British Guiana and Trinidad and (4) Burma.

He said : Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—you have hitherto concentrated your attention on resolutions dealing with the position of Indians in their own country. This resolution asks us to concern ourselves with the position of our nationals outside the country. In the old phraseology of Indian politicians, self-government was wanted partly in order to enable us to carry on our government in accordance with our judgment of what was best for our country, and partly in order to participate on equal terms with the members of the British Commonwealth in deciding all those measures that concern the Commonwealth as a whole. This resolution deals with the second of the two objects enumerated by me. It asks us to consider what is the position occupied by our nationals in a number of countries within the British Empire, and to take steps to redress their grievances as far as it may be possible for us to do so.

Now, it is not practicable for me to deal with every part of the resolution that has been placed before you. I will, within the short time at my disposal, refer only to such colonies as are at the present time looming largely on the Indian political horizon.

Let us take first the Protectorate of Zanzibar. The question of Zanzibar has come frequently before us in the past. It is not necessary, therefore, for me to tell you how the grievances of the Zanzibar Indians originated. I presume that you know them all. It may, however, be useful to tell you briefly that the measures which

the Indians complain of were taken soon after the publication of an alarming report which alleged that Indians were fast dispossessing the natives of land converting them into a landless proletariat. These allegations have been disproved by a Commission appointed by the Government of Zanzibar and containing a majority of officials. Unfortunately the Zanzibar Government has declined to alter its policy.

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The measures taken by the Government of Zanzibar are claimed to be in the best interests of the indigenous inhabitants of the protectorate. If in the neighbouring territories controlled by the British Government the same policy of concern for the native's interests had been followed, there would have been some ground for the claim put forward by them in the case of Zanzibar. But we see, for instance, in the case of Kenya the best land is owned by Britishers who went to Kenya in comparatively very recent times. The natives are compelled to work for their British masters. Now, all the measures taken to restrict the liberty of the natives and to bring them under the control of the Europeans have been justified on the ground that it is to the advantage of the natives themselves that they should learn to work systematically and that they should have efficient masters during their apprenticeship. Well, it is a new thing for us to know that servitude and penal measures are regarded as methods of providing for adult education in Kenya, but it is surprising that those who justify these measures in East Africa regard the Indians of Zanzibar as a danger simply because they hold more property than would be justified by their numerical proportion to the entire population of the protectorate.

The Indians have been in trading relations with Zanzibar for several centuries. Eighty per cent. of the Indian population is settled in Zanzibar. The development of the trade of the protectorate is due entirely to Indian enterprise. The position acquired by the British Government in Zanzibar and in the East African colonies generally is due to the support given to them by the early Indian settlers and pioneers. Yet these people who have so far been welcomed in the protectorate, who have added to its wealth, who have enabled the British to consolidate their position there, are regarded as a menace to the future peace and orderly development of the protectorate simply because they have become rich by their industry and enterprise. There is no complaint against them on the part of the natives. There is no complaint against them on the part of the Arabs who have been given a more privileged position than they, although they settled earlier in the protectorate than the others, the Arabs. They are regarded, if I may say so, as undesirable aliens only by the custodians of the interests of the voiceless millions in Zanzibar.

Now, the Indians and their compatriots in this country have done all they could to secure redress for them at the hands of the British Government which is finally responsible for the administration of Zanzibar. A few concessions have been made by the British

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Government, but they do not touch the core of the problem which is, the monopoly of the purchase and export of cloves to an association called the Clove Growers' Association and run by people whom the Indians regard as antagonistic to their interests. That fundamental problem has remained unchanged. The Indians finding themselves threatened with complete loss of their livelihood and at the mercy of those whom they regard as their opponents finally decided in a moment of desperation to withdraw themselves from the clove trade altogether. So great was the feeling engendered by the measures adopted by the Zanzibar Government that the entire Indian community pervaded by a sense of real grievance has tried as one man to enforce successfully the boycott of the clove trade which was resolved upon by Indians at public meetings in more than one place. I am glad to say that the Indians of Zanzibar have been fully supported in their resolve by the people of this country also. The merchants engaged in the clove trade have voluntarily decided to have nothing to do with this business.

As a result of this boycott, this voluntary boycott, of Zanzibar cloves, the revenue of the Zanzibar protectorate has gone down. There is some perturbation in official circles in the colony and outside the colony, but there is no disposition on the part of the authorities as yet to redress the just grievances of the Indian community. They still stand on their prestige.

We ask that in this situation the Government of India, which has always tried to support our nationals abroad, should come to the assistance of Indians in Zanzibar and pass legislation imposing an embargo on Zanzibar cloves. We know the subordinate position occupied by the Indian Government. Before it can take a step of the kind desired by us we may be certain that it will have to ask for the sanction of the authorities in Great Britain, but if we continue with our efforts and make it clear that this country is solidly behind our countrymen in Zanzibar and resents the discriminatory treatment meted out to our peaceful and enterprising countrymen there, I am certain either the British Government would yield and allow a legislation of the kind desired by us to be passed or change those measures which today have created so much feeling in Zanzibar and in this country.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to make the cause of Zanzibar Indians your own, because the example of Zanzibar is being followed elsewhere in East Africa also. Our president drew our attention to a bill known as the coordination of Transport Bill which is, I believe, before the Kenya legislature now. It proceeds on the same principles as the clove legislation of the Zanzibar Government. It is clear from this that if we do not unite in order to express our intense resentment against this Zanzibar legislation, Indians throughout East Africa would be exposed to measures of the same kind and might soon find themselves confronted with a situation which would virtually mean their expulsion from the colonies where they have been settled for generations.

Now I shall pass on to Ceylon where unfortunately anti-Indian feeling is on the ascendant these days. It is no pleasure to me to speak against a neighbouring colony with which we have been connected by various ties for several centuries. We all wish that an amicable settlement of the questions at issue between us and the Ceylonese was arrived at speedily. But unfortunately for ourselves without waiting for the report of the officer appointed by the Ceylon Government themselves to report on those questions which have created a conflict between the Indians and the Ceylonese, the Ceylon Government have passed a measure known as the Village Communities Ordinance Bill which discriminates against Indian labourers settled on estates.

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One of the questions with which this Bill deals is of franchise. While adult franchise has been granted to others, notwithstanding our best efforts only those Indians have been enfranchised who possess a certain amount of property or a certain amount of land. Now, as most of the Indians there are labourers and have not saved enough money and cannot save enough money to acquire property of the value required for enfranchisement under this law, it is obvious that the vast majority of the Indians would remain unenfranchised. We have done the best we could to secure a position of equality for Indians with the Singhalese. The Government of India have made repeated representations to the Ceylon Government on the question, but unfortunately all these representations have gone unheeded, and in Ceylon, which we would like to treat in the friendliest possible way, we find ourselves faced with a situation which compels us to take retaliatory action. The action taken by the Government of India is to prohibit the immigration of labourers to Ceylon pending the removal of discrimination in the legislation just referred to by me by the Ceylon Government. I am sure that we all heartily approve of the action taken by the Government of India, but let me say once more that while we have no option but to vindicate our self-respect by taking action which goes against the interest of Ceylon, we still cherish the hope that when the Jackson report, to which I referred a few minutes ago, is published, advantage may be taken of it to arrive at a settlement of all outstanding questions which would do away with the need of taking retaliatory action against Ceylon.

There is only one other clause in this resolution which I shall deal with at some length. That relates to the interests of Indians in Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad. These interests, to be brief, are mostly of an economic and educational character.

In Fiji the main economic interest of Indians lies in land. Indians, generally speaking, are not owners of land. They cultivate land merely as tenants. They have acquired leases either from the Colonial Sugar Refinery Co. or Fijian landlords. The leases are generally for a period of 21 years. Their period is about to expire, and there is, therefore, naturally a great deal of anxiety among the Indian cultivators with regard to their future. Now, we

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ask that adequate steps should be taken by the authorities to safeguard the interests of these Indians without in any way endangering the interests of the Fijians themselves. I will not go into details in order to show how this is possible. But you may take it for the present that in the present state of things there is no conflict between Fijian and Indian interests, and that given a sympathetic attitude on the part of the Fiji authorities this question can be satisfactorily settled.

In British Guiana the main economic interests of the Indians are those concerned with the position of Indian labourers on the sugar estates. Most of these labourers live on the Indian estates, and a Commission known as the Labour Disputes Commission has pointed out that although indenture has been done away with in British Guiana as in Fiji and several other colonies, yet Indian labourers resident on the sugar estates are no better than the indentured labourers of old but without the protection enjoyed by the indentured labourers. This Commission to which I have referred has made detailed recommendations with regard to wages and the future handling of labour questions. The Indian community generally approve of the recommendations of this Commission. I understand that the British Guiana Government are about to implement these recommendations, but there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be on the alert and to see that the recommendations made by the Labour Disputes Commission with regard to the wages of labourers and their future welfare are given full effect to by the British Guiana authorities.

As regards education, that is a vital question for our countrymen alike in Fiji and in British Guiana. The Indians who went to these colonies as indentured labourers depend for their uplift entirely on the education of their children. The Indians here are not in a position to help them. The people or rather the Governments under whom they live are not too sympathetic to them. They are thus thrown on their own resources, and the most potent force which they can use for their uplift is an educated and enlightened younger generation which is able to earn its own livelihood and to promote the interests of the community to which it belongs.

Unfortunately, however, this education which the Indians ardently desire and which is so necessary for their future growth and incorporation as advanced elements in the population of the colonies in which they live, has been sadly neglected. In all these colonies it would be true to say that Indian education is behind not merely European education but also behind Negro education. I fear I have taken too much of your time already. I shall, therefore, content myself with giving one illustration which relates to Fiji. Indians form 43 per cent. of the population of Fiji, but only 34 per cent. of the Indian children are at school. Among the Fijians, however, the corresponding percentage amounts to 74. Take again the expenditure incurred on primary education from colonial revenues. While it is about 17s. 6d. on the education of the Fijian child, it is only

Rs. 6d. on the education of the Indian child. There are many other grievances which, had time permitted, I would have placed before you. But the illustration that I have given would suffice to show how backward the educational position of our community is.

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There is only one other grievance of the Indian community which I would venture to draw your attention to in this connection. In Trinidad and in British Guiana education is controlled, practically speaking, not by the State but by the missionaries. There is a close connection between the State and the missionaries. In British Guiana the Bishop of British Guiana is given a special grant earmarked for missionary work amongst East Indians, and in Trinidad the Government give the Mission settled there an ecclesiastical grant of about 50,000 dollars. So far have these Governments abdicated their responsibility for the education of the people committed to their charge that in British Guiana out of 177 primary schools only four are Government schools; all the rest are missionary schools. This has been one reason why Indian education is in a backward condition. No Indian wishes to prevent missionaries from taking a fair share in the development of education. Missionary enterprise I have no doubt will be welcomed. But serious objection is taken to the present state of things when the education of the entire population is placed in the hands of the professors of one religion.

Now, what are we to do in the present state of things? Our countrymen are settled in various parts of the Empire and in many countries outside the Empire. Their problems are manifold. India being politically weak, her nationals find themselves in difficulties more or less everywhere. What steps are we to take in order to watch over the interests of these countrymen of ours and to take action in order to protect them?

We suggest two methods to achieve our object. Our first suggestion is that there should be a special section in the Government of India secretariat to keep in touch with Indians overseas and to safeguard their interests. Indian problems are growing in complexity. We become aware of them only when a crisis comes about. If, however, we keep ourselves in regular touch with the development of events concerning our countrymen in the colonies where they are settled, it may be possible for us to take action betimes, which would protect the interests of the Indians and at the same time prevent a friction from arising between ourselves and the colonial governments. Considering the efforts made by self-governing nations to watch over the self-respect of their nationals, wherever they may be, we think we are perfectly justified in asking the Government of India to take a step of the kind recommended by us.

The other constructive suggestion made by us is that the Government of India should secure the appointment of its Agents in East Africa, including Zanzibar, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Burma. We all know the good work done by representatives of the Government of India in South Africa, in Malaya and in Ceylon, and in view of these examples we ask that the Government of India

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should go forward and press to be allowed to have Agents of its own in all those other colonies where Indian problems are growing in complexity and threaten to create a crisis. I am sure that if the Government of India had had any representative of theirs in East Africa, the situation in Zanzibar would not have deteriorated as it has unfortunately done; at any rate, I hope that the cleavage which for the first time during the last 20 years has occurred between Indians and the Government of India would not have occurred. Unfortunately this demand on our part is frowned on both by the British Government and the Colonies concerned. They are afraid that an Agent of the Government of India would be a centre of disaffection and unrest. They think that the Indians instead of looking to the governments concerned for the redress of their grievances would defy them and turn to the representative of the Government of India to enforce their demands on the Colonial authorities.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in this case we shall be on safe ground if we appeal to the experience that we have acquired in those Colonies where we already have Agents of our own, namely, as I have already said, South Africa, Ceylon and Malaya. I have yet to know that the presence of the Agent of the Government of India is resented in any of these places. Perhaps if the Governments of these territories were asked they would bear testimony to the efforts made by the Agents to bring about an understanding between the Indians and the Governments of these territories, so that the Government of India might not be obliged to intervene. In any case it is for us to press our wishes strongly on the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The step that we are proposing is in our opinion necessary to the adequate protection of our countrymen in the various territories named in the resolution. If the Governments concerned have taken steps to defend the interests of Indians settled under them, they would have been justified in protesting against the appointment of a representative of the Government of India to watch over Indian interests. But having failed and failed signally to take measures for defending the Indians and make them integral parts of the population among whom their lot is cast, their protests lose all their force. Here again it will not be easy for us to get His Majesty's Government to agree to our demands. But if we are united amongst ourselves, if we show that there is a strong feeling amongst us on this subject, and that we resent the indignities cast on our countrymen outside India, even more than those to which they are subjected to in their own country, I have no doubt, Sir, that we shall, sooner than most of us imagine, gain our point. In any case it is for us to persist with our efforts so that our countrymen, who were lured from India to the territories in which they are now settled, who have added to the wealth of these Colonies and have promoted their prosperity, may be entitled to be regarded as amongst the benefactors of these Colonies and to have their interests adequately safeguarded by any government worth the name.

Ladies and gentlemen, I move the resolution.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta):—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Sastri, ladies and gentlemen,—Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru—I would prefer to call him Pandit, rather than Doctor Hriday Nath Kunzru,—because the word Pandit in our country connotes all that is great, good,—and noble,—has practically exhausted all that could be said about the position of Indians in the Colonies and how we should tackle the problem. I am not going to detain you long. I shall simply concentrate myself on the Zanzibar question alone, because for the present moment Zanzibar looms large in the political horizon of India, and Zanzibar has recently brought out the true colour and character of British Imperialism.

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Mr. S. P. Basu

Ladies and gentlemen, the position of Indians in Zanzibar is peculiar. Out of a total population of 2,35,000 people only 15,000 are Indians ; Arabs are 35000, and the rest are Africans. It is on account of these 15,000 Indians that so many anti-Indian legislations have been enacted one after another till the climax was reached by the recent clove legislation which has made it impossible for Indian traders to continue their business in Zanzibar, and most of them have got to come back to their own native land, from which their fathers and forefathers had migrated to that beautiful island near Madagascar, which they with their money, industry, application and business acumen had built up. We have been astounded by the promulgation of a new theory by these British Imperialists. It is this—the principle of inalienability of right to the land of the natives of every country and their right to shutout every foreigner from acquiring any land there. If this principle is adopted,—if this principle is accepted,—that the natives of the land have got inalienable right to the land, and none else can acquire any land there, then the European nations have no right to parcel out among themselves the whole of South Africa. You have seen the German Congo, the Italian Colony, the British Colony, the Dutch Colony, the French Madagascar and various other places under complete domination and control of the foreigners. Now these people have absolutely no right to appropriate the lands that had belonged to the natives of South Africa. If this principle is accepted, then the Arabs, who are 35,000 in number in Zanzibar, have also no right to be there, because the Arabs, and even the Sultan of Zanzibar, are as much aliens as the Indians are. For the Europeans who have appropriated the best part of the world among themselves by colonisation, by trading rights, and by virtual possession of other nationals' lands and territories,—it does not lie in their mouth to say now that this principle should be accepted because it suits their interest now to squeeze out the Indians from the clove business and drive them out from the Islands. So there is nothing in this new doctrine.

Then the second point is these Indians who brought these Britishers into Zanzibar, who helped them to get a footing in the island, had set their foot on this island long before any white settler had gone there ; the Indians had settled themselves as businessmen there. Even the Arabs cannot claim a longer domicile than the Indians.

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It is the Indians who with their capital had built up the clove industry, they developed this business, harvested it, marketed it, and exported it, and made Zanzibar what it is to-day. Clove is the principal business of that little island, from which the major portion of the revenue comes.

Now I shall tell you from the Sanderson Committee's report as to how the Indians helped the Britishers to get a footing in Zanzibar. Sir John Kerr, the first Consul-General for East Africa, giving evidence before the Sanderson Committee in 1910 categorically said,

"But for the Indians we would not be there now. It was entirely through gaining possession of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our possession." Mr. Winston Churchill is in no way friendly to Indian aspirations and Indian interests. He said,

"It is the Indian banker who supplied perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and to whom even the White settlers have not hesitated to go for financial aid. The Indian was here long before the first British officer. Is it possible for any government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?" This is what Mr. Winston Churchill says.

The next quotation that I am going to read out to you is about the treaty which the British Government had entered into with the Sultan of Zanzibar.

"On August 30th, 1886, the British Government entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar whereby was secured to British subjects freedom to acquire by gift, purchase, intestacy, succession, or under will or in any other legal manner, land, houses and property of every description, whether movable or immovable, to possess the same and freely to dispose thereof by sale, barter, division, will or otherwise." This was a solemn pledge given by the Sultan to the British subjects in his dominion, and it was duly honoured.

After having secured all this, the Indians in Zanzibar were encouraged to invest their money in the clove business, and enjoyed the fruits of their labour for more than half a century and now, only three years ago, the Government started passing one legislation after another in quick succession—the Land Alienation Bill, the Mortgage Bill, the Clove Monopolies Bill etcetra and etcetra. All these bills have practically taken out everything from the hands of the Indians. Not satisfied with this, they passed a moratorium. A moratorium, as you know, lasts only for a stated period, may be for six months, or in some cases for a year at the most. But the moratorium which was passed three years ago is continued, and the effect has been that the Indians in Zanzibar are unable to realise a h'penny from their investments, and at the same time they have been

debarred from carrying on their clove business. Practically they have been ruined. These 15,000 people who had been earning a decent income in Zanzibar and who have carried on well are practically ruined. Some of them have already returned to India. Some of them have gone to insolvency courts. One of the biggest merchants has committed suicide just to escape shame and penury.

You should consider that if these 15,000 people are sent back to India, which is rather a strange country to them because they have settled in Zanzibar for generations, what would be the economic position of these people and where would they be dumped? Here in Matiaburuz you find that there are more than 500 indentured labourers. They have been brought down here from Fiji in this dreary winter. Rev. C. F. Andrews has been visiting them and trying to collect data with regard to their sufferings and privations. If these people are sent out from Zanzibar to India again what would be their position? Italy wants Abyssinia because Italy wants growth and expansion for her own people. Germany wants her pre-war colonies back. England wants her world-wide colonies and dominions and all that. But the Indians who had settled some hundred years ago in different parts of these islands, must be sent back to their mother country. This is the new phase of imperialism which we have got to understand.

Sir, against all these intolerable, unjust and iniquitous legislations numerous representations have been sent to the Government of India. The Government of India, whenever any question is asked in the Assembly, through their nominee simply says that the Government of India is in entire agreement with the demands of the people. There the matter ends. Those people in Zanzibar ask us, they request us, we who are living here, in the mother country, to help them in this crisis. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was sitting here. He has, I find, left the Hall. In 1923 when the first Kenya trouble started, he went to England as a leader of the Kenya deputation and when he failed to get any response whatsoever in England, in utter disgust, in utter helplessness he said, "If Kenya is lost, all is lost." To-day his prophecy has come to be too true. With Kenya lost, Zanzibar is going to be lost, and how long and how often are you going to tolerate this? That is the great question before you.

Sir, in utter helplessness they have started the boycott against the importation of cloves from Zanzibar, in order to teach them that without the help of the Indians, without the Indian market the Government of Zanzibar cannot be carried on. Already you have noticed in the papers that the revenue of the Zanzibar administration has fallen by £26,000/- (A voice : £36,000/-). So that is a sure indication that the boycott is getting to be felt, and very likely on account of this new development in Zanzibar business Lord Dufferin is sailing for Zanzibar and he is due to arrive there on the 9th January. If this clove boycott can be carried on successfully in India, because India is the principal market for this clove business, then we are absolutely certain that the Indians in Zanzibar will have justice and equity granted to them by the Colonial Government.

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Mr. Ormsby-Gore, although sending Lord Dufferin to Zanzibar, has empathatically said that so far as clove monopoly business is concerned that is a settled fact. Sir, I beg to remind you about another settled fact. A bigger and a greater man than Mr. Ormsby-Gore, I mean Lord Morley, with regard to the partition of Bengal, had announced in the House of Commons that the partition of Bengal was a settled fact. But the United Voice of Bengal, with the help of the rest of India, had made that settled fact unsettled in the course of four or five years. Therefore history shall repeat itself if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to our traditions. (Loud applause.)

Sir, we have been encouraged to dream of a British Commonwealth of Nations, and we as Liberals have already professed this as our political creed, i.e. Dominion Status. We also want to live within the British Commonwealth of Nations. But what is that British Commonwealth of Nations going to be? We do not like to be there as hewers of wood and drawers of water, not like coolies and camp followers, but like comrades in arms, ready to help each other, willing to share each other's burden, and must have equal rights and equal privileges,—an honourable position in that Commonwealth of Nations. Otherwise we cannot choose to remain there as serfs and helots. That we shall spurn. And you know that when we think of this British Commonwealth of Nations we conceive of a mighty empire where each one of us is a partner. An Empire that accepts the principles of "Live and let live" "stand by me and I will stand by you" like so many comrades standing together or marching shoulder to shoulder—sharing each others burden and enjoying equally the fruits of labour. Sir, a mean mind and mighty empire can never go together, and good and great things can never be achieved by bluff and bunkum. (Loud cheers.)

With these words I have pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The Resolution on being put to the vote was declared carried.

INTERVAL

VI. Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions.

Mr. Surendra Nath Varma (U.P.) moved :—

Resolution VI :
Mr. S. N. Varma.

The National Liberal Federation of India has noted with regret and surprise conflicting statements by Congress Ministers on the long over-due separation of judicial from executive functions and urges that this reform should be carried into effect without delay in every province.

He said : Mr. President and fellow delegates,—I have been called upon to move the resolution dealing with the separation of judicial and executive functions.

It is an irony that even after the introduction of autonomy in the provinces and the assumption of office by the most popular political party in the country we should still stand where we were half a century before. You need not be reminded that the demand for the separation of the two functions was started by the late Raja Ram Mohan Roy long before the Congress itself was created. Year after year there has been a persistent demand for the same, but, as I said, it is an irony that we are still making this demand in spite of the introduction of provincial autonomy and the strongest political party having come into power.

The responsibility for this is entirely due to the Congress Ministers in certain provinces who have made declarations whereby I would say they have simply flouted public opinion. The importance of this reform is so self-evident that it is hardly necessary to come forward with arguments. But two Ministers certainly, the Minister for Justice in the U.P. and the Premier in Madras, have justified the union of these two functions, and therefore it has become necessary for us to still agitate for the introduction of this reform. Ladies and gentlemen, the importance of the judiciary is more profound than prominent. Although it is not prominent we cannot do without it. As it has been described, judicial reforms and independence of the judiciary lie at the very heart of political philosophy. You will remember that the Ministers concerned in the course of their speeches said that after the introduction of the reforms and after the assumption of office by the Congress party, it is not at all necessary to separate the two functions. They made this statement in the clearest language, and that is the justification for this resolution. They are absolutely mistaken if they think that they are infallible. They say that now that the magistracy will be under the control of popular ministers, they will see that they behave properly. Well, peaceful citizens, I may say straight, require protection even against Congress government. The conduct of Congress politicians and of Congress men in the past has not been such as to justify a feeling in the people that in no circumstance they will be partial. Just look at the majority which they commanded and the influence which they wielded in the country, and yet they can hardly be accused of possessing what is called tolerance. With that

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record of the past, I would say that they are the last class of people to be entrusted with the impartial administration of justice through the magistracy.

Their another excuse is that financially they are not yet equipped to introduce this reform. I am not acquainted with the financial position of other provinces, but I can speak for the United Provinces. There the department of administration of justice is really a lucrative department. It brings more money than is spent on it and there cannot be any justification for delaying this reform.

Then, considering the importance of this reform, no such excuses can be justified. It does become necessary to tell them that the separation of these two functions, the judiciary and the executive, does not depend upon the form of government. Whatever may be the form of Government, whether it is popular or bureaucratic or despotic, in every case separation of these two functions is absolutely necessary for impartial administration of justice. In this connection I would take the liberty of quoting a passage from Henry Sidgwick where he says: "In determining a nation's rank in political civilisation, no test is more decisive than the degree in which justice, as defined by the law, is actually realised in its judicial administration, both as between one private citizen and another, and as between private citizens and members of the Government." I would also cite a passage from Professor Laski to show that this separation is essential whatever may be the form of Government. He says: "The doctrine of separation of powers enshrines a permanent truth. For it is obvious that if the executive could shape judicial decisions in accordance with its own desires, it would be the unlimited master of the State. The interpretation of the law must, therefore, be entrusted always to a body of persons whose will cannot be bound by the will of the executive. They must be able to call the executive to account" and so on. Further: "The concentration of the power to interpret the law in the same hands as the power to administer it has always historically been associated with tyranny. It was the characteristic hall-mark of Oriental despotism."

The real truth is that having got power the Congress Ministers want to utilise it for purposes which cannot be justified by the highest principles of jurisprudence or by the highest moral considerations underlying administration of law. They realised during bureaucratic rule the advantage of judicial power in the hands of the magistracy and the Madras premier made no secret of it when he said in a mathematical yet unmistakable language that by just opening the brackets the minus becomes plus. The fact is that they do want to take advantage of their power even in the sphere of judicial administration. That is not fair. Their rule of conduct seems to be 'heads we win, tails you lose'. When others are in power they will cry for civil liberty, they will cry for freedom. But when they are themselves in power they do not want to give it to others. I would only tell them that they should not forget the wholesome principle "Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you".

With these observations, gentlemen, I commend this resolution to you.

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Mr. S. N. Varma.

Mr. Mahbubul Huq (Bengal) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—taking my stand before the statue of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea I say that the ideals of Liberals are high and we need to stick to them. They do not want to tread the path of revolution, but they want something which is beneficial for the interests of all sections of the people of the country.

Resolution VI :
Mr. M. Huq.

Now let me turn to the resolution before us—separation of judicial from executive functions. This resolution is fraught with immense consequences. This question of separation of the executive from the judicial services engaged the attention of stalwarts of the Congress like Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and our great patriot, the father of Indian nationalism, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea. This was one of the main planks in the platform of the Congress, the agitation went on year after year, but it all fell flat on the authorities.

You all know that the High Court was the bulwark of the rights and liberties of the people of the land. The surest foundation of the High Court was Sec. 107 of the Government of India Act 1915. When the statutory powers vested in subordinate officers were exercised in a way not beneficial to the subject, the High Court invariably interfered, and in justice equity and good conscience redressed the grievances of the subject. But, unfortunately by the inclusion of sub-clause 2 in section 224 of the present Government of India Act of 1935 that inherent power of the High Court is taken away. So we are not in the land in which we lived some years before. We are altogether in a strange place and a strange land. Gentlemen, what is the position today of the High Court which we used to look upon as the highest tribunal in the land? The palladium of justice is brought down to a place of subordination to the Local Government (hear, hear). Whatever the legislature wants to pass in order to cripple the powers of the High Court the High Court has to obey. In fact and in substance the High Court is now reduced to a court of law, not a court of justice. It is a department of the Government of the province and not a place where you can expect unadulterated justice. The arm of justice can reach wherever it likes. That is the dictum which has lost much of its force nowadays on account of the obnoxious enactment of sec. 224 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Gentlemen, the position which once the Congress took up is now given up by the Ministers in the provinces where the poor electorates have given them enormous power by sending them to the Councils. The power with which they are clothed they are going to abuse. They are going to flout public opinion. But such things cannot continue, and the people who are the real custodians of power will one day assert themselves as did the French in the days previous to the Revolution. The Congress Ministers, particularly in Madras and

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U.P., are so much intoxicated with power that they are now overlooking the clear fact that there is nothing more pernicious than the system of combination of judicial and executive functions in the same officer. Can a magistrate divest himself of his executive character when he is called upon to prosecute a case? Certainly not. Similarly, the Deputy Magistrates are nothing but underlings to carry out what their superiors want them to do.

Therefore, it is up to us and up to every right-thinking patriot to see a complete separation of judicial and executive functions. There should be no rest in the land until and unless this consummation wished for for a long time is reached and we come to the promised land when pure justice will run supreme in its pristine glory.

The resolution on being put to vote was declared to have been carried.

VII. Education.

Resolution VII :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U.P.) moved :—

(a) Pending examination of the details of the scheme of education propounded at the Wardha Conference, the Federation views with alarm the decisions reached at the Conference, and in particular considers the proposal to make elementary education practically self-supporting to be entirely unpractical and calculated to subordinate the acquisition of culture to considerations of earning by children by their craft, and if persisted in, the Federation believes that it will put back the progress of the country.

(b) The Federation strongly disapproves of the proposal to change the Universities into merely examining bodies and is emphatically of the opinion that the progress of India is bound up with the development of our Universities as effective agencies for higher education and research.

He said : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—It has been the custom of our gatherings like this to consider the resolution on education as a practical formality, because up to now everybody appeared to be agreed about the need for the extension of education in all directions. But there is some special point to the resolution that is being proposed to-day, because we cannot but look with alarm on some recent pronouncements that have been made in various and important quarters in this country and in particular at the Wardha Conference.

Now, I have the highest respect for the gentlemen collected there who produced that report on education at Wardha. But I am often tempted to think that everybody poses himself to be an expert on education, and but I almost feel that some of the esteemable people collected there would not like their credentials to be very closely examined.

We have had in the hey-day of the non-co-operation movement a system of national education. Certain institutions were started to carry out the various ideas of national education, but at this time a very powerful microscope would be required to find out any remains of these experiments. I should have thought that if people had some new ideas they would try them out on a small scale, and if those ideas turned out successful, the whole country would have been only too glad to follow those ideas. But the framers of the Wardha scheme want to turn upside down the whole system of education in this country in their own way. We all agree that education has not spread as rapidly as it should. We also all agree that there may be many improvements that can be introduced into our educational system. But at the same time we agree that the path for reform is by improvement and not by an entire reconstruction of our educational structure.

Now, the framers of the Wardha scheme desire to do away with our old system of education, and in particular they have started this hare of self-supporting education. To my mind, pending of course the publication of the details of that report, which have not yet I suppose seen the light of day, and I am told also that when that report is going to be published some of the dissenting memoranda by such persons as Mr. K. T. Shah, are not going to be published along with that report, but I do not know whether that is true or not, I therefore speak pending this publication with all reserve, but from such details as have been supplied to the public in the newspapers, one should feel greatly alarmed at this advocacy of the so-called self-supporting education.

To my mind, it appears that this idea seems to have grown into the minds of its promoters from their keen advocacy of prohibition. They were sensible enough to understand that introduction of complete prohibition would mean the loss of some twenty crores of Rupees in the whole of India, and therefore economies would have to be made in certain other directions, and then they went about and saw that education was the thing most harmless in their way on which their axe could easily be laid, and therefore it appears that they started this idea of self-supporting education.

Now, it appears that if education, primary education, could be made self-supporting, it seems to us to be a wonder why all these esteemable people had been sleeping all these years. They are not all young men, in the beginning of their political career; they are old men, many of them. Why did they sleep all these years? The country would have welcomed any such scheme for the introduction of self-supporting education, and we should have had free and compulsory primary education all over the country by now, if education had been made self-supporting, and indeed nobody would have objected to any scheme of any extension of education. Well, it appears, however that they started with this idea, that they must economise on education in order to make way for their pet scheme of prohibition, and therefore they started this scheme of self-supporting education. Now, to my mind,

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it appears that to make little children of 6 to 11 or 14 even pay for their education by means of manual work is too fantastic for words. First of all, the crafts that they are going to be taught are not going to produce much in the way of material good, and the only craft that they have mentioned so far is spinning and perhaps also weaving. Now, it has been found that if a person were to work honestly at spinning for the whole day he probably would make about three annas a day of eight hours. I do not know whether children will be asked to work eight hours. But at any rate they are going to ask them to work for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours at this craft spinning. That would probably give them about four to five pice, if they could spin as a grown-up man would do. But I do not think that any child would bear to do this work for $3\frac{1}{2}$ mortal hours every day and earn this four pice a day in this manner. Remember that before he is able to do this he will have to be taught, and a large amount of material would have to be wasted before he begins to produce anything at all, and moreover it is a most dreadful and dull business, spinning after you have learned to do it. I remember a little experience of my own in spinning. A few years ago in the heyday of non-co-operation in 1922 I went to a school where I was told that they had made a special point of spinning in the school; they were not boys in primary schools, but boys in secondary schools; and I thought that I would go rather closely into the matter and asked them to show me the charkas and the amount of yarn that they had produced. They did not like this closer examination, but then I was shown the charkas which were kept in a godown, all covered with dust and the charkas had never been worked at all. Then I asked them to show me the yarn, and they showed me a few hundreds of yards of yarn as the product of the whole school.

To my mind, it appears that the children have a personality of their own, and a monotonous task like spinning for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours every day would be too much for any child to bear. We might talk eloquently about the poetry of spinning and the music of the *takti*, and all that, but I think that children will not enjoy that music or that poetry; and to say that after they have worked for $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours on the spinning, they would do their reading, writing and arithmetic, and all other cultural education, within the course of an hour or an hour and a half during the day is too ridiculous for words. All that I feel is that if this scheme is carried into execution, it will mean that the children will certainly not get any culture at all, and probably they would also be heartily sick if they are asked to do that in their later life.

Really speaking, you must remember that a child has got a mind of its own. There is a child's psychology, and no educationist can adopt measures which are opposed to child's psychology. The child, first of all, wants to be free, to be playful and in that way education has to be implanted in little children, and the best teacher is he who makes use of this playful nature of the child to implant ideas of education and culture into the child, and it would be difficult

to do this by the teaching of any craft at that early age. I quite agree that children should be encouraged to work with their hands. Probably in the villages a little garden might be provided for them in which small plots may be assigned to each, which they should consider their own and cultivate, or do similar things. But they should be such that the children would enjoy them. They should have a great deal of variety in doing their work, and not turning the *takli* or turning the charka. Moreover, children have a personality of their own, and it is that personality which has got to be developed by every educationist, and I am sure that a scheme of this nature is not going to develop that personality.

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What I think is that a vocational bias to education is desirable and even necessary. That bias has to be implanted in an indirect way through the medium of simple lessons on nature study, more preferably given through the means of their regular text books. They might have lessons in their ordinary reading books by means of which they could get ideas. The teacher might occasionally take them round to see various things in nature. They might be asked to collect some simple things, for which they would have to go about; and it is in these ways that a child's personality has got to be educated.

Moreover, when we educate a child to be literate and to develop its own personality, we do not wish to confine it to one particular craft. We want the child to be educated in such a manner that it can turn its hands to anything that might turn up later on. In all these ways I think the Wardha scheme appears on the face of it to be absolutely impracticable.

Moreover, supposing even a distinguished teacher like, shall we say, the Mahatma, were able to teach a child proper education through these crafts, how many Mahatmas would there be in this country? Even now one great difficulty in our educational system is the comparatively untrained nature of the teachers. For making a scheme like this a success, the teachers will have to be trained most systematically, and the cost of such training would be very great. Such teachers are not available, and at any rate they would be far more expensive. That is another point.

We are told that this education is going to be self-supporting. Now, it is well known throughout practically all parts of the country that our primary teachers are most miserably paid. A system like this contemplates even reducing the meagre emoluments that the teachers get at present. I know while I was in charge of Education in the Bombay Presidency, one of the great points was the complaint of the teachers that their remuneration was very low, and I in my days did what I could to increase their emoluments and in fact the Hartog Committee agreed that in Bombay Presidency the teachers are paid better than in any other part of India. If we want teachers of this type to give primary education in such a short period as an hour and a half, devoting $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours to their crafts, the teachers will have

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to be specially trained, will have to be paid very much more, instead of reducing their emoluments as contemplated in the scheme. I think, therefore, that a scheme like this to be introduced universally all at once, as some provinces appear to be contemplating, is not only not in the interests of the country, but will retard the progress of the country very seriously. The progress of the country depends upon proper education and thorough literacy of the whole people of the country. We have given them political rights. We therefore want to see that they are properly educated. The world is humming with industrial rivalry. In order to make our people better able to compete in the world markets, in the world competition, they must be better trained and better educated all round, and for this purpose not only should we not think of making primary education self-supporting, but we should be prepared to spend even much more than what we are doing at present. Therefore, when we are told that primary education is going to be made self-supporting, I do not think there can be anything more ridiculous than a conception of this sort.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I would like really to see this experiment tried. Let Heaven help the children who are going to be the victims of that experiment! But I would rather have the experiment carried on, say a hundred children, than have it carried on simultaneously on 50 millions of children in the whole country. I therefore would like the framers of the scheme to try that scheme out on a village or two, which are willing to try that scheme. Then we shall see the result of that experiment. But in the meanwhile to say that our education could be made self-supporting is, in my opinion, altogether absurd.

Then the second point, to which the resolution refers, is about university education. We have now various tirades against university education and higher education, and education through English. We are told that our system of higher education is entirely wrong, that one of the greatest enemies of Indian progress was Macaulay by whose advocacy the present system of education was practically introduced into this country. There again I am not here to say that our present system of higher education is entirely right. I do not say that no changes are required in that system. As a matter of fact changes have been continually made gradually. But to pull that system out by the root and put in its place another system is not, I believe, the proper way to go about. Everything in nature and everything in social institutions grows best by a system of evolution rather than by a system of revolution, and I am not prepared to accept any system which means a revolution, which means an entire cutting off of all contact with the past, instead of a gradual development of what has been going on at present. Our Universities, when they started eighty years ago, the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, were merely examining bodies. In the beginning they did very good work because the seed had to be sown. A large number of educated people did grow up. But it was

soon found that the first object of getting people to take offices in Government service was amply fulfilled after a short time. Young men, and later on young women, flocked into our colleges and appointments and jobs were not ready for the products of these Universities, and consequently a good deal of discontent arose and is growing in strength. Well, on that account there has been a good deal of discontent against the system of higher education. But the way to remedy the evils is not to do away with that system of higher education. It is not to close our Universities, but to make our Universities better, to make our education even better and even more comprehensive than it is.

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Now, what does the Wardha scheme contemplate about Universities? I have just said that in the beginning the Universities were merely examining bodies. Lord Curzon, in spite of certain deficiency in the Act which he passed, did really a good thing in giving the Universities at least the optional power of starting teaching branches and your Calcutta University is a great example of what could be done by go-ahead educational reformers, like the late lamented Sir Ashutosh Mukherji. The Calcutta University is a very good example of what could be done under even the imperfect Universities Act of Lord Curzon. Other Universities have been started since. There are several Universities which are of a teaching type, and people think, at any rate they thought, that the Universities, instead of merely being examining bodies, should themselves undertake and encourage in every possible way the promotion of research and higher education. Well, now, our Wardha sponsors are going to tell us that all this is a mistake; that the Universities need be only examining bodies. What will happen is that all the colleges will have to be closed. In every place there will be a certain number of crammers, who will go through notes to pass their examinations. And that is what these esteemable gentlemen would call higher or University education. That is not my idea of higher or University education. Higher or University education is one by which the higher faculties of the individual are developed, by which a man is able to put his hand to anything, any new thing, and use his brains to work out any new problems that come up before him. If that is to be done, we have got to encourage University education and Universities by encouraging their research branches, not economising on University education, but by spending far more than is done at present.

Ladies and gentlemen, if these are the new ideas which are going to be worked out under our new system of government, by our new rulers, I think nothing can be worse for the progress of the country. Remember India is known abroad by the way in which our own eminent people in science or literature or any other branch take their place in the company of the great savants of the world. It is a man like Sir J. C. Bose or Sir C. V. Raman that really has given India its place in the scientific world. It is people like Bhandarkar and others that give its place in the matter of oriental research. It is in this way that India can occupy a place in the

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estimation of the world of culture and learning. But examining Universities with their flood of crammers scattered all over will do away with all these things. A number of books or rather notebooks, or rather points from those notebooks, would be all that is required, because after all crammers can always outdo any examiner. This I know by experience. If a man is determined to pass an examination anyhow, he will somehow or other try to outdo the examiners. What is intended by higher education is that while they are preparing for these examinations these examinations ought not to loom too large in the life of the students. It is the way in which they get their higher education that is far more important than even the passing of the examinations, and it would be turning the hand of the clock backwards if we are concentrating more and more upon mere passing of examinations by means of cramming than on real sound education. Thorough education will require a vast number of very learned people who will be doing their best not only to teach but to advance science and research. By this system, however, all this fine vista, which we hope will soon be reached in this country, will all be closed to our view, and I am sorry for the future of our India if this is going to be the ideal which our political leaders are going to put before us.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken strongly on this subject because I feel strongly. I have worked all my life in the cause of education and I shall be indeed really sorry if in future that education is going to be distorted in this way. The whole system is going to be broken down, and India is going to fall to the level of little children turning their *talki* and grownup people merely cramming up notes. I think this is a prospect, which, at any rate, I do not cherish, and I hope this Liberal Federation will cherish it neither.

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Mr. M. D. Altekhar.

Mr. M. D. Altekhar (Bombay) :—Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen,—you have just listened to the speech of a great educationist. After what he has said upon this subject, very little remains to be said except to agree with him in the condemnation of this wonderful new educational scheme which is looming so large before the country at the present time.

We remember very well with what pride we looked upon some of our men who have made a name in Western countries for their scholarship and research. I remember as a young boy to have read about the eminent gentleman who spoke just now and about his great success at Cambridge and how we felt proud of him. Dr. Paranjpye has been followed by many others in securing the great honour of standing first at the Cambridge Tripos, and what we now want is that India should be a great centre of knowledge and education where students from abroad will come to learn at the feet of professors here. That dream cannot be realised by turning our Universities into mere examining bodies. They are examining bodies and they have been examining bodies.

Till the 31st March 1937 our complaint against the old Government was that they did not spend enough money on education. In the old days the late Mr. Gokhale bitterly complained that only a very small proportion of the income of the Government was devoted to education. It is the duty of the State to spend a large amount on sanitation and education and the idea of making sanitation and education self-supporting is nothing else but an idea to make Government irresponsible. If Government is not going to spend on sanitation and education, what we call nation-building activities, on what are they going to spend ?

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It is said they want money for introducing prohibition. Every one of us wants that the drink evil should be checked. But there again if political dictatorship is bad, moral dictatorship is worse. Human beings are not going to be improved by moral dictators, because moral dictators are usually mad men who are fascinated by their own ideas of right and wrong and try to impose them on others. When they are successful military leaders they become dictators ; when they are not dictators they become great Sadhus. But in every case there is "zoolum" in the whole idea.

This question of education is really a serious matter for our country. For several years we have complained that India is not educated. Englishmen have told us that we are not fit for Swaraj because we are not properly educated. We were hoping that as a result of the elections we shall have people returned to the legislatures, who, whether they belonged to this party or that, would at any rate be nationalists, and that these nationalists would consider it their first duty to divert a large proportion of the income of the Government to education. But to our great surprise we find that the axe is going to be applied to education in order to find money for certain other things. It is needless to point out that if a man is educated, if he is wise, he will know that he must not drink. He must be provided with this "Jnanam", and we insist that expenditure on education, which is the means of imparting this "Jnanam", should not be curtailed.

Primary education requires a good deal of expenditure. It cannot be made self-supporting. It is the duty of every State to spend money on each little child under its charge for his education. It is also the duty of parents, such parents as can afford it, to spend money for this purpose on their children. If you are going to insist that every child must earn enough to pay for its education by doing some kind of work, I do not know why parents there should be. You can have the ideal society which Professor Bertrand Russell speaks about in which the business of the parents will be only to bring out children ; and the moment they are brought out the parents will be free to do what they like and the children will be in the hands of the State which will look after them. But, unfortunately or fortunately, Professor Bertrand Russell says in his book that that kind of society may develop after a long time. For the present we have to deal with

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society as it is. Parents must spend something on their children, and the State must spend a good portion of its income upon education. Therefore, this idea of making education self-supporting is a fantastic idea. As Dr. Paranjpye has said, they may try this scheme in a few villages, and if the experiment is successful, there will be some data to go by. But for the present we want an extension of education and more money to be spent on it.

With regard to higher education I have one word to say. In this modern world where we have to compete with modern forces with up-to-date appliances, it is no use talking about old things. They won't answer our purpose to-day. For instance, the great Sivaji of my own province fought in those days with swords and other things. But these will be of no avail to-day, because before the modern weapons the old ones are absolutely powerless. The same with regard to knowledge. We want up-to-date knowledge of things. Thousands of our young men have got to be sent abroad in order to acquire knowledge in various subjects. It is the duty of the Governments of this country to stop this unnecessary waste of money and make arrangements for their training in this country. Enormous amounts of money are required for this purpose.

Higher education is not an inexpensive proposition, and you cannot solve this difficult question by simply ordering that all the Universities shall become examining bodies.

We are much backward in scientific education. If Calcutta has one great laboratory and one eminent scientist like the late Sir Jagadish Bose, we must remember that in European countries there are University towns where dozens of such eminent men in science are to be found. That is a state of things we want to bring about in our country. Therefore, our request to those eminent men who are advocating this new scheme of education is this—for God's sake do not do anything which will retard the progress of education in this country.

The next point is that people who have got certain fixed ideas with regard to certain matters should not try to force those ideas upon others in the way they are seeking to do. If we have to introduce any change in our educational system, it should be brought about by people who are competent to deal with the matter. We know that under the old regime and even under the new regime Ministers are put in charge of subjects not always because they understand them. But, of course, there are exceptions, just as Dr. Paranjpye was the Minister for Education and not for something else. The point I wish to make is that the fact that a person is the Minister of a certain subject does not necessarily mean that he knows it very well, and that for political amateurs to decide upon serious questions of educational policy is rather dangerous (hear, hear). These sponsors of the Wardha education scheme are great men. I pay my homage to them as great men of my country. At the same time, just as when I want medical advice I would go to a doctor and not to Dr. Paranjpye, so also in matters of educational policy we should be guided by the advice of educationists.

Besides the need for curtailing expenditure on education in order, as has been suggested, to pay for prohibition, I suspect there is another thing at the back of the mind of the framers of the Wardha scheme. It is this. If dictatorship of one kind or another is to flourish, you cannot afford to allow people to be thinking men and thinking women. The best way to achieve that end is to cut at the root of education. Whether it is Bolshevism in Russia or Fascism in Italy, you will find the one idea there is to turn all education into propaganda, and I very much suspect that the idea of these people at Wardha is to reduce this country to a condition under which dictatorship of one kind or another may prevail.

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There is on the agenda a resolution condemning dictatorships. We belong to the Liberal party and stand for individual liberty to a large extent. I do not see why I as a parent should accept another man's authority beyond a certain limit in regard to matters which concern the education and training of my children (hear, hear). If a certain system is subscribed to by common consent of educational experts as suitable to the needs of children, that system will be acceptable to all. Vocational bias I can understand. But the trouble about unemployment is not this that every one of us cannot get a living wage of 2 or 3 annas a day. The whole trouble is that various classes of people with their various standards want various rates of emoluments, and this difficulty cannot be solved by making people work for 2 or 3 hours a day to earn 2 or 3 annas. It may be very good exercise for fat people and rich people and their ladies at home. Let them work the Charka. As for others let them do something better.

With these words I beg to second the proposal.

The resolution on being put to vote was declared to have been carried.

VIII. Communism and Fascism.

Prof. J. R. Banerjea (Bengal) Moved :—

Convinced as it is that the best interests of India will be promoted by a constitutional system of government, in which the government is responsible to the people as represented in the legislature, the National Liberal Federation of India is strongly opposed to communistic as well as totalitarian ideas as being detrimental to the well-being and advancement of the people.

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He said : Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—Here two fundamental principles are laid down, and the first is one about which much has been said to-day. So far as the government that can appeal to the people at large is concerned, it must be the government of the people by the people and for the people, and therefore it must be government of the people by their elected

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representatives in the legislature and unless and until that is kept steadily in view as the goal, in future there can be really no progress, no advancement so far as political progress goes. On that point we are all agreed. But at the same time we have to bear in mind that there are certain tendencies at the present time and these tendencies unless checked, unless warned against, will go a long way towards bringing about the break up of society and thereby alienating people from those ideas to which they have been so long used or accustomed. First of all, when we consider communism, that danger, it seems to me Sir, is a present danger, for what is communism after all? Communism means after all, though it has been presented in different shapes and forms, that there is to be no right of individual property, no right which we call legal ownership of property or anything of that kind. That means a violent rupture with the past, that means a violent break with the society and with the conceptions of society and government to which people have been wedded so long; and therefore, it cannot be really something in the interests of growth or advancement, for, believe me when I say that society is something that grows. As a great statesman put it and put it in one of his ever memorable works, "When you find that society requires a change, or the State requires a change, do not introduce what may be called wholesale revolution, for that will be equivalent to making a rupture with the past; it will not be good for the society or the State in question." I have not quoted his exact words, but given you the substance of what he said. But I shall now quote his very words in this context: "Remove only the peccant part." Peccant part means the sinning part, that is, remove only the defective part, so that naturally the thing may grow. It is not by bringing about the death of the old organism but by making the organism grow that nature proceeds, and in that respect it proceeds slowly and gradually. But if once communistic ideas are introduced, and the government that we are familiar with, whatever may be its present imperfections and defects, at any rate so far as the provinces are concerned it means government of the people, by the people, and in the interests of the people to a great extent, if that is swept away, the inevitable result will be that society will not grow, and people will simply find that the very roots of society have been torn up, and instead of evolution there will be really destruction; there will be a revolution which will amount to destruction of everything which is calculated to bring about the good of the people.

As regards the other thing against which we want to warn people, what is that? That has been in the heading put down as Fascism, and in the body of the resolution which I have moved it has been called by another name Totalitarianism. But what is that Totalitarianism with which we are familiar all these days? So far as Totalitarianism is concerned, it is only a synonym for what might be called absolutism, dictatorship, nothing short of that. Some man tries to concentrate power in his hands and says that he is working in the interests of his nation. That may be all very well to say. But, believe me when I say that he is obsessed by certain ideas which cannot be

quite right, and far from producing even what he might think of as the good of his nation, will work in an opposite direction. Even in these totalitarian systems and ideas we find a particular conception implanted which I would like to expose and expose in the fullest manner. It is simply this, namely, that a particular nation only is thought of at the expense of other nations. Therefore the basal idea which is at the bottom of it is, my nation only is to become great, to have colonies, colonial expansion, and other nations and their rights have to be trampled under foot. That is a conception to which no man in his sober senses could reconcile himself for a moment. Therefore considering the fact that in the words of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, a former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, a jurist of world-wide reputation, known throughout the world by the great books which he wrote—though it is true that on some points his books require some revision—in the words of that great jurist I would say that the movement of progressive societies has been a movement from status to contract. But what is the idea underlying contract?—the rights of individuals, the rights of parties; and these rights are surely to be trampled under foot, so far as Communism is concerned, so far as Fascism, or as it is called by some other name, goes. Therefore what I am seeking to put before you this evening is simply this idea, which ought to dominate your mind, that in the rural areas we find communistic doctrine preached now, and communism is a terror, a menace, not only to the aristocracy, not only to the zemindars, as it has been sometimes put, but it is certainly a menace to the classes and masses, to all, because it tries to take away individual rights and to introduce a rupture with the society of the past, which will never be calculated to bring about the highest advancement and the development of the nation. Fascism or Totalitarianism seeks to concentrate power in the hands of one man who becomes the dictator and looks only to the interests of his own nation and tramples under foot the rights of other nations. Now we find by a study of Nature that the wheels of time were not made to roll backwards, from the birth of time a current has set in and it is carrying the sons of men and nations to their destined goal. Movements like Communism and Fascism are movements which are calculated simply to put the hands back on the dial of progress, to stand in the way of self-expression and self-realisation of every nation on the face of the earth. Therefore we must try to put down these things as strongly as we can.

I have therefore pleasure in moving the resolution.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U.P.): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish very strongly to support the resolution which has just been moved. This resolution is in the nature of a warning to all our countrymen. Our Liberal Federation stands firmly upon the principle of responsible democratic government, and therefore it warns people against going too far on one side or on the other, and this resolution has been moved this afternoon because we see signs in the country of a propaganda in one direction or the other, and as it often happens

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that extremes meet, so we often see the same person showing signs both of one or the other characteristic. As a democrat and a liberal, I firmly believe in the gradual development of our social institutions, I am not hidebound by tradition and I am always prepared to welcome, sometimes even in advance, certain desirable changes in our social and economic institutions when they are necessary or in the event of their being soon necessary. But those changes have to be gradual, evolutionary, and not revolutionary. Now, the revolutionary mentality is being encouraged in our country. The basis of the institution of property has some elements which are firmly embedded in human nature, although the old doctrine of *laissez faire* was carried to ridiculous lengths and allowed to create evils, and consequently the State had to interfere in many ways, for instance, in passing labour legislation, in passing various other desirable legislation, and those methods were of an evolutionary character, gradual change of old institutions to new. But in our country there are a certain number of people who are looking on the one hand to Moscow, and on the other hand to Rome and Berlin, and I desire to deprecate both these tendencies. I do not desire to follow blindly either Moscow or Rome and Berlin. As a matter of fact, curiously enough, I see signs that some people, while they are talking of Moscow, have their eyes really fixed on Berlin and Rome, and while they are talking of Communism, they are really talking of dictatorship for themselves. I am particularly grieved to find that in the Congress organisation these tendencies are getting more and more prominent. Take for instance the case of these various Provincial Governments. One would have thought that in a system of democracy the members elected would have been responsible to the electorate, that the Legislatures would carry on according to the ideas of the elected members, who are ultimately responsible to their electorates. What, however, do we find? We find the claim seriously made that the Governments of the various provinces are responsible only to the Congress Working Committee, and the Congress Working Committee have appointed a certain number of super-dictators who are to keep the various Provincial Governments in leading strings and always to hold them back. Now, I think, that that is not a proper conception of responsible democratic government. I want the Ministers to carry on their work according to the wishes of their electorates and not according to a caucus sitting at Wardha or wandering about various provincial centres at various times. The needs of the various provinces are different; each Legislature is entitled to consider what is best for its own province; and while people might come together who are generally agreed upon principles of action, the detailed carrying out of those principles must be left entirely to them. On the other hand, in our country we are finding one person sitting pulling the strings over the Governments of Bombay and Sind and Madras and Central Provinces, and another for Behar and Bengal, and another for U.P. and Punjab, and so on. Now, that is a thing which, to my mind, smacks but too much of the nature of a dictatorship, and a dictator, however eminent he may be, however good hearted he may be, I am not prepared to trust under any

circumstance because India does not want a dictator, just as it does not want a reorganisation of society by a caucus under communistic model, by revolutionary methods. I quite agree that our institutions have got to change, that socialistic ideas have got to govern us more and more (Hear, hear), that certain public activities should be brought under the control of the State because they could not always be left in the hands of private persons. But I want as much liberty left to the people as it is possible to do in the best interests of the people themselves. Neither communistic ideology nor totalitarian ideology will be one which will commend itself to people of liberal principles (Hear, hear), and this resolution is intended as a warning against both these ideologies, each of which will end in ultimate harm to the country.

I have therefore very great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Mr. M. D. Shahane (C. P.) : Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—In asking the President's permission to speak on this resolution I was not quite sure whether I was doing the right thing, because as a liberal and a democrat by instinct I thoroughly agree with the view that no single person, whether he is a popular dictator or a military dictator, should be allowed to shape the destinies of a nation. But I felt that there was a likelihood of this resolution being misunderstood by the Governments at present ruling over us as a sanction given to them by the Liberal Federation to resort to laws and measures and regulations which this Federation has been condemning for the last twenty years. I would like to give you a short resume of the different resolutions passed by the Liberal Federation on these matters. (Mr. President: People have those resolutions in their minds. You need not recapitulate them.) Only a minute, Mr. President. In the second session of the Liberal Federation we passed a resolution against Martial Law in the Punjab and a resolution condemning the Indian Press Act in the third session. We condemned the non-co-operation movement on grounds similar to those on which we condemn communistic and totalitarian ideas, namely, that they tend to destroy individual freedom of action and speech, and therefore in supporting this resolution I wish to make it clear that the Indian National Federation, true to its traditions of democratic ideals, would not support, as I hope all of you will agree with me, any action which will be taken, which is likely to curb individual freedom of action and speech. The method to meet Communism or Fascism is not to resort to a third type of Fascism, Communism or Totalitarianism. Let us not pass a resolution in this historic place, in this capital of a province whose youth has suffered untold miseries for their ideals and ideas. Let us not pass a resolution which is likely to tend to strengthen the hands of those reactionaries in some very popular governments who want to resort to measures which they themselves have condemned before coming into power. Therefore in passing this resolution let it be made clear that there is this proviso that the resolution does not sanction measures which will check individual freedom of action and speech and association. If a communist wants to spread his ideas

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he must be allowed to spread his ideas within the law. There are ordinary laws which are against the teaching of abolition and destruction of society. But I think, Sir, that this is too important a matter to be allowed to go by default, and I will not take much of your time and try your patience, but I want to make it clear again and again that this resolution does not sanction arbitrary and terroristic activities even on the part of popular governments against Communists and Fascists.

The Resolution on being put to vote was declared to have been carried.

IX Economic Development.

Resolution IX :
Mr. K. G.
Sivaswamy

Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy (Madras) moved :—

(a) The Federation re-affirms resolution No. 9 of its Nagpur Session of 1935 on Agricultural Indebtedness and its resolution No. 8 of its last session on Economic development.

(b) The Federation suggests the constitution in the Centre and in the Provinces of Economic Boards to investigate schemes of development both for urban and rural areas and advise on the lines of advance in respect of agriculture as well as industries.

(c) The Federation urges the appointment of Trade Agents for India at all important Asiatic, European, African, and American countries with a view to establish trade contacts and explore new fields for the expansion of Indian Commerce.

He said : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—The resolution which I have the honour to move relates to the economic development of the country. It relates really to the problem of the vast millions of our masses who either are living on a subsistence level or below subsistence level. That is the condition in which we find rural India today. Yesterday at the Subjects Committee I wanted to implement the resolution passed last year at Lucknow by detailing the lines on which this resolution should be carried out.

The President.

The President : You must not refer to anything that happened in the Subjects Committee. You cannot mention it here.

Mr. Sivaswamy.

Mr. Sivaswamy : I am sorry. I will address myself to the resolution as it is before you. I would like, Sir, to refer to the various details, to the various principles and the methods that were outlined in the Lucknow resolution. Unless I explain those points it will not be possible for the delegates here to fully understand the implications of the resolution.

The Lucknow resolution, in the the first place, commits us Liberals that we should always support a policy for achieving fixity of tenure for tenants. The Congress Ministries are attempting it in

some provinces and in others they are not yet attempting it. The problem of tenants has really got complicated in several ways. With the development of irrigation and with the growth of pressure of population on land, even areas which are called Ryotwari are suffering today from evils of landlordism. In Bombay certain members of the legislature have brought a bill called the Koth Bill in order to give fixity of tenure to tenants in the coastal districts of that province. We who have been committed to this policy of fixity of tenure ought to do our best to see that such a measure is passed in Bombay. In Madras while a Parliamentary committee has been appointed to enquire into the condition of the tenants in zemindari areas, the Government does not seem to think of the evils of landlordism in Ryotwari areas which have grown recently. In U.P. the problem of the tenantry is being tackled by the present ministry as the basis of experience already gained. We all know that the Tenancy Acts came very early into operation in Upper India. Every one of these Acts permits the accrual of occupancy rights if a tenant occupies a land for 12 years. Therefore, even a good landlord, in order not to lose his own land, always likes to evade the 12 years. He always likes to defeat the purpose of the clause by ejecting a tenant before 12 years. He has to do it reluctantly so that he may keep to the form of the law. In all these provinces there is the problem of the under-ryot who has been given no fixity of tenure, and as a result of which any benefit arising out of rents goes to an absentee superior landlord rather than to the working cultivator on the soil. Again, either by escheat or ejectment, Bakast land or lands which were cultivated by landlords accumulate to such size, that we cannot call them lands which can be cultivated by the landlords. We have to mark the line between Ryoti land and the land of the landlords.

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These are the problems to which the various Governments are addressing themselves, and we, who have committed ourselves to this policy of fixity of tenure at Lucknow, have a great duty to discharge by urging these principles on the various legislatures.

Let me take the question of fair rents. In many provinces, particularly in Madras, there is no regulation to fix fair rents. It is based on customary rents and the Court has no power to interfere with what is called customary rents which are changing from area to area. The principle of fair rents, which has been adopted in Upper India, in Bihar or in U.P., ought to be applied also to those provinces where we do not have it.

The third point of policy which we decided upon at Lucknow relates to fragmentation and consolidation of holdings. It will be a matter for surprise for any economist, that India is an example today of the existence of a large number of deficit holdings which not only maintain the cultivator but pay the land revenue to the Government and rent to the landlord and interest charges to the money-lender. That is a situation which we have to trackle. We have wisely resolved upon the need for the sizing of uneconomic holdings to the size of economic holdings, and that takes us to the problem of seeing that

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Sivaswamy.

they are not made divisible, while we may allow a share in the income to the co-sharers.

We have also passed a resolution relating to agricultural indebtedness. One resolution was passed at Nagpur in which we approved of the objects underlying the various debt relief legislations, but we also said that a mere liquidation of debt, unless followed by the establishment of a credit machinery, will defeat the object in view. In Lucknow we stated that along with these measures we require debt conciliation boards, mortgage banks, and the extension of the co-operative movement. We approved of the objects of these legislations that were passed in the several provinces when we passed the resolution at Nagpur.

Now, what are the objects of these laws? One of the laws called the Agricultural Relief Act passed in U.P. makes it obligatory on Courts to grant instalments in the case of suits against agriculturists. Agricultural credit being a non-recurring credit in a country of subsistence holders who require little credit for running expenses, agricultural credit being mainly for purposes which cannot be repaid from annual incomes, the principle of instalments is a concomitant of agricultural banking. Again, these laws have provided that as regards the small man, credit should be restricted to 20 years mortgage, so that the land may not pass out of his hands. Again, we have committed ourselves, in approving of the objects of these legislations, that a small holder need not pay more than five instalments, need not pay more than two rentals in the year, which are the principles which underlie the U. P. Temporary Execution of Decrees Act.

We have committed ourselves to the principle of sale of land at fair price. We have committed ourselves to all these principles, and it is our duty to press these lines of reform on the legislatures of the various provinces in order that maximum results may be obtained from such debt relief legislation.

As regards land revenue, there is a need to make it low in the case of the small man, to make it graded, just as income-tax is graded, in the case of different classes of agriculturists. There is a need for the separation of the irrigation cess.

As regards establishment of agricultural banks, it is impossible to establish them all over India in one day. They will have to be supplemented by licensing the money lenders and by recognising the existing co-operative societies as agencies for rural credit.

Even when all this is done, agriculture has to be made profitable, which suffers from the risks of failure of crops and of cattle epidemics. Insurance schemes will have to be explored in this connection. It will be necessary to promote subsidiary occupations. It will be necessary to think of colonization schemes. Unless in these ways we augment the resources of the ryot, we may not be able to increase his credit to a degree when the agricultural banks will be able to finance them fully.

Mr. Shroff, when he seconded the resolution last year, referred to a very important point which I would like to emphasise...

Resolution IX :
Mr. K. G.
Sivaswamy.

The President : Why not leave it for him ?

The President.

Mr. Sivaswamy : He may not give that importance to the point which I wish to give. He says we Liberals are not afraid of inroads into property rights. He referred to the £60,000,000 of death duty collected every year in a capitalistic country like England. He also referred to the efforts of Sir Cowasji Jehangir in the Assembly with regard to the limitation of the period of managing agencies. The point which Mr. Shroff made was that not that we were afraid of inroads into property rights, but that we were afraid of inroads into property rights by unconstitutional methods. We take our stand on getting these things done through the constituted legislatures of the country, and if the improvement of the masses requires dispossession of a few here and there, I do not think we Liberals are afraid of it.

Mr. Sivaswamy.

We hope, Sir, that on these lines our Liberal friends everywhere will carry on propaganda in the several provinces and try to achieve as much as possible for the economic development of the millions of our people on lines "bold and far-reaching", to quote the words of the Lucknow resolution.

Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—The programme for economic development in the country was laid down in the resolution we adopted last year. I think, therefore, we are acting very wisely in suggesting an effective and businesslike measure of making some progress towards the fulfilment of that programme, and part (b) of the resolution suggests the constitution in the Centre and in the Provinces of Economic Boards to investigate schemes of development both for urban and rural areas and advise on the lines of advance in respect of agriculture as well as industries. There are certain provinces to-day which have Ministers of Industries and Directors of Industries. I have a little experience as to how these things are going on in one province, and that is Bombay. In spite of all the enthusiasm the Director of Industries brings to bear on his work, his office is so poorly equipped with information and knowledge that he has not been able to render much useful help to the promotion of new industries or to the expansion of the existing industries. I think what is intended by part (b) of the resolution is that if an Economic Council were formed at the Centre and if similar Councils were formed in the different provinces with co-ordinating agencies, a good deal of progress could be achieved. Owing to the lateness of the hour I would refrain from putting a few ideas before you, but I think that what we should like to have done in the fulfilment of the economic programme that we adopted last year is that this Economic Council should engage themselves in developing schemes for promoting new industries, for suggesting suitable sites for industries, for tackling very important problems like freight problems which determine the existence of several industries, for exchanging information with different

Resolution IX :
Mr. A. D. Shroff.

Resolution IX :
Mr. A. D. Shroff.

provinces of India, for supplying the information as to the working of industries abroad, and there are a number of other ways in which an Economic Council, if properly worked through experienced hands, might result in providing opportunities for furthering the industrial progress of the country.

Part (c) of the resolution urges the appointment of Trade Agents for India at important centres in different parts of the world. It is a matter of some satisfaction that the Government of India has recently taken some action and appointed a few more agents. We should like to see more Agents of this character established at important centres of the world. But in making these appointments if the Government of India paid a little more attention to the commercial training and bias of the men appointed, these appointments should really prove very helpful to us.

With these words I commend this resolution for your acceptance.

**The resolution on being put to vote was declared to
have been unanimously carried.**

X. Boundaries of Bengal

Resolution X :
Rai Bahadur
N. N. Mukerjee.

Rai Bahadur Nagendra Nath Mukerjee (Bengal) moved :—

The National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that the boundaries of Bengal should be readjusted by inclusion within that province of certain districts which formerly formed part of it.

He said : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—The day has passed and the evening has come on, and the best thing that I could do at this moment is to commend this resolution by reading it without inflicting a further speech upon you because that would not be relished by any one in this house at this late hour, sitting from 12 noon up to 6 o'clock, and it is a provincial question only, which affects Bengal, and I am thankful to the President of this House for allowing this motion to be placed before the House, which affects only Bengal. If this is carried we will only be comforted with the idea that the rest of India feels along with us. We feel very keenly that we have been deprived of some of the districts which formerly belonged to Bengal. When the Reforms were on the anvil and were in the making discussed, we were under the impression that the provinces would be reconstituted, and the result of that was that two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, were formed, and Bengal was not touched at all. We only want, Sir, that Sylhet, Manbhum and Singbhum should come into the province of Bengal. Before I sit down I only wish to make one observation. In the morning Sir Cowasji Jehangir advised us the Liberals to have the courage to say what we mean. But I should say that that has sounded the death-knell of the Liberals at the polls. I should say that it is better for us to say what we do not mean and to act in a way which we don't approve. If

we can do that, then it would be time for us Liberals to take our stand in the country again.

Resolution X :
Rai Bahadur
N. N. Mukerjee.

I do not wish to further trouble you with anything more. I commend this resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. M. N. Sen (Bengal) :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, as a Bengali I have naturally much pleasure in seconding this resolution, and I must say this much that I am very thankful to this House for allowing this motion to be brought.

Resolution X :
Mr. M. N. Sen.

Mr. L. N. Sahu (Orissa) :—I have a doubt in my mind about this resolution. It says that the boundaries of Bengal should be readjusted by inclusion within that province of certain districts which formerly formed part of it. I want to know how this can be effected. Suppose we pass this resolution here. Who is the body to decide which district should be included again in Bengal? Unless we decide that, the resolution is of no value.

Resolution X :
Mr. L. N. Sahu.

The President :—We are only laying down the principle.

The President.

**The resolution was put to vote and declared to have been carried,
one person dissenting.**

At this stage the chief minister of Bengal, HON. MR. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ, entered and took his seat next to the President.

XI. Indian Medical Service.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao (Madras) moved :—

Resolution XI :
Rao Bahadur
Dr. C. B. Rama
Rao.

The National Liberal Federation of India strongly condemns the present policy of Government as regards the Indian Medical Service and considers that the only proper solution of the question is (1) the organization of the Indian Medical Service as an exclusively military service which should not be used in civil administration, (2) the constitution from the ranks of private medical practitioners of a reserve of medical men for employment in times of military emergency, (3) the recruitment of the military service thus constituted by open competition in India alone, and (4) the placing of the civil medical services in the provinces entirely under the control of provincial Governments both as regards recruitment and employment.

He said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—At this late hour I do not propose to make a speech although my heart is full of facts and figures to substantiate the implications of this resolution which has been very ably drafted. I heartily support it. Being a medical man and having spent all my life in it, I can assure you that the so-called provincial autonomy would be meaningless and an anomaly if the Provincial Ministers in charge of the medical portfolio have no power over the Indian Medical officers who are employed in their respective provinces. As a matter of fact, they are powerless in dealing with

Resolution XI :
Dr. C. B. Rama
Rao.

them just as in the past. To call it Provincial Autonomy and not give power to the Ministers to control the working of their departments is to say the least most unsatisfactory. I do not know how this idea of the Indian Medical Service arose. It must have sprung in good old days when the Indian medical colleges had not developed. There might have been a justification for bringing European medical men to fill the offices to control the hospitals of our country, about fifty years ago. But during the last fifty years, I know, having been a teacher of medicine for 15 years, what rapid progress in every imaginable direction has been made and how experts have sprung up in every part of the country. I know the names of the eminent doctors, whom you may have heard of such as Sir Nilratan Sircar and late Dr. Kedar Nath Das. In Bombay we have got Dr. Jeveraj Mehta, who stood first in first class in the London M.D. examination and Drs. Rao and Deshmukh, in Madras the two Swamys, Lakshmanaswamy and Guruswamy, to sit at whose feet even doctors all the way from the Punjab have gone because they have become acknowledged masters of their respective subjects. In this way I can go on mentioning the names of brilliant medical men in India and a long list of them. They are available in India not by dozens but by hundreds scattered all over the country, and thousands of young medical graduates are finding it difficult to eke out their living. It is not merely injustice but positive cruelty that has been inflicted upon us medical men as a body to import unwanted European I.M.S. officers to India.

I do not want to prolong my speech, ladies and gentlemen, suffice it to say that our countrymen are quite competent to run the medical services without any foreign help at present, and therefore I heartily propose this resolution.

Resolution XI :
Mr. S. N. Roy.

Mr. S. N. Roy (Bengal):—Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I am not a medical man but I have been entrusted with this resolution. I will, therefore, speak as a layman. (A voice : You are interested in medical education and institutions). As my friend whsipers, I am connected by virtue of my birth with medical education and also with medical service. Be that as it may, we started when the sun was up and high, and it has hidden itself from us now. Therefore, I will not take up much of your time. Sir Chimanlal has driven us very fast and we must be lacking now in energy. Exhausted we feel, and our driver also must be feeling more so.

The point is this, that the Indian Medical Service is a covenanted service, and the first condition of the service is that its members are bound to go to the field whenever called upon. I have no wrangle about that. Let there be a number of I.M.S. men, as many as are required for the entire army in India. Beyond that not one.

With regard to the introduction of I.M.S. men into civil departments of the medical service, I would say most emphatically that that is not needed at all. The fact is that these gentlemen who are taken for the army are sent to the civil department, and their pay

and emoluments are drawn from and made a charge upon the ordinary sources of revenue.

Resolution XI :
Mr. S. N. Roy.

Then, it has been found that there are very eminent men in the country who can compete with any I.M.S. man. I.M.S. men put in medical charge of districts find they cannot compete with persons practising in the districts who become their eye-sores.

The next point I want to urge upon you is this. In as much as all the provinces now possess very eminent medical men who are ready and willing to volunteer their services for the cause of education and also in the interests of hospitals, a scheme may now be framed for the introduction of outside medical practitioners for the service of their country, for imparting education and for relief to the sick. The question of efficiency of these medical men is sometimes raised. There is absolutely no truth in that, and the resolutions passed at the last All-India Medical Conference held in Madras have made that quite clear.

The other question that is raised is of a personal nature. It is said that there are Europeans with their families in the districts who prefer to have European medical men to treat them. To that my answer is that in England alone there are over 100 Indian medical men who have built up very good practice in many of the counties. In Germany and other places also there are Indian medical men who are doing well and are flourishing. Therefore, that argument which is put forward for the maintenance of I.M.S. men in districts falls to the ground, and the Provincial Medical Service which has been producing in all parts of India exceptionally bright men should replace the I.M.S. men in the districts.

I therefore say that the Indian Medical Service, meant exclusively for the army, may be maintained, and from the Indian practitioners, who during the last Great War rendered excellent service and proved that they were quite prepared to take the responsibility of running to the fields, if so required, a reserve may be constituted for employment in times of military emergency. The provincial medical service men may also be allowed to hold posts which until now have been reserved for I.M.S. men.

The resolution on being put to vote was declared to have been carried.

XII. Detenus.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved :—

Resolution XII :
The President.

The National Liberal Federation of India has noted with satisfaction the release from detention of a large number of persons imprisoned without trial and conveys its acknowledgment to the Governments of the provinces concerned for acceding to the demand of the people in that behalf, and to Mahatma Gandhi for his

Resolution XII :
The President.

powerful support of that demand. This Federation urges upon the Governments concerned the early release of those who are still in detention without trial.

The resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been carried.

XIII. The Andamans.

Resolution XIII :
The President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved :—

This Federation has noted with satisfaction the repatriation of a large number of prisoners from the Andamans, and urges upon the Government of India the abandonment of the Andamans as a penal settlement.

The resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been carried.

XIV. Excise Policy.

Resolution XIV :
The President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved :—

The National Liberal Federation of India urges the Provincial Governments and the people to make organised attempts to discourage the use of intoxicating and injurious drinks and drugs.

The resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been carried.

XV. Untouchability.

Resolution XV :
The President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved :—

The National Liberal Federation of India has watched with satisfaction the gradual change of outlook on the part of the people of this country as regards untouchability and exhorts both the people and Governments to put forth every endeavour to eradicate this evil from our social and religious system as early as possible.

The resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been carried.

XVI. Council and Office-bearers for 1938.

Resolution XVI :
The President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the President, moved :—

(a) The Federation re-appoints Mr. B. N. Gokhale and appoints Mr. M. D. Altekar as its General Secretaries for the year 1938.

(b) The Federation appoints the under-mentioned Council for the year 1938. (Printed in Appendix D)

The resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been carried.

The President : The President has the power under the constitution to nominate five members to the Council, and I do that by nominating Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra of Bengal, Rai Bahadur R. G. Mundle of the Central Provinces, Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup of the United Provinces, Mr. B. S. Kamat of Poona, and R. R. Bakhala of Bombay.

Resolution XVI :
The President.

XVII. Next Session.

Mr. A. S. N. Murthy (Orissa) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I formally move "Resolved that the twentieth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held in Orissa or Bombay as the Council may decide in the Christmas of 1938.

Resolution XVII :
Mr. A. S. N.
Murthy.

Mr. L. N. Sahu (Orissa) : Mr. President,—While seconding this resolution I have only to say that it is a great pleasure for me that the next Session of our Federation will be invited to Orissa. But I am sorry at the same time to see that it is bracketted with Bombay. I say it is a slur on us to have such a resolution, because some people will feel that we are doubting our own strength and therefore the Council has put forward such a resolution. It is in the power of the Council to tell us that if we are unable to hold the conference, after four months, in Orissa, the Council may decide to hold it in Bombay.

Resolution XVII :
Mr. L. N. Sahu.

The President :—The Council will communicate with you and make enquiries of you and find out whether you are ready to do it. If there is any difficulty, then we will hold it in Bombay. If you are ready we shall go there.

The President.

The Resolution on being put to the vote was declared to have been unanimously carried.

XVIII. Vote of thanks.

Prof. Nibaranchandra Ray (Bengal) :—It is my privilege now to offer on your behalf and on behalf of the organisers, a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who has so ably presided over our deliberations this year. (Hear, hear and applause). What little measure of success we have achieved, I may say, is mainly due to his tact and judgment and patience. (Hear, hear). Mr. Sastri has described him as one of the acutest minds in India at the present moment, and the way in which he has presided over our deliberations has clearly shown how able and how patient he is, and we all owe him a debt of gratitude for sparing no pains. He enjoys, as we all know, the very highest practice at the Bombay High Court. His work is very very heavy, and in spite of that, he has been able to make time, and therefore he has sacrificed a lot of time and comfort to come here to preside over our deliberations. We therefore feel exceedingly grateful to him for what he has done. (Applause). I know his time and

Resolution XVIII :
Mr. N. C. Ray.

Resolution XVIII :
Mr. N. C. Ray.

services are always at the disposal of the National Liberal Federation of India. He has been since its first meeting which was held in Bombay under the presidency of our late lamented chief, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, one of the pillars of the National Liberal Federation, and this is the second time that he has been presiding over our deliberations, and we feel exceedingly grateful to him that he is always ready to find time and to make the sacrifice necessary to come to the meetings of the Liberal Federation. On your behalf and on behalf of the organisers I offer again to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad our hearty thanks for the trouble that he has taken in presiding over our deliberations this year.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have also to offer our heartfelt thanks to those gentlemen who have come at immense sacrifice and personal discomfort from different parts of India to attend the meeting of this Federation as delegates, particularly to our ex-Presidents, Dr. Kunzru, Dr. Chintamani, Dr. Paranjpye, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and last not the least the Right Honourable Dr. V. Srinavasa Sastri, who at great personal inconvenience and inspite of his failing health has been good enough to come here. I thank you all on behalf of the organisers in Bengal for coming here and for taking part in our deliberations.

Resolution XVIII :
Mr. S. P. Basu.

Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Bengal) :—Ladies and gentlemen, they say that he would be a fool who would try to paint the lily, and yet I shall make an effort. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's name is now almost a household word in India, particularly among the followers of the creed of the National Liberal Federation. Sir Chimanlal entered politics, entered the legislature of Bombay at the early age of 28 (The President: twenty-six)—then it is still more creditable for him—at the early age of 26 when many students do not leave their Universities. He was one of those stalwarts who had joined the Indian National Congress soon after it was founded by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and his other colleagues. Sir Chimanlal had the unique opportunity and privilege of associating himself with men like Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Mr. Badruddin Tyabjee, Justice Ranade, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, all honoured names in the history of India. These names, ladies and gentlemen, are going to be forgotten by the present generation of young men who were not born and who have only stories to hear from us and from those that are still holding the banner of the National Liberal Federation in their hands. All these great and mighty men who were the makers of modern India have gone to their rest. In front of us we see the statue of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, seeing whose sacrifice and suffering for the national cause a Raja of Madras presidency, the Raja of Vizianagram, was moved to make a handsome donation to build the premises of the Indian Association and in this Hall which was built by Sir Surendra Nath's energy and efforts we are assembled today. That thundering eloquence has been hushed into silence for ever. The stentorian voice of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta cannot be heard any more. The sweet silvery eloquence of Mr. G. K. Gokhale has also

been hushed into silence. But these are the stalwarts with whom Sir Chimanlal had associated and as the result he has also left his impress on the political history of India, which unborn generations shall never forget. Sir Chimanlal adorned the Bench as a Judge of the Bombay High Court. He was in the Executive Council of the Bombay Government, and during his tenure of office the much heard of Sukkar Barrage was built, and as long as the people of Sind shall live they will ever and always remember the name and the great service which Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had done to them. One by one our great men are passing away. The ranks are being thinned away, and many of them are now in the warning list. But as long as these men live we have an example to follow, we have a model to copy, and Sir Chimanlal, as he was described yesterday by the Right Hon'ble V. Srinivasa Sastri, is one to whom God has given the minimum of machinery and the maximum of brain and efficiency. Like the Japanese he sits here, all silent, his mouth completely shut up, but all the time acquiring energy, and concentrating it, and when the decision has to be given it comes sure and certain and with a dynamic force. Such a man has honoured us by presiding over the deliberations of the Liberal Federation this time, and we are all extremely grateful to him. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to carry this vote of thanks with acclamation.

Resolution XVIII :
Mr. S. P. Basu.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal): I put this motion to you, and I trust you will carry it with acclamation. Mr. J. N. Basu.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH.

The President : Ladies and gentlemen,—I am very grateful indeed to the proposer and seconder of this resolution for the very flattering terms in which they have spoken about me. I am also very grateful to all the delegates who have assembled at this Federation meeting and the support they gave me in conducting the proceedings of this Session. The President.

Of Bengal I have always carried a very good memory indeed. As Mr. Basu has said, in my young days I was associated with the great names that he has mentioned to you. I particularly remember, however, the great lions of Bengal, at whose feet I learned my political lessons. Surendra Nath Banerjea has been mentioned by him, and I also knew in those days Lal Mohan Ghose, Manomohan Ghose, Ambica Charan Mazumdar and Ananda Mohan Bose. They left a very great impress on the political history of India. I have been in Calcutta on several occasions; on two occasions for attending the meetings of the Indian National Congress years ago. One was when Sir Dinshaw Wacha presided and another when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided. You will remember that it was at that Congress meeting that Dadabhai Naoroji first uttered the mantra of Swaraj.

The President.

Gentlemen, we of the Liberal Federation are the real inheritors of the original Indian National Congress. Those who now control the Indian National Congress—I call them in a sense renegades from the original Indian National Congress. We are really the original National Congress in the sense that we are carrying out the real spirit with which the National Congress was founded. The National Congress of those days comprised all nationalities, all creeds, all religions, and it worked for the good of the country, including all communities without any distinction as to Hindus, or Mussalmans, or Christians or Parsis. We in the Liberal Federation have always followed, and will always follow, that catholic spirit (Hear, hear), and work for the good of the whole country, (Hear, hear).

Thin as our ranks are, we need not be discouraged. Truth will always prevail, and in good report or bad report, if we carry on, as we shall, our work in this country, a day will come when our work will be recognised and the country will bless us for carrying the banner of liberalism in the manner we have done all these years.

I am very thankful to you people of Bengal for having invited me to preside at this gathering, and I shall always consider it my duty, gentlemen, to be at the service of the Liberal Federation in any capacity that you wish me to occupy with regard to it, and I will make every effort, to attend wherever your Session is held and give such little help as is possible for me to do.

The hour is late, gentlemen. But I cannot help mentioning my friend Mr. J. N. Basu (Applause), who has been the working spirit of this Session of the Federation. It is his untiring energy, and that of those who have worked with him, that has made a success of this Federation meeting and there are many others more humble than Mr. J. N. Basu, who have contributed to the success of this Federation meeting. I mention specially the volunteers, the young men of Bengal, who have worked selflessly for making a success of this Session of the Federation. They have worked hard day after day, attending on us and attending to our wants in a spirit of self-sacrifice, and our sincere thanks are due to them.

Then I understand there are various gentlemen who have also contributed to the success of this Session of the Federation—Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, Mr. Satinath Roy, and Sachindra Prasad Basu. Our thanks are due to every one of these gentlemen for the great work they have done for the Liberal Federation.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I will only exhort you to carry the banner of liberalism in this country; however discouraging the circumstances may be, it does not matter. We have faith in our policy, we have faith in our creed, we have faith in our work, and we shall carry on with that faith for ever and ever. (Loud applause).

The Session of the Federation then terminated.

APPENDIX A

NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1937.

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

1. Mr. Atmaram V. Bhatkalkar, Kumta.

Dear sir,

I am glad you are holding the next session in the foremost town in India. I believe the Liberals in Calcutta are a very influential group. I am a very humble individual. I have watched the political activities from the middle of the nineties, and I have ever felt predilections for your party. I believe that your party has been treading the right path. I think that inspite of its numerical weakness it has got great moral prestige and renown. Even one of the great Congress leaders, Babu Rajendra Prasad, once admitted in a public utterance or writing that the moderate politicians represented the best elements in the public life of India. I think that the Congressmen sometimes succeed in doing good to the country only when they emulate the Liberals. So the liberals should not be down-cast or dispondent on account of any apparent or temporary reverses. I hope the President of the Federation and yourself will, in your addresses, fully pourtray the power and prestige of your party. I hope one or both of the addresses will give for the edification of the public, a correct retrospect of the growth of the national movement in India, including the endeavours and achievements of your party. I also think that the small Liberal group contains a larger number of the best political thinkers and workers than the immensely huge Congress Camp. The late Mr. Gokhale, in his time, was considered by the generality of the people to be distinctly inferior to every extremist leader. But it was Mahatma Gandhi who first published to the world that Gokhale was the only perfect man in the political field. On Gokhale's demise, the funeral oration was delivered by his political adversary Tilak, who said on that occasion that the deceased patriot was the "diamond of India".

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. A. V.
Bhatkalkar.

I believe your camp comprises the intellectual aristocracy of India. I hope that you will be able to hold a very successful session and will by your pronouncements and resolutions give the right lead to all political parties and the whole country. Will you kindly advise the despatch to me of a printed copy of your inaugural address and oblige? With most respectful regards.

Kumta
Dec. 18th, 1937.

Yours faithfully,
Atmaram V. Bhatkalkar,
Kumta (N. Kanara)
Bombay Presidency.

2. Sir Moropant Joshi, Nagpur.

To
The Secretary,
National Liberal Federation of India.

Dear sir,

Messages of
Sympathy :
Sir M. Joshi.

Thanks for your letter of 8-12-37. I regret I shall not be able to attend the Federation this year.

I wish all success to this session of the Federation.

Yours Sincerely,
M. V. Joshi.

Nagpur,
12. 12. 37

3. Mr. Bhagwati Swarup, Allahabad.

Dear sir,

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. B. Swarup.

I am in earnest to attend the Calcutta Session of the National Liberal Federation, but I extremely regret that on account of very heavy engagements and extraordinarily abnormal circumstances with which I am beset I shall not be able to attend the same.

Chandra Bhavan
23, Outram Road
Allahabad Cantt.
Dec. 25th 1937.

Yours truly,
Bhagwati Swarup,
Rai Bahadur,
Rais and Taluqdar, Anapur.

4. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Poona.

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. B. S. Kamat.

Regret absence. Wish success to session.
27.12.1937.

Kamat.

5. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Nagpur:

Messages of
Sympathy :
Dewan Bahadur
K. V. Brahma.

Regret inability attend Session.
Family illness. Wish Conference
all success.
27.12.1937.

Brahma.

6. Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú, Allahabad:

Dear Mr. Basu,

Messages of
Sympathy :
Hon. Mr. P. N.
Saprú.

I regret that it will not be possible for me to attend the Liberal Federation as I am sailing for Australia on the 30th of December. I wish the Federation every success.

We are fortunate in having as our President a distinguished Liberal-statesman who has endeared himself to the younger section of the Liberals by the vision, imagination and the spirit of true Liberalism which he has shown during recent years. I am confident that under his distinguished Presidentship the Federation will be a success. We are meeting at a rather important time in the history of our country and I have no doubt that under his wise guidance the decisions we shall take will be such as to promote the real interests of the country. I hope you will convey my apologies to the Federation.

Messages of
Sympathy :
Hon. Mr. P. N.
Sapru.

With all good wishes,

Allahabad.
Dec. 27.1937.

J. N. Basu, Esq.
Chairman, Reception
Committee of the National
Liberal Federation
of India.

I am
Yours sincerely,
P. N. Sapru.

7. Prof. R. H. Kelkar, Poona:

Sir,

I am sorry to say that pressing engagements here will not allow me to attend the session at Calcutta. Mr. D. V. Ambekar of the Deccan Sabha must have already sent to you my delegation form. I am sending my delegation fee by M.O. to-day.

Messages of
Sympathy :
Prof. R. H.
Kelkar.

In regard to the three resolutions standing in my name and sent to you by Mr. D. V. Ambekar I have to request you to take them into consideration while drafting the official resolutions of the Subjects Committee. If in your opinion the substance of them is incorporated into the official resolutions you may drop them altogether. In case they are not so incorporated you may consult Mr. K. Sharangpani of the Servants of India Society, who has undertaken to support them. I leave it to him to take the final decision.

Wishing the session a great success.

289B, Narayan Peth
Poona 2
27th December 1937.

I beg to remain
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
R. H. Kelkar.

8. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Bombay:

Dear Mr. Basu,

I very much regret I am unable to attend the Calcutta sessions of the Liberal Federation owing to unavoidable circumstances. I had hoped that I might be able to start for Calcutta even to-day, but I regret I am not able to do so. Please excuse my absence. I hope that the sessions will prove a great success under the wise and experienced guidance of our veteran leader Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. B. N. Gokhale.

With kind regards,

Bombay,
December 25, 1937.

Yours ever truly,
B. N. Gokhale.

9. Mr. V. T. Despande, Yeotmal :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. V. T.
Despande.

Regret inability to attend.

Wish sessions every success.

V. T. Despande.

29.12.1937.

10. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Poona :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. G. K. Gadgil.

Regret illness prevents attending Federation. Trust Liberals will devise ways to support constitutionally working popular Ministries and conciliate reasonable Communalism and scotch Communistic Extremism. Liberalism ballast must persevere to achieve Swaraj.

Gadgil, Barrister.

29.12.1937.

11. Dewan Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Madras :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Dewan Bahadur
G. A. Natesan.

Wish session all success

Natesan.

29.12.1937.

12. Mr. V. D. Sathe, Sholapur :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. V. D. Sathe.

Wish Conference every success.

Sathe.

29.12.1937.

13. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Sholapur :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Mr. M. S. Sirdar.

Regret cannot attend, wish success.

Sirdar.

29.12.1937.

14. Hon'ble P. N. Saprú, Bombay :

Messages of
Sympathy :
Hon. Mr. P. N.
Saprú.

Wish Federation success.

Saprú.

30.12.1937.

APPENDIX B

NINETEENTH SESSION OF

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1937.

MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

1. Mr. P. K. Mitter, 2/1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
2. Mr. Jitendra Kissen Mitter, 19, Nilmoney Mitter Street, Calcutta.
3. Mr. Manabendra Kumar Mitter, Ditto.
4. Mr. Bhagwandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
5. Mr. Pasupati Nath Mitra, 32, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
6. Mr. S. N. Mitra, 2/1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
7. Mr. Kiran Kumar Mitter, 34, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
8. Mr. Kiran Chandra Bose, 8/B, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
9. Mr. Gobardhandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
10. Mr. Sanat Kumar Basu, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
11. Mr. Ganendra K. Roy Chaudhuri, 106/2, Grey Street, Calcutta.
12. Mr. Hriday Krishna Ghosh, 19, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta.
13. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfield Row, Calcutta.
14. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Bose, "Tapoban", Kalimpong.
15. Rai Manmotha Nath Bose Bahadur, Midnapur (B. N. Ry.)
16. Mr. B. K. Roy Chaudhuri, M.L.A., 55, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
17. Dr. D. M. Bose, 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
18. Prof. N. C. Nag, 93/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
19. Rai Surendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, M.L.C., Jiagunge, Murshidabad.
20. Mr. D. C. Basu Mallik, 18, Radhanath Mallik Lane, Calcutta.
21. Dr. D. N. Maitra, 4, Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta.
22. Mr. Jyotis Chandra Bhose, 24A, Roybagan Street, Calcutta.
23. Prof. Sures Chandra Roy, 12, Rammohan Saha Lane, Calcutta.
24. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 9/3A, Romanath Mojumdar Street, Calcutta.
25. Mr. Satyendra Nath Basu, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
26. Mr. Prakas Chandra Bhose, 17, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
27. Dr. M. N. Bose, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
28. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
29. Dr. J. N. Ghose, 65/1, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
30. Mr. Sati Nath Roy, 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
31. Rai Pannalal Mukherji Bahadur, Uttarpara, Hooghly.
32. Mr. Kumar Krishna Mitter, 14, Aheeritola Street, Calcutta.
33. Mr. K. C. Ghose, 41, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta.
34. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
35. Rai Nagendra Nath Mukherji Bahadur, P.223, Rash Behari Avenue, Cal.
36. Rai Saheb Bepin Behari Sen, 30, Sanker Halder Lane, Calcutta.
37. Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
38. Rai Radhika Bhusan Roy Bahadur, 53, Chakrabere Road, North, Calcutta.
39. Mr. B. B. Roy, 21/1, Hindusthan Road, Calcutta.
40. Mr. R. M. Tagore, "Tagore Park", Alipore, Calcutta.
41. Mr. M. N. Sen, 44, Ramkanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
42. Mr. Sures Chandra Basu, 11, Krishna Ram Bose Street, Calcutta.
43. Mr. J. R. Banerjea, 15, Rām Krishna Das Lane, Calcutta.
44. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, "Rajbati", Seoraphuli, E. I. Ry.
45. Mr. Amulya Dhan Addy, 15A, Chetla Road, Alipore, Calcutta.
46. Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
47. Hon. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, 237, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
48. Kumar Ramendra Nath Roy, 134, Sovabazar Street, Calcutta.

Reception
Committee.

APPENDIX C

NINETEENTH SESSION OF

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1937.

DELEGATES.

Delegates.

1. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
2. Mr. P. P. Mookerjee, Bar-at-Law, 14, Heysham Road, Calcutta.
3. Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.A. 14, Baloram Ghosh St., Calcutta.
4. Mr. L. N. Sahu, Servants of India Society, Cuttaek.
5. Rai Radhika Bhusan Roy Bahadur, M.L.C., 53, Chakrabere Road, North, Cal.
6. Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.
7. The Hon. Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy, M.L.A., 15, Lansdowne Road, Cal.
8. Mr. Phulchand Bhagat, 29, Bahir Mirzapur Road, Calcutta.
9. Mr. Subodh Kumar Sen, Solicitor, 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
10. Mr. B. B. Roy, M.A., 21/1 Hindusthan Road, Calcutta.
11. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
12. Mr. Madhablal M. Bhatt, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay.
13. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal (Berar).
14. Khan Bahadur A.R. Billimoria, Excelsior Theatre, Ranchi Street, Bombay.
15. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Lucknow.
16. The Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., Annamalai Nagar, Madras Presidency.
17. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis St., Calcutta.
18. The Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.
19. Mr. Amulya Dhon Addy, 15A, Chetla Road, Alipur, Calcutta.
20. Mr. E. Thomas Chaudhuri, Fazul Manzil, Ruthledge Road, Lucknow.
21. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Napean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
22. Mr. Mahbulul Huq, M.A., B.L., 17/1, Gopalnagar Road, Alipur, Calcutta.
23. Mr. Jnanendra Nath Basu, 9, Park Lane, Calcutta.
24. Mr. K. G. Limaye, 940, Bhamburda, Poona 4.
25. Mr. K. G. Sherangapani, Servants of India Society, Poona 4.
26. Mr. M. D. Shahane, Ditto.
27. Mr. Viswanath Prasad, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
28. Mr. S. B. Kotwal, Dhulia, West Khandesh (Bombay Presy).
29. Dr. C. Y. Chintamani, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
30. Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, Ditto.
31. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, Servants of India Society, Mayanur (S.I.R.), Trichinopoly Dt.
32. Mr. V. T. Gopalakrishna, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
33. Mr. N. Ramanathan, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
34. Mr. Ram Shankar Misra, Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
35. Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Servants of India Society, Kingsway, Delhi.
36. Mr. Kunwar Bahadur, Principal, D. B. Inter College, Gorakhpur (U.P.)
37. Mr. Vishun Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
38. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc., Lucknow University, Lucknow.
39. Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., Ch.M. (Edin), 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
40. Mr. H. G. Ghurpurey I.C.S. (Retd.), 344, Shaniwar Peth, Poona.
41. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, "Rajbati," Sheoraphuli. E.I.Ry.
42. Mr. J. R. Banerjea, M.A. 15, Ramkrishna Das Lane, Calcutta.

- Delegates.
43. Mr. Sures Chandra Basu, M. A., B. L. 11, Krishna Ram Bose St., Calcutta.
 44. Mr. Tapash Chandra Banerjee, 11/1B, Ananda Roy Street, Dacca.
 45. Mr. Netai Ch. Paul, 262, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
 46. Mr. N. K. Das Gupta, 10/1, Bakshibazar, Dacca.
 47. Mr. A. D. Shroff, Savoy Chambers, Dalal St., Bombay 1.
 48. Mr. Shyamlal Tandon, Mirzapore (U.P.)
 49. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Park Road, Vile Parle (East) Bombay 24.
 50. Mr. N. Sen, Solicitor, 44, Ramkanto Bose St., Calcutta.
 51. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunge, Lucknow.
 52. Mr. V. R. Bhende, 107, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
 53. Dr. Khagendralal Sen, 56, Tarak Pramanik Road, Calcutta.
 54. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, 15, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
 55. Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru, Dilkusha, Fyzabad, (U.P.)
 56. Mr. B. J. Shroff, Fakirji Lodge, Tardeo Road, Bombay 7.
 57. Rao Bahadur C.B. Rama Rao, M.D. "Kantinivas," Basavangudi, Bangalore.
 58. Prof. R. H. Kelkar, 289B, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
 59. Mr. K. K. Mitra, 14, Aheeritola Street, Calcutta.
 60. Mr. A. S. N. Murthy, Berhampore (Orissa).
 61. Mrs. Banalata Das, 12, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
 62. Miss Surama Chakraverty, 4E, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
 63. Rai Nagendra Nath Mukerji Bahadur, Ranaghat, Nadia.
 64. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
 65. Mr. Devidas Banerjee, 7B, Kirti Mitter Lane, Calcutta.
 66. Mr. Pradyumna K. Banerjee, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
 67. Mr. A. K. Bose, 19, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
 68. Mr. K. C. Ghosh, 41, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
 69. Mr. Amiya Nath Mukherji, 5, Hastings Street, Calcutta,
 70. Rai M. N. Bose Bahadur, Midnapore (B. N. Ry.)
 71. Rai Pannalal Mukerji Bahadur, Uttarpara, Hooghly.
 72. Mr. Siddheswar Ganguli, 7/1A, Mohanlal Street, Calcutta.
 73. Mrs. Uma De, 24, Ballygunge Park, Calcutta.
 74. Mrs. Kshanika Sen, 45, Ballygunge Place, Calcutta.
 75. Mrs. Surama Sen, Ditto.
 76. Mrs. Shanti Roy, 78, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
 77. Miss Shakuntala Sastri, M.A. (Cal), B. Litt (Oxon), 6, College Square, Cal.
 78. Mrs. Kumudini Basu, B.A. Ditto.
 79. Miss Koruna Basu, B.A. Ditto.
 80. Mr. Satinath Roy, M.A., B.L. 12,, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
 81. Mr. Manoranjan Roy Chaudhuri, 7, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
 82. Dr. Harendra Coomar Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., 2, Dili Serampore Road, Cal.
 83. Pandit Haris Chandra Goswami, 3, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
 84. Mr. Amiya Chandra Mukerji, 5, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
 85. Mr. Prakas Chandra Bhose, 17, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
 86. Mr. Satyendra Nath Basu, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
 87. Mr. N. C. Banerjee, 26, Ritchie Road, Calcutta.
 88. Dr. Kshirode Lal De, M.B., D.T.M., 283, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
 89. Mr. S. M. Das, 20, Chitpore Bridge Approach, Calcutta.
 90. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 9/3, Romanath Mojumder Street, Calcutta.
 91. Mr. N. N. Das, 61B, Wellington Street, Calcutta.
 92. Mr. B. C. Chaudhuri, 32/1A, Chakrabere Road, South, Calcutta.
 93. Mr. Jotis Chandra Bhose, M.A., B.L., 24A, Roybagan Street, Calcutta.
 94. Prof. Sures Chandra Ray, M.A. 19, Ram Mohan Saha Lane, Calcutta.
 95. Mr. Girija Prasanna Sen, 17, Kumartooly Street, Calcutta.
 96. Mr. Tridibesh Basu, 11, Mahendra Gossain Lane, Calcutta.
 97. Mr. Sailendra Nath Kar, 60, Syed Amir Ali Avenue, Calcutta.
 98. Mr. Ram Chandra Goswami, 27, Baloram Mojumder Street, Calcutta.

Delegates.

99. Prof. N. C. Nag, 93/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
100. Mr. Barada Kanto Bose, 1B, Priya Nath Banerjee Street, Calcutta.
101. Dr. D. M. Bose, 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
102. Mr. M. L. Merh, 229, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.
103. Mr. Dharendra Nath Mookerji, 10C, Kristo Mallik Lane, Calcutta.
104. Mr. J. M. Bose, Tapoban, Kalimpong.
105. Mr. Rameswar Prasanna Sen, 17, Kumartooly Street, Calcutta.
106. Mr. Jnanendra K. Roy Chaudhuri, 106/2, Grey Street, Calcutta.
107. Mr. Manabendraswar Mitter, 19, Nilmony Mitter Street, Calcutta.
108. Mr. Hriday Krishna Ghosh, 19, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta.
109. Mr. Kiron Kumar Mitter, 34, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
110. Mr. Kiron Chandra Bose, 83, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
111. Mr. Gobardhandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
112. Mr. Sanat Kumar Basu, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
113. Mr. Bhagawandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
114. Mr. Pashupati Nath Mitra, 32, Shampukur Street, Calcutta.
115. Mr. S. N. Mitter, 2/1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
116. Mr. P. K. Mitter. Ditto.
117. Mr. Jitendra Kissen Mitter, 19, Nilmony Mitter Street, Calcutta.
118. Mr. Nriya Gopal Roy, 7, W. C. Bonnerjee Street, Calcutta.
119. Mr. Sachidananda Goswami, 5, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
120. Kamini Kanto Sen Gupta, 2A, Dhanada Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
121. Mr. Atul Krishna Bhaduri, 13, Kripanath Lane, Calcutta.
122. Mr. Sailendra Nath Goswami, 27, Baloram Mojumder Street, Calcutta.
123. Mr. Kanai Lal Chatterje, 114, Sambhu Halder Lane, Howrah.
124. Mr. Nirmal Kanto Mitter, 17/1, Nivedita Lane, Calcutta.
125. Mr. Laksmi Kanto Mitter, Ditto.
126. Mr. Sudhir Kumar Basu, 14, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
127. Mr. Dinabandhu Sen, 44, Ramkanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
128. Mr. Robindra Nath Sen, Ditto.
129. Mr. S. K. Ghose, 28/1, Allenby Road, Calcutta.
130. Mr. Manujendra Bhanja, 10, Raghunath Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
131. Mr. Kapilendra Krishna Deb, 6, Raja Nabakissen Street, Calcutta.
132. Mr. Satinath Ghose, 107A, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
133. Mr. Sachi Nath Ghose, Ditto.
134. Mr. Prokas Chandra Roy, 8A, Sahitya Parisad Street, Calcutta.
135. Mr. Birendra Krishna Ghosh, 1/1B, Krishna Ram Bose Street, Calcutta.
136. Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra, 181, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
137. Mr. Rohini Kanto Mitra, Ditto.
138. Mr. Birendra Krishna Mitra, 19, Nilmony Mitter Street, Calcutta.
139. Mr. Kamala Prasanna Ghose, 3/1, Pretoria Street, Calcutta.
140. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfield Row, Alipore, Calcutta.
141. Dr. J. N. Ghosh, M.D., 65/1, Beadon Street, Calcutta.

APPENDIX D
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA
COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1938.

President

1. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., L.L.D., 113, Esplanade Road, Fort Bombay. Council 1938.

Vice-Presidents

2. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., L.L.D., Mylapore, Madras.
3. Dr. C. Y. Chintamani, D. Litt., L.L.D., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., L.L.D., Mylapore, Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc., Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, Lucknow.
6. Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Advocate, Nagpur.
7. The Hon'ble Sir Pheroze C. Sethna, Kt., O.B.E., Canada Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
8. Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., M.L.A., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
9. The Hon'ble Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, M.C.S., Servants of India Society, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.
10. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., Mylapore, Madras.
11. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, K.C.I.E., M.L.A., O.B.E., Church Gate Street, Bombay.

General Secretaries

12. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, M.A., L.L.B., Advocate, Girgaon Road, Bombay No. 4.
13. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M.A., Park Road, Vile Parle, Bombay No. 24.

Nominated by the President

14. Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
15. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal, (Berar).
16. Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup, Cawnpore, (U.P.).
17. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Ganeshkhind Road, Poona No. 4.
18. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Servants of India Society, Bombay No. 4.

ELECTED MEMBERS

Bombay

19. Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
20. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., Manekji Wadia Building, 145, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
21. Mr. V. N. Chandravarkar, Bar-at-Law, Peddar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
22. Mr. A. D. Shroff, Savoy Chambers, Dalal Street, Bombay.
23. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
24. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut, J.P., French Bridge, Chaupati, Bombay N. 7.
25. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Servants of India Society, Bombay N. 4.
26. Mr. N. R. Wadia, Motlabai Building, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay No. 1.
27. Dewan Bahadur Chunilall M. Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
28. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468, Kalba Devi, Bombay No. 2.
29. Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhatt, J. P., Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay No. 1.
30. Principal J. R. Gharpure, Law College, Poona No. 4.

Council 1933.

31. Khan Bahadur H.P. Chahewala, Advocate, Khanpur Road, Ahmedabad.
32. Mr. K. J. Dubhash, Solicitor, 79, Meadows Street, Bombay No. 1.
33. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
34. Mr. V. B. Sathe, M.A., L.L.B., C/o Mr. R. V. Sathe, Contractor, Sholapur.
35. Mr. R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay No. 2.
36. Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I.C.S., (Rtd) 344, Shaniwar Peth, Poona City,
37. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
38. Prof. V. K. Joag, Wadia College, Poona No. 1.
39. Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Servants of India Society, Poona No. 4.
40. Mr. K. G. Limaye, Servants of India Society, Poona No. 4.

Bengal

41. The Hon. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Kt., M.L.A., 15, Landsdowne Road, Calcutta.
42. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
43. Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
44. Prof. B. B. Roy, M.A., Statesman House, Calcutta.
45. Mr. Satinath Roy, M.A., B.L., 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
46. Prabhath Singh Roy, 15, Landsdowne Road, Calcutta.
47. Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
48. Kumar Rajendra Narayan Roy, 79, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.
49. Rai Nagendra Nath Mukherjee Bahadur, Ranaghat (Nadia) Bengal.
50. Rai Keshab Chandra Banerji Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
51. Rai Fanindra Lal De Bahadur, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara E.I. Rly.
52. Mr. Manmath Nath Sen, 44, Ramkanta Bose Street, Calcutta.
53. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
54. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
55. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Rd. Calcutta.
56. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Siva Prasanna Ghose, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
58. Bhagvandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
59. Shew Kissen Bhatler, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
60. Gosto Behari Mondal, Nawabganj, Barrackpore, Bengal.
61. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghose, Sheoraphuli, E.L.Ry.
62. Pandit Harischandra Goswami, 3, Gossamipara Lane, Calcutta.
63. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfeld Row, Alipur, Calcutta.
64. Mr. D. C. Ghose, Bar-at-Law, 23, Debendra Ghose Road, Calcutta

Madras

65. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar, Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
66. Janab C. Abdul Hakim, Hakim House, Jaffer Sirang Street, G. T. Madras.
67. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Kanthi Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
68. Raja Sir Vasudev Raja of Kollengode, Kollengode, South Malabar.
69. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral P.O. Madras.
70. Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Advocate, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.
71. Mr. C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapatam.
72. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, "The Ashram", Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
73. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu, C.I.E., Ritherdon Road, Vepary, Madras.
74. Mr. V. Venkatsubbaiya, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
75. Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao, do do do
76. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, do do Mayanur, Trichy Distt.
77. Mr. S. R. Venkatraman, do do Roypetta, Madras.
78. Mr. V. M. Nayanar, do do Calicut.

United Provinces

79. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
80. The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Bar-at-law, Albert Road, Allahabad.
81. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Rehwan, district, Rae Bareilly.
82. Dr. Rajeshwar Bali, O.B.E., Daryabad, Bara Banki.
83. Kumar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
84. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
85. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
86. Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, George Town, Allahabad.
87. Babu Bodhraj Sahmey, Jhansi.
88. Pandit Krishana Prasad Kaul, Lucknow.
89. Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, Clive Road, Allahabad.
90. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
91. Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
92. Mr. Dalip Mansingh, M.A., L.L.B., Fathepur.
93. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
94. Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Behari Misra, 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
95. Rao Krishnapal Singh, Castle Grant, Agra.
96. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhadeo Bihari Misra, 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
97. Mehta Mahipat Ram, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
98. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
99. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhawan, Fyzabad.
100. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Narayan, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
101. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, Principal, Benares Hindu University.
102. Babu Vishnu Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.

Central Provinces and Berar

103. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C.I.E., M.B.E., Advocate, Nagpur.
104. Mr. V. K. Rajvade, Advocate, Nagpur.
105. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.
106. Mr. N. A. Dravid, M.A. Craddock Town, Nagpur.
107. „ V. G. Mandpe, Dantoli, Nagpur.
108. „ S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
109. Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
110. „ „ R. M. Khare, Amraoti Camp.
111. Mr. S. N. Balchandra, Advocate, Yeotmal.
112. „ V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal, (Berar).
113. „ M. D. Shahane, Craddock Town, Nagpur.

Punjab

114. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
115. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
116. „ Keshao Ram Shekri, Vakil, Civil Lines, Lahore.
117. Hon. Lala Manohar Lal, Bar-at-Law, Fine Road, Lahore.
118. Pandit Hardatt Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.

Behar and Orissa

119. Babu Bhagvati Saran Singh, Anapur, Allahabad Distt. U.P.
120. Mr. A. S. N. Moorthi, Berhampore, (Ganjam Distt).
121. „ L. N. Sahu, M.A., Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

Assam

122. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, Shillong.
123. Mr. Chandradhar Barua, Jorhat, Assam.

APPENDIX E
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.
WORKING COMMITTEE FOR THE
YEAR 1938.

Working
Committee,
1938.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, (Chairman).

Bengal

Mr. J. N. Basu
Mr. N. C. Ray
Mr. S. N. Roy

Bombay

Sir Cowasji Jehangir
Mr. A. D. Shroff
Mr. H. G. Gharpurey
Mr. M. S. Sirdar

United Provinces

Dr. C. Y. Chintamani
Dr. R. P. Paranjpye
The Hon. Pandit H. N. Kunzru
Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh

Madras

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer
The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri
Mr. E. Vinayak Rao

Central Provinces and Berar

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma
Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle
Mr. N. A. Dravid
Mr. M. D. Shahane
Mr. V. T. Deshpande

Orissa

Mr. L. N. Sahu
Mr. A. S. N. Moorthi

APPENDIX F
CONSTITUTION OF
THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

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

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

The Constitution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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