

**REPORT**

OF

**THE PROCEEDINGS**

OF THE

**FIFTH SESSION**

OF THE

**NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA**

**HELD AT NAGPUR**

On the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1922.

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THE  
National Liberal Federation of India

The Fifth Annual Session  
HELD AT THE CENTRAL HALL, VICTORIA COLLEGE  
OF SCIENCE, NAGPUR

*Wednesday the 27th Thursday the 28th and Friday the 29th December 1928.*

LIST OF RE-OLUTIONS PASSED.

I CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION.

Condolence  
Resolution

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

[ From the Chair ]

II Rt. Hon. E. S. MONTAGUE.

Rt. Hon E.  
S. Montague

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

Proposed by:-The Hon. Dr. Paranjpe ( Bombay )

Seconded by:-Mr. R. G. Pradhan [ Nasik ]

Supported by:-Rao Saheb R. V. Mahajani [ Akola ]

III SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Self-  
Government

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

Proposed by:-Mr. N. M. Samartha M. L. A. ( Bombay )

Seconded by:-Sir Bijia Krishna Eose M. L. C. ( Nagpur )

Supported by:-Mr. M. R. Aiyengar M. L. A. ( Sivaganga )

... by:-Pandit Gokarnanath Misra M. L. C. ( Lucknow )

... by:-Mr. M. D. Altekar ( Bombay )

## IV INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY.

**Indiani-  
sation of  
the army.**

This meeting of the All-India Liberals regards with the gravest concern the delay in the inauguration of the plans for the Indianisation of the officer ranks in the Indian Army, for the reduction of the British element and for the introduction of other improvements and economies recommended by the Military Requirements Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and regards it as a crucial test of the sincerity of the authorities regarding India's dominion status and sees no way except through drastic retrenchment under this head of the country's regaining financial equilibrium and calls upon the British Cabinet and the Army Council to restore by speedy action the confidence of the people of India in the often repeated promises to grant full responsible Government to India.

Proposed by Mr. B. S. Kamat M. L. A. ( Poona )

Seconded by Principal K. R. Kanitkar ( Poona )

Supported by Mr. A. P. Sen ( U. P. )

Do. by Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambawale ( Nagpur )

**Retrench-  
ment**

## V. RETRENCHMENT.

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

( From the Chair )

**Princes pro-  
tection act**

## VI. PRINCES PROTECTION ACT.

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

( From the Chair )

**Education  
of the mas-  
ses**

## VII. EDUCATION OF THE MASSES.

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

( From the Chair )

**Untouchabi-  
lity.**

## VIII. UNTOUCHABILITY.

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

Proposed by Mr. A. V. Thakur ( Bombay )

Seconded by Mr. Bhatkar.

### III

#### IX. THE IMPERIAL SERVICES.

The Imperial services.

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

Proposed by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru M. L. C. (Allahabad)

Seconded by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M. L. C. (Satara)

Supported by Mr. R. R. Jayavant, M. L. C. (Nagpur)

„ by Prof. Sapre (Poona)

„ by Mr. M. R. Dixit, M. L. C. (Nagpur)

#### X SECRETARY OF STATE'S POWERS

Secretary of State's powers.

This meeting of the All-India Liberals attaches the utmost importance to the principle laid down with emphasis by the joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that where an executive Government in India and its Legislature are in agreement on any matter, there should be no interference by higher authority except when Imperial interests are involved. It regards it as an essential condition for the growth of Indian constitution and the preparation of the Legislatures for the ultimate responsibility of the whole movement, and it trusts further that besides loyally observing the principle, the Secretary of State will give it full scope by releasing the Government of India from the obligations to consult him previously in such matters, both by liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations on the subject and by modifying these wherever necessary.

Proposed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. (Bombay)

Seconded by Prof. Jog (Poona)

#### XI INDIANS OVERSEAS.

Indians overseas.

This meeting of the All-India Liberals wishes to convey to the Imperial Cabinet of Great Britain its sense of concern at the undesirable effects produced on the minds of the people of India by the reports that are received here from time to time of the obstacles and difficulties in the way of the application to the Crown Colony of Kenya of the principles embodied in the resolution of the Imperial Conference 1921, and trusts that the Cabinet which had influential representatives at the Conference, including the then Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary, will be able at an early date to carry out those principles in the letter and in the spirit. (2) This meeting of All-India Liberals condemns the anti-Indian policy pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa and by the Provinces comprised in the Union where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating, and while fully acknowledging that the Government of India

have fully identified themselves with Indian sentiment in this matter as in the interests of Indians overseas, generally, urges that Government to continue to bring pressure to bear on the Union Government to accept the policy enunciated in the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921.

Proposed by Mr. G. A. Natesan. ( Madras )

Seconded by Pundit Gokaranath Misra M. L. C. ( Lucknow )

#### XII RT. HON SASTRI

**Rt. hon.  
Sastri**

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

Proposed by Rao Bahadur V R. Pundit M. L. C. ( Nagpur )

Seconded by Mr. R. N. Ayengar ( Madras )

#### XIII INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

**Indian territorial force,**

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

[ From the Chair ]

#### XIV LIBERAL ORGANISATION.

**Liberal organisation**

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

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

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

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

[ From the Chair ]

#### XV. REFORM COMMITTEE, IN LONDON.

**Reform Committee in London**

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

( From the Chair )

#### XVI GENERAL SECRETARIES FOR 1923.

**General Secretaries for 1923.**

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

( From the Chair )

#### XVII. COUNCIL FOR 1923.

**Council for 1923**

That the Council of the All India Liberal Federation for 1923 be constituted according to the lists furnished to the General Secretaries before the 1st February 1923 by the Provincial leagues and Associations.

( From the Chair )

# THE National Liberal Federation of India

## The Fifth Session at Nagpur.

DECEMBER 1922.

The fifth session of the All India Liberal Federation opened at the Central Hall of the Victoria College of Science, Nagpur on Wednesday the 27th December 1922 at 3 P. M. The hall was decorated with flags and bunting and festoons. Appropriate mottoes such as "India wants full Dominion Status" "Educate the Electors" "Indianise the Army" "India wants Orderly Progress" "Long live the British Commonwealth with India as an equal Partner" were put up on all sides. There was a large and distinguished gathering of delegates from all parts of India. There was a record number of visitors, among whom were numerous ladies, and the hall was filled to overflowing.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the President-elect arrived at the hall at 2-45 P. M. and was warmly welcomed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, and other leading liberals. The President-elect was then conducted to the dais amidst warm and continuous cheering. On the dais, the President was supported by Raja Bahadur Ragoji Rao Bhonsle, Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, the hon. Mr. (now Sir) M. V. Joshi the hon. Dr. Paranjpe, the hon. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Minister C. P., Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. A. P. Sen. Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. G. K. Deodhar, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, the hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar, Minister C. P., Rao Bahadur Kinkhede, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Principal K. R. Kanitkar, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale and others.

### Chairman of Reception Committee's address.

The hon. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then rose, amidst loud cheers, and delivered the following welcome address:—

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, :— Language is but an imperfect vehicle for conveying to you the feelings that are surging within me on this great occasion—the feelings of diffidence at the magnitude of the responsibilities thrown on me by the kindness of my friends who have selected me for this high honour as also of joy for the privilege of welcoming to this historic city of Nagpur, forever green with the memory of the Peshwas and the Bhonslas, so many of my distinguished countrymen—the elite, the flower, the cream of Indian society. Brother Delegates, it is one of the happiest moments of my life in that I find my dear province, by holding this All-India Conference of the Liberal Federations and Leagues of the various provinces at the provincial capital, Nagpur, once again asserting its attachment to those sound liberal principles of political progress which have stood the test of time throughout the world, but which, unfortunately, through some momentary aberration, came to be temporarily jettisoned by large hypnotised sections of the Indian population. Nagpur was one of the most uncompromising and determined among the iconoclasts only so far back as X'mas 1920. It was

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Sir M. B.  
Dadabhoy.

Welcome  
Address

Sir M. B.  
Dadabhoj

in this city that in the session of the so-called Indian National Congress of the year Mr. Gandhi's scheme of Swaraj with the preliminary programme of intensive non-co-operation, open disloyalty and possible mass civil disobedience was accepted by the delegates. Only three months previous to that the issue was doubtful in Calcutta until in the end by tactics that would not stand scrutiny all opposition was crushed by the weight of numbers. A bigger fight was to come off here at Nagpur but ultimately all spirit fizzled out, the whole assembly tamely submitted to the will of the Dictator, and Nagpur had the inglorious distinction of giving a wrong and mischievous lead to all India. The present Conference marks the happy restoration to sanity and reason of the Province. That is a source of immense satisfaction and hope to us all, whose faith lies in orderly progress.

I find equal reason for genuine pleasure in the presence in this assembly of so many gentlemen who by their culture, social position, and patriotism are the best persons to lead the people into safe and sure channels of progressive thought and productive political activity. Your presence here at great personal inconvenience and discomfort to further the cause of real political advancement affords the best guarantee of the reversion—may be gradual but nonetheless sure—of the whole country to sound political ideals and the restoration of pre-war conditions of political agitation. Sensational idealism in politics and a morbid hatred of a nation that has enabled us to value political freedom and from whom alone political rights have to be obtained have operated a sufficiently long time to disclose their mischievousness and utter futility. People ought to be sick of the game by this time. If indications are worth anything, there are clear signs of the coming end of the delirium. Brother Delegates, I, on behalf of the Reception Committee, accord you the warmest welcome, all the more because I feel that with your combined influence, the pooling of the resources of moderation and constitutionalism which you so eminently and fully represent, and the better organisation and consolidation of our strength, we, members of the Liberal Federation, are bound to neutralize the forces of revolution, disorder and anarchy—whether led by hotheaded, impulsive parvenus or self-deluded, and frenzied martyrs—which for a time threatened to engulf our dear country into abysmal ruin.

RT. HON. SASTRI

Yet another reason for my personal satisfaction, and that is supplied by the presence in our midst of my esteemed friend and trusted leader, the Right Honourable Sriyvasa Sastri as the President-elect. I confidently hope under Mr Sastri's able guidance this Federation will soon become a real power in the land. We all require for our leaders men of his type, — gifted statesmen with clear vision, vast experience, undoubted patriotism, unique influence and admirable oratorical powers which have uniformly elicited unstinted applause in the highest Councils of the Empire and in foreign countries where there is no lack of powerful speakers. Indeed the sweet, silver tongue of the Right Honourable Sastri has proved even better than sharpened steel among people entertaining the deepest prejudice against Indians. The high compliments paid to him by the Premier of Australia is a tribute by genius to genius which is just and well-deserved. Brother Delegates, this mission of the Right Honourable Sastri from which he has just returned, covered with honour and glory, has been pooh-poohed by the overwise non-cooperator. It is not a matter for surprise. All wisdom is now-a-days a monopoly of the non-cooperator, whether a school-boy in his teens or the disgruntled, half-educated wage-earner or the impatient idealist who, notwithstanding education of a high order and experience and age, has been carried off his feet by rapturous enthusiasm at the mirage of the Promised



Land. And by a curious method of reasoning, the uncompromising advocates of freedom of speech and action and non-violence do not allow any person, however high his attainments or however brilliant the record of his services to the country, to have his say. And these new-born politicians are the most vociferous in the land just at the present moment. No wonder they would decry the distinguished services of the Right Honourable Sastri. But history and future generations will not be led away by their fiery denunciations, and will cherish the memory of Mr. Sastri as one who has vindicated the fair name of India in the world and laid the foundations truly and firmly for a better understanding between the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire and India. On the 6th September last, the Honourable Mr. Sarma gave in Council a resume of Mr. Sastri's work in Australia. Repetition is unnecessary. Nor do I enter into details. It will be enough to say that he has done the necessary spadework and more. In the words of the Premier of Australia, he has "removed for all time those prejudices and misunderstandings which formerly prevented the admission of your countrymen resident in Australia to the enjoyment of the full rights of citizenship,..... and brought those reforms covered or suggested by resolutions of the 1918 and 1921 Conferences within the range of practical politics".

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In New Zealand the Right Honourable Sastri has been equally successful and in Canada, though the task has not been so easy, there are grounds for believing that the ultimate results will be of enduring benefit to the resident Indian. It is true Mr. Sastri has not been to South Africa and Kenya where the Indian problem is the acutest, but the reasons are plain and were explained at length by that indefatigable worker in the Indian cause Overseas, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, at Lucknow on 6th July 1922. To put it shortly, there was no invitation by South Africa as there was by Australia, New Zealand and Canada and the Indian cause would not have advanced ever so little by Mr. Sastri's forcing his presence there. As for Kenya, it is a Crown Colony, and therefore the decision lies in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Any discussion to help in the solution of the difficult problem must accordingly be held in London and not in Kenya. No fruitful purpose therefore would have been served by Mr. Sastri going to these countries. Besides, Mr. Sastri went out as the representative of the Government of India. In that capacity he could not possibly go to South Africa without special invitation.

#### OVERSEA EMIGRATION.

In assessing the value of the Right Honourable Sastri's work in the Dominions, it should be distinctly remembered that the question of Oversea Emigration has two branches, one relating to restrictions upon future emigration and the other to the status of Indians already domiciled within the Dominions. The first part of the question has, at least for years to come, been set at rest by the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1918, practically based on the principle of reciprocity, so persistently insisted upon by Lord Hardinge, and the next part of the question has been, thanks to the admirable advocacy of the Right Honourable Sastri, settled by the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, by which the principle of equal rights of citizenship for all people lawfully domiciled in any component part of the British Empire has been laid down once for all. It now remains for us to see that the principle thus enunciated is given effect to within the Dominions. And it is quite in the fitness of things that the Right Honourable Sastri should have been chosen by the Government of India to go out personally to the self-governing Colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Canada to

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induce the Governments of those countries to apply that principle to our countrymen domiciled there. This work he has done quite satisfactorily, and the thanks of the whole country are due to him for his great achievements. Once Indians domiciled in the Colonies acquire full rights of citizenship the present restrictions upon emigration out of India must undergo considerable modification with the lapse of time and the growth of enlightenment. It is true the problem is acutest, as is notorious, in South Africa and Kenya. It is likewise true that with the Federation, now contemplated of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, in all of which countries there are large numbers of Indians domiciled from before the advent of the European settler, the lot of the Indian settler will be worse and the problem will be even more difficult of solution. But I am buoyed up with hope that these units of the Empire cannot long keep themselves out of the current of political thought and developments, and Indian settlers will eventually be granted there too the same status and privileges as in the sister Dominions. It is in these large possibilities of the future that the value of the Right Honourable Sastri's recent work in the Colonies lies.

#### NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION.

But, Brother delegates, we must not rest on our oars; we must not relax in our efforts for securing justice and fairplay to our countrymen whether in the Colonies or in India. Constant vigilance is necessary. I regret, however, we of the Moderate Party are not doing our best in the matter. I have already referred to the need for better organisation and consolidation of our forces, and I stress the point with all the emphasis at my command. If the work before us in the Colonies is great, it is even greater within the country. India, shattered by political dissensions and rapidly gliding down towards revolution and anarchy cannot possibly be either politically or economically great and cannot expect to have the sympathy and the blessings of the world in her struggle for freedom. Growing hatred for the European which is so noticeable and regrettable a feature of recent developments in the country is destructive of that amity and good fellowship upon which our political progress equally with economic progress depends. We require all our energy and courage to combat this evil. Brother Delegates, the time has come for all of us to shake off the stupor of apathy and inaction, and to realise that the gravest crisis in the political history of India is on us. It will no longer do for us to stand aloof and to depend upon the gradual assertion of the good-sense of the masses for the termination of our present troubles. We have great responsibility as leaders of public opinion, and unless we shoulder it with spirit and determination we will fail in our clear duty and deserve the ridicule of the world. The situation demands determined action not only on the part of Government but also on our part. But what have we done so far to counter the revolutionary activities of the non-co-operator? They have only been given a long rope. But is that the way to discharge our duties? The answer can only be an emphatic negative. While the non-co-operator has been extraordinarily active, the Moderate movement has been lacking in vitality. If we want to progress by constitutional means, one thing we ought to keep vividly before us, and that is that the existence of a movement of this nature is not justified by occasional representations to Government, but must seek its justification in a determined effort in the cause of law and order. It must also be admitted that we have been too timid so long in our support of Government measures designed to keep the non-co-operation movement under reasonable control. That since the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement there have been disorders of a more or less serious nature very frequently throughout India with an actual rebellion in Malabar, admits of no doubt. That disrespect of law and authority has been openly preached in India, is equally patent. The non-co-operator has in the frankest and the most determined manner possible shaken the very foundations

## NON-CO-OPERATION ACTIVITIES.

of ordered society. A revolution has been organised with little pretence to concealment, and to ensure success the loyalty of the Police and the Army has been sought to be tampered with. Indeed at least in some parts, the country has been mapped out and divided into new divisions, districts, sub-divisions and circles with non-co-operator officers in charge, and an army has been raised which, though in point of equipment and morale is in keeping with the traditions of the knight immortalised in the pages of Cervantes, has been an active centre of mischief and annoyance both to Government and the people. Not content with this suicidal record of inglorious and wicked activities, the leaders of the non-co-operation movement have deliberately prepared a scheme of mass civil disobedience which means the end of all Government, and which has not been abandoned but has only been suspended as much from mawkish sentimentalism and timely appreciation of difficulties as from fear of retribution. Only three days ago, a special cablegram to *The Times of India* from London announced that Mr. M. N. Roy has submitted a programme to the Congress which claims "complete national independence, the establishment of a Federal Republic of India, the severing of the Imperial bonds and that the sovereignty of the people be vested in a National Assembly," and the Congress "is urged to develop a general strike at every opportunity and to form a gigantic mass movement to break down authority." While all this activity has been creating havoc in the country and making the realisation of our goal extraordinarily difficult, we Moderates have failed to rise to the height of the occasion in support of our political principles or at best have temporised and fretted at the natural consequences of a firm policy of executive action for the suppression of disorder even more than at the misdeeds of the non-co-operator which made such policy a matter of extreme necessity. The issue was plain from the beginning. Whether India is to fulfil her destiny under the aegis of the British Crown and work for the attainment of self-government within the British Empire, or to stray away from the Empire, snapping all ties of union, and to seek her salvation in isolation and self-immolation in close co-operation with the revolutionary forces of the world? To this plain issue there can be but one answer, but that answer we have not so far given in an effective manner.

Brother Delegates, we are all for Swaraj, but the Moderate ideal of Swaraj is entirely different from that of the non-co-operator, albeit this latter is of doubtful complexion. Our highest goal is self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines, whereas the Swaraj which the non-co-operator desires is, according to some of the most distinguished among that class, somewhat "undefineable." The non-co-operator apparently does not know his own mind. His Swaraj varies from absolute independence to almost Dominion Self-Rule. Absolute independence has been preached by the President of the last annual session of the Moslem League. But broadly speaking, the Swaraj which the bulk of the non-co-operators seek is anything but Parliamentary Swaraj. Mr. Gandhi made that plain in his book on "Indian Home Rule," published so far back as 1908. Mr. C. R. Das, speaking only a few weeks ago at the last Dehra Dun Conference, made it plainer still. He wants to free the proletariat from the domination of both the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. "I want Swaraj for the masses, not for the classes. I don't care for the bourgeoisie." The Swaraj in broad outline is identical with the Bolshevik Republic of Russia. In theory all power is to be in the hands of the working classes with the total extinction of capitalism. With the example of Russia before us it is not difficult to foresee the consequences of Mr. Das's Swaraj in India, and it would be a matter of extreme surprise if the country as a whole be in any doubt about its choice. Mr. Das, in a considered statement issued from Amraoti in the first week of November, has run into wilder

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flights of revolutionary imagination. He wants an Asiatic Federation, a Federation of all the nations of Asia, "a bond of friendship and love, of sympathy and co-operation between India and the rest of Asia, nay between India and the liberty-loving people of the world". These "liberty-loving people of the world" are no other than the revolutionary forces of the world!

He does not fight shy of revolution, because "revolution is but a part of that growth the totality of which we call evolution"! A wild scheme of this nature need not be discussed seriously, but one thing should be emphasised. The idea of a combination of this kind, be it practicable or not, is wholly inconsistent with allegiance to the

#### MR. DAS'S SCHEME.

British Crown and the Empire. The scheme sketched by Mr. Das gains practical interest from the fact that only lately the malcontents and revolutionaries of various countries assembled at Munich. A world combination of revolutionaries is thus already in course of formation, and it would be clearly wrong as much for the Government as for us of the Moderate Party simply to dismiss Mr. Das's idea with a sneer. Thanks to the unchecked activities of the non-violent non-co-operator, we have had enough of disturbances, disorders and shocking incidents in India during the last two years, but with the threatened mass civil disobedience and boycott and this Asiatic Federation greater danger is evidently looming ahead. During 1921 there were 34 serious disorders many of which had to be put down with the help of the Military. Disturbances of a less serious character were far more numerous. In Bombay, on the 17th November 1921, on the occasion of the landing of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, even under the nose of Mr. Gandhi there were riots attended with loss of 54 lives, the looting of 137 shops at the lowest estimate, and destruction of valuable property! Indeed, these riots were the worst in the history of the city. 1922 has had its own budget of disgraceful incidents, the worst being the Moplah rebellion. The riots at Madras, Chawri Chowra and Multan are typical, the last even more than the Moplah outrage besides being a significant commentary on the professed Hindu-Moslem Unity. Mr. Gandhi has himself expressed the deepest horror at the atrocities. But what does it all boot? In his statement in Court he made significant admissions. He coolly said that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government had become almost a passion with him and he was very particular in stating that this was not a new growth in him, but he was lachrymose over the riots. He further stated that it was impossible for him to dissociate himself from the diabolical crimes of Chowri Chowra or the mad outrages of Bombay. Two things are thus clear: That the true objective of the non-co-operation movement initiated by Mr. Gandhi is to excite the masses against Government, and not merely to paralyse executive action by non-co-operation and thereby to get Indian grievances redressed. And, further, that the movement, despite its vaunted principle of non-violence, was bound to end in anarchical disturbances and outrages, and Mr. Gandhi knew it well enough. He admitted that the Advocate-General was "quite right when he said that as man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair experience of the world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same."

Now, in view of this clear admission from the lips of the author of the movement could there be any doubt as to its real purpose and trend, or as to the duty of every law-abiding citizen in the present crisis? We have had enough of this playing with fire. It may be a pleasant pastime with the non-co-operator

leaders but it is death to society. Now it must stop. And it behoves us all to assert ourselves and to range ourselves frankly and fearlessly, I will not say on the side of Government, but on the side of law and order, that is, of society and civilization. We, Moderates of India, must start an active propaganda to save the country from the wiles and seductions of the non-co-operator. Propaganda must be met by propaganda. It is true the rowdies of the non-co-operation camp try their best to prevent meetings of the Moderate Party. But I am confident if we are determined and do not sink in despair from fear of rowdies and hooligans a better atmosphere is sure to prevail before long. With an active central organisation, with ample funds, success is not difficult of attainment. We must have a class of preachers, determined and tactful, with sufficient knowledge of India and the world and politics, and willing to make political preaching their profession. There cannot be a dearth of proper men, but initiative and the organisation and the direction must be the business of the central organisation. The sooner the organisation is started and funds necessary for the purpose are provided the better it is for the country. A determined effort must be made to expose the fallacies and the absurdities of the non-co-operator. And success is bound to be ours.

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#### THE PUNJAB AND KHILAFAT QUESTIONS.

Brother Delegates, the non-co-operation movement at the inception had for its justification the grievances of the Punjab. Later, with the practical amalgamation of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee, the grievances connected with the harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres and the contraction of the temporal powers of the Khilafat was added. Both these grounds have now failed. It must be frankly admitted that the action taken by Government to remove the bitterness over the Punjab tragedy of 1919 does not satisfy public opinion. That something more drastic should have been done may also be admitted. But as regards the punishments demanded by the Indian public opinion, some of them were clearly beyond the power of the Government of India. Perhaps the assessment of compensation could have been and should have been more liberal. But this is a comparatively minor matter. In my humble opinion, however, much we might feel for the shortcomings of Government in both these respects, in the circumstances of the case the failure of Government to go as far as the public in the matter of punishments and compensations does not justify continued all-India agitation, with non-co-operation for its ruling principle. It is neither expedient nor just. Agitation based upon racial hatred can do no good. While it has, and is bound to set the back up of the British Government and has made that Government more determined in their attitude, it has successfully estranged British opinion and sympathy, and has supplied ample justification for further repression. Brother Delegates, I know the familiar cry of repression being the father of freedom. I would appeal to the people, in whose good-sense I have abundant faith, not to be carried away by hackneyed political shibboleths, but as sensible men to view the matter as a business proposition, and to consider seriously, if it is reasonable, nay rational, to persist in a course of action for stern measures. As men of the world, we must take count of gains and losses, of advantages and disadvantages, and not be lost in contemplation of a dreamland in which modern conditions of life have no operative force. Calm consideration of all the facts as rational men will lead to the inevitable conclusion that further agitation, on the lines it has now been carried on, will do more harm than good.

It must never be forgotten that the Satyagraha movement brought in its train Jhalianwala Bagh and the Non-co-operation movement has already led to

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the Malabar tragedy, Chawri Chowra and other disturbances of 1921 and 1922 before which all the disorders of the previous 150 years pale into insignificance. And with every disturbance of that nature the forces of reaction are strengthened.

If the Punjab tragedy of 1919 does not justify further agitation, there is absolutely no justification now for it in the fate of the Khilafat. The Caliph has been shorn of all temporal power by the Turks themselves. There is no longer any question of the preservation intact of his sovereign rights and territory in order to enable him to discharge his spiritual functions properly. Further Khilafat agitation therefore lacks justification. Now it is a question of the powers and prestige of the Angora Government. In the settlement of this question it is wholly wrong and unconstitutional for Indians to take any part, and Government would be perfectly justified in suppressing the Khilafat agitation after what has happened in Constantinople. But I hope Government interference will not be necessary, and the strong commonsense for which Indian Moslems are distinguished will induce them to drop the agitation altogether.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

Brother Delegates, it would be the gravest of blunders for our countrymen to resort to Civil Disobedience, whether individual or mass disobedience to lawful authority and infraction of laws can certainly not be tolerated either by Government or by the large law-abiding sections of the people. It is better for the supporters of the maddest of all schemes of non-co-operation to realise that it can never find acceptance with the bulk of the Indian population, and even if it does, Government is strong enough to compel obedience to its will and laws. And in this fight Government will have the willing co-operation of all sensible men. Mass civil disobedience is bound to end in complete failure, but the regret is that before it collapses there is sure to be the acutest misery, possibly attended with bloodshed, the magnitude of which will stagger humanity, and might disturb the equanimity even of the self-centred Mr. Gandhi. It is time for us to pause and think.

Brother Delegates, the non-co-operator is undoubtedly prolific in his mischievous plans. Mass civil disobedience does not mark the end of his mad career. Another programme is on his brain. He has so far sought to wreck the Constitutional Reforms so generally granted by the British Government as a first and substantial instalment of internal self-government which is our goal, by abstaining from participation in the elections. This abstention of some of the most intellectual, earnest and experienced among our countrymen, though deeply regrettable and though justifying to some extent the doubts about our capacity for self-government and for facing realities and shouldering responsibilities, has failed to make the working of the Reforms impossible. The Reformed Councils, on the contrary, have amply justified their existence. Opinion about their success both here and in Great Britain is practically unanimous. If the Councils continue as they have begun, a further expansion of our rights in the near future is almost a certainty. There are hopes, they will still further improve. But here the non-co-operator threatens to block the course. His latest tactics is to wreck the councils from within, and this is a serious aspect of the question. Brother Delegates, the point is now being mooted in non-co-operation circles whether entry into the councils and mass obstructiveness there will not be a more effective method for bringing the Government to its knees. That something of this kind might be and probably would be attempted has not escaped the notice of wide-awake British statesmen of the front rank. Mr Lloyd George, speaking lately in the House of Commons as Premier, sounded a note of warning. It might at

once be conceded that that move on the part of the non-co-operator will have disastrous consequences. The greatest hallucination under which the non-co-operator labours is, that in the expected paralysis of Government through this move the only course left to the British nation will be to retire from India bag and baggage. Peurility could not go further. It is surprising that it never occurs to him that there is the alternative course of reverting to pure despotism as a dire necessity. Although political conditions have changed in Great Britain, no responsible statesman over there, I fully believe, ever thinks of going back upon the Pronouncement of August 20, 1917, and of undoing the Reforms; but the grant of self-government by a process of gradual evolution after all depends upon the proof we give of our capacity and fitness for a considerate use of our powers. Surely the method of obstructiveness within the councils proposed to be followed by some of the non-co-operators involves the negation of all sense of responsibility, and is about the last thing that could make any favourable impression upon the British nation. I fervently hope the whole country will realise this. Besides, for the life of me I do not understand how a non-co-operator can seek election to the councils *qua* a non-co-operator. He is supposed to be an honest man. As an honest man, can he swear allegiance to the Crown on entry into the Councils when in his heart of hearts as also professedly he is opposed to the British connection?

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Opposition in the Council is by itself not wrong. It is one of the accepted methods of representative government. It is a healthy force, provided it is not the result of a deliberate conspiracy to thwart the Executive without consideration of the facts. The threatened opposition of the non-co-operating members of council has for its mainspring mere cussedness and a determination to wreck the Government. This tactics is not unknown to history. The Irish members of Parliament tried it a pretty long time, but hardly with much success. But here in India the healthy forces that kept the obstructive Irish members in check are absent. And that is the danger. The only result of such tactics can spell nothing but disaster to India, in as much as reversion to a despotic form of government might become a matter of unavoidable necessity. The non-co-operator will then have the glory of having undone the work of our great patriots of the past. Is this denouement desired by the electorates of India? I think not, I believe not, I hope not.

Brother Delegates, a General Election will be on us in a few months' time. It is absolutely necessary for us to gird up our loins and to enter into the thick of the fight with spirit and determination, with the primary view of seeing that only men of sound judgment with a due sense of responsibility and sincerely anxious to do everything in their power to ensure the success of the Reforms, are returned. Staid men are wanted more than ever, and not flashy seers ever ready to catch the eye of the ignorant masses with flamboyant politics and wild schemes of freedom in which swords will be turned into ploughshares and the safety of India from foreign invasion will be assured by the hospitality and courtesy for the guest for which the country is famous, and internal dissensions will be drowned in a torrent of brotherly love between caste and caste, class and class and race and race, or else be hushed into silence in the whirl of the *charka*. But the difficulty lies in the ignorance, the apathy, the gullibility, and the easy, obliging nature of the Indian elector. He has not had yet proper training in representative government. The chief duty before us now is to go to the country and educate the elector. To the performance of this duty we Moderates of India must apply ourselves forthwith; otherwise our failure at the booths will be well-deserved.

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#### AMELIORATION NEEDED.

Brother Delegates, I have thus far dealt only with the evil effects of the Non-co-operation movement at what may appear to some an inordinate length, because I feel that that is the greatest danger to the ordered progress towards full responsible Government, which we all so much desire. But because I have said that, it does not mean that I overlook the obvious measures for the amelioration of our political and economic conditions which Government must at once undertake if they are not to feed the embers of that deep underlying discontent of which the Non-co-operation movement is at least partly a mere result. Many of these measures will now come up for discussion during the course of this session and I will not anticipate them here. I have no doubt, the President in his address will deal with all those measures of outstanding importance, as it will be his right as well as duty to do. But whether the Indian Government or the British Parliament moves slow or moves fast in the matter, there is not the least doubt, in my mind at least, that the non-co-operation movement will, if at all successful in any degree or measure, mean a sure death-blow to all our most cherished aspirations; for that can only precipitate an era of sheer despotism from which in spite of all the drawbacks in the existing situation, we may happily be said to have now emerged.

#### FOREIGN TRADE.

Brother Delegates, in the crisis created by the non-co-operation movement our responsibility is all the greater in that the foreign trade of India, upon the healthy development of which our prosperity depends, will be ruined if the situation does not improve before long. No progressive nation in the world has ever prospered without foreign trade. And it is this trade which the non-co-operator, if he could, would destroy by all means in his power. I do not believe in organised boycott of foreign manufactures and foreign importers as an effective force in the economic organisation of the country. Foreign goods must come into India if her foreign trade is to balance itself. It is not that alone. Foreign capital is needed for development of our great natural resources. Is it likely that foreign capitalists would sink money here in the abnormal situation created by the non-co-operator? In Bolshevik Russia they want foreign money badly, but they cannot get it, and quite naturally. No, Brother Delegates, the worst feature of this non-co-operation movement is that it has created deep distrust in the minds of the foreign manufacturer and the foreign capitalist. Mutual confidence is the first and the last condition of success in commerce, and we must do all in our power to restore this confidence in India in foreign countries. Much will depend upon the discussions in the Councils regarding commercial matters. Perhaps the most important discussion will be held soon.

#### FISCAL COMMISSION'S REPORT.

Brother Delegates, the Report submitted to Government by the Indian Fiscal Commission will be discussed in Council before long. I must speak of the Commission with reserve, but I must say that the recommendations of the Commission have been made after careful consideration of the evidence before them and the general situation, and with due regard to the economic interests of the people. The honesty of purpose of the members and their enthusiasm for the speedy industrial development of India are unquestionable. On the main points there was hardly any difference of opinion among the members as a whole. In my humble opinion, there was none in substance. As regards the broad principles of Protection, Imperial Preference and Tariff Board both the



majority and the minority are agreed, but whereas the majority in determining the issues before them felt bound to subordinate political to economic considerations, political considerations apparently weighed most with the minority. The prime object to be kept in view is the conversion, at a reasonably rapid pace of an agricultural country into a manufacturing country, without placing upon the consumer an unduly heavy burden, and with due regard to the capacity of the people to profit by artificial aids of tariff regulations. Economists of all schools are agreed that protection of particular industries can never be either permanent or for an indefinite period. To yield satisfactory results it must be applied with discrimination. This discrimination ought not to be left to the unaided will of the Executive, but should be dependent upon the advice of a body of experts who should form a Tariff Board. And this is all that the majority of the Commission have recommended. The minority of the Commission do not object to the principles of Protection thus broadly laid down by the majority. But they stumble over details. Imperial Preference is one of the most important and difficult subjects which demand an early determination, and in regard to this also there is no real difference between the conclusions of the majority and the minority. Both have left it to be decided by the Indian Legislature, but whereas the majority have pointed out its desirability in inter-Empire dealings, the minority would exclude, for political reasons, the Colonies and the Dominions from the benefit of such Preference in the contingency of its being adopted by the Legislature. The fight is thus reduced to narrow issues, and may be settled to the satisfaction of all parties in the Legislature. But it is essentially necessary that the right sort of men only should be returned to the Councils, men, while truly representing the feelings and opinions of the people, will bring to the discussion not only fair and experienced but an open mind, a broad outlook, earnestness and devotion to truth.

Brother Delegates, in connection with the fiscal policy of India two points should be emphasized. As in politics so in fiscal matters, shibboleths and dogmas must be avoided. There is no room for dogmatism in these matters. The question must be determined after due balancing of advantages and disadvantages. There cannot be one uniform rule for all circumstances. India is a country of raw materials, some of which even in the most favourable circumstances cannot be worked here profitably. There are manufactures which are necessary but for which India must depend upon foreign countries, if not for all time, for at least an indefinitely long period. An exchange of indigenous raw materials and manufactures must therefore be unavoidable. And for this exchange our fiscal policy should be such as to ensure to the country the maximum of advantages with the minimum of sacrifice. Any one policy cannot in the circumstances be of universal application. The policy must be determined in each case, *i. e.* for each trade and industry, with due regard to the conditions, the state of its present development and the chances of prospective progress. From this general rule two deductions follow. In the first place, a policy of this nature must be revised from time to time, and in the next place, the preliminary detailed examination must be undertaken by a body of experts sitting as a Tariff Board. And both demand the earliest consideration of the Legislature. The second of the two points to be emphasized is fiscal freedom for India. It is only natural that every country, not held in utter subjection by another country, with the elevating goal of self-government before it, should have full freedom in fiscal matters. For this freedom we have been crying all these years of constitutional agitation. Unfortunately, even with the liberalisation of our constitution and the formulation of a higher aim and purpose of British

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Indian Rule, fiscal freedom for India has not been placed on a statutory basis. Lord Selborne's Committee only laid down the rule that in all matters in which the Government of India is in agreement with the Indian Legislature, there will be no interference by the Home authorities unless it be from necessity from considerations of Imperial obligations. Fiscal freedom is thus on an unstable basis now, and even with the growth of the strongest of conventions, cannot crystallize into a statutory right. But this statutory right is undoubtedly our due. And I sincerely hope, and trust we all, never mind to which political party we belong, will join hands and agitate strenuously for it.

Brother Delegates, if I have dealt with the non-co-operation movement and the Indian fiscal question to the practical exclusion of all other subjects, it is not as I have already said, for lack of interest in them. Any number of problems more or less important await solution. In my humble opinion, however, those two are, in existing circumstances, of out-standing importance, and the people would be well-advised to concentrate all their energy upon a proper solution of those problems. It is true the whole of our constructive programme of political and economic progress lies before us practically unworked, but our success in that line is entirely dependent upon internal security and peaceful conditions. Unfortunately through the mischievous activities of the non-co-operator that security is almost at an end in parts of the country, while in other parts it is threatened such as it has not been during the past sixty years. Nowhere in India can it be said with due regard to truth that absolutely peaceful conditions prevail. In view of these facts the wisest thing the moderate party can do is to tackle the problems of non-co-operation with energy and determination. One cannot afford to think of other matters, however necessary and important they may be, when one's house is on fire. Brother Delegates, let us now wake up and make a concentrated and determined effort for the restoration of internal peace, without which no progress, be it political, social or economic, is possible, and for preventing the fair name of India from being tarnished. We have conserved our energy and lain in wait long enough. The time is come for the word of command to pass: "Up Guards and at them."

Brother Delegates, I once again offer you a most cordial welcome, and to request you to overlook possible defects in our arrangements for your reception. Believe me, the will is there even though the performance be poor. (cheers).

### Messages of Sympathy.

Messages  
of  
Sympathy

Mr. N. A. Dravid, Joint Secretary of the Reception Committee, then read letters and telegrams from the following gentlemen regretting their inability to attend the Conference and expressing their sympathy with its objects and wishing it success :- The Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Minister, U. P., the hon. Mr. P. C. Mitter Minister, Bengal, Mr. Prithivis Chandra Roy, Mr. N. Subba Rao, Pantulu, Mr. Anand Swarup, Mr. Rajuath Kunzru, Rao Bahadur Puranik, Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, Major Ranjit Singh, Mr. Surendranath Sen, Mr. Beohar Raghbir Singh, Mr. Sitacharan Dube, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Sardar Pandazao, Rao Saheb Sahasrabudhe, Mr. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, Mr. Deorao Deshpande, and Mr. Syed Yasim M. L. C.

### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

SIR B. K. BOSE.

Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, in proposing the Rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri to the chair said :-

Sir Maneckjee, Brother Delegates, Ladies, and Gentlemen:-

The Reception Committee have charged me with the duty of placing before you a proposition, which I have no doubt, will receive your unanimous, nay, enthusiastic support. I look upon it as a privilege that this duty has devolved on my humble self. I beg to propose that you should elect the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri (cheers) as the President of this year's National Liberal Federation. He needs no introduction from me for who is there in this assembly who does not know him and knowing him does not respect him and honour him as one of the ablest sons of India, a worthy successor of that great and good leader and master of Indian politics, the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale (cheers) in whom was embodied whatever is noblest and best, in our political life, and in whom was embodied an unstinted spirit of self-abnegation and self immolation in the cause of the public good. And I almost feel that the gap caused on that mournful day, the 19th of February 1915 when we lost Gopal Krishna Gokhale forever has been filled, and worthily filled by the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri (cheers). We are living in anxious times. Troubles and tribulations of diverse kinds are coming upon us and pressing us on all sides, which, unless we are careful in our methods, will lead us to disaster. At such a critical and anxious time it behoves us that we should select the best amongst us to guide us and to help us in our deliberations; and who is there amongst us here to-day on whom our choice could fall with better propriety than on the Right Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri? (cheers.) He has been pronounced as one of the great orators of the world; but that is not all. By his supreme tact, his great wisdom and his statesmanlike conduct, he has earned for India an honoured place and has rivetted the attention of the world upon India, on her aspirations and on her onward march towards her appointed goal. Before that India was hardly known to Europe but by his presence at the great assembly of the people of the world, the League of Nations, he has by his advocacy and by his supreme tact in putting before them the needs of the country, placed us in a position which will enable us hereafter to deal on equal footing with all the nations of the world. But his services do not end here. He is above all the Servant of India, one who like his and our master has consecrated his great abilities and his whole life to the cause of our country. Is there any person on whom our choice might fall to-day than on such a personality? We have every hope that in his wise guidance and his great help, this Conference will be a complete success; at all events it will attain that measure of success which it deserves and we shall be able at least to take one step forward in our march to our final goal. I don't wish to detain you further, ladies and gentlemen, for I feel sure you will fully accept my proposition (cheers).

Mr. N. M. SAMARTH.

Mr. N. M. Samarth, M. L. A. (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said: Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting the motion so ably and eloquently moved by Sir Bepin Krishna Bose. I think I rise to really congratulate the Reception Committee on their happy choice of the President (cheers). The Right Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri requires no commendation from any of us here. He has made his mark not only in the public life of India but he has acquired a reputation which might be considered to be international (hear, hear); and on an occasion of this character, a pronouncement coming from him will attract attention not only in India but in the Dominions as well which he has visited to such advantage to the Indians settled there and where he has addressed the people with his usual eloquence i. e. in Australia, New Zealand, Canada etc; and if ever you wanted a man whose utterance and

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Mr. N. M.  
Samarth.

statesmanlike pronouncement could carry weight outside India, you could not have selected a better person than the Right Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri ( cheers ).

THE HON'BLE DR. PARANJPE.

The Hon'ble  
Dr. Paranjpe

The Hon'ble Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, ( Bombay ) who on rising to support the resolution was received with loud cheers, said : Brother Delegates, ladies and gentlemen: I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposition. I agree with my friend Mr. Samarth when he said that the Reception Committee has made indeed a happy choice. The Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri has performed great services for our country in the past. He has represented our country at the Imperial Conference when delegates of all the nations of the world had assembled. He has acted as the ambassador of this country to the Dominions in the British Empire. These are services of very great importance and they have been recognized by all those who have eyes to see. Perhaps the presidency of a Conference like this may not strike the imagination as these other services do but I claim, Sir, that presiding at a Conference like this and laying down lines for our future political progress is a service which will bear comparison with the services that he has rendered in other directions ( hear, hear ). This is one of the most important crisis in our political progress and as you, Sir, ( the Chairman of the Reception Committee ) have pointed out, the conditions in our country are in many respects very far from reassuring; and a sound guidance from the hands of people like the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri will be of the very greatest service to the country ( hear, hear ). I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will accept this proposition with acclamation ( cheers ).

PANDIT GOKARANATH MISRA.

Pandit  
Gokaranath  
Misra

Pandit Gokarnath Misra, M. L. C., ( U. P. ) in supporting the resolution said:--

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which was moved so eloquently by Sir Bepin Krishna Bose. There is no doubt that the present time is a very critical time indeed. After a few months the elections to the reformed Legislative Councils will have to be taken up again; and we the moderates have to organise ourselves, we have to prove to the country what the liberal principles mean, and we have to educate the electorates; and on such an occasion, it is necessary that we should work under the guidance of a person like the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivasa Shastri. And I think that his guidance at the present juncture will be extremely necessary and extremely fruitful. I do not think it is advisable for me to speak more on this occasion because the time is limited; and I hope that you will all carry this proposition with acclamation and applause ( cheers ).

MR. G. A. NATESAN.

Mr. G. A.  
Natesan

Mr. G. A. Natesan ( Madras ) in further supporting the resolution said:-- Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been asked to support a proposition which does not require any support and yet I feel as one who has had the privilege of a close and intimate friendship with the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri for a period of over 30 years to say a word or two and I ask his forgiveness particularly and I feel that as I am not putting up in his quarters I shall perhaps save myself some castigation at his hands ( laughter ). Born of the people bred up of the people and living amongst them, battling against poverty in its acutest form, from the humble and yet the most honourable position of a school-master, he has by sheer dint of character, courage and ability of a high order, risen to a position of great eminence and just renown. He has, if I may

be permitted to say so, raised the honour of India in the estimation of the whole civilized world (hear, hear). He has shown not only to the Dominion statesmen but the British government and to the British Cabinet itself, to what height Indian manhood can really rise if it is unfettered and if full and fair opportunities are given to our men (cheers). The present situation is certainly one of very great complications; and we want one to guide us who has the ripe experience of the world and yet has the enthusiasm, the passionate devotion and the optimism of the young; not only that, but who also does not possess either the timid feeling of old age or the intemperate enthusiasm of the young. And I venture to assert that the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri combines in himself those essential qualities of leadership which are absolutely necessary to guide us in these troublous days. More than anything else, we want a man who will speak out his views to the people even at the risk of great unpopularity and even if he is calumniated; and yet we also want a man who will tell the Government boldly to its face that certain measures which it takes are calculated to bring the country into disaster. I believe a combination of these qualities is not always to be found; but if in this unfortunate country we are likely to find it in any one, it is he who possesses these qualities (cheers). I venture to think that the pronouncement that he will make will be one worthy of the man and of the occasion; and more than anything else he has the greatest quality of a leader, he will be just and fair even to his opponents (hear, hear, and applause).

Mr. G. A.  
Natesan

R. B. R. G. Mundle (Berar), supported the resolution on behalf of Berar.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Rt. hon.. Shrinivasa Sastri then took his seat amidst deafening applause. As he rose to deliver his address, he was accorded an ovation. He said:—

SIR MANEKJEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— You have called me to a highly honourable post, a post, involving great responsibility: and in calling me to this position language has been used which I should remember came from friends and it were therefore ungracious to examine it minutely. But I must say that I do not feel that I deserve a tithe of the praise which their generosity and regard for a friend— and especially for a friend who is not held in high favour by the public (laughter), has induced them to say.

Presidential  
Address

Right  
Hon'ble  
V. S.  
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LIBERAL organizations all over India have conferred on me a very great honour and I am profoundly grateful. The conduct of your deliberations at this session is a delicate as well as a difficult task. Some friends have written to tell me of their expectations and would be surprised perhaps to be told they have not exactly heartened me. I should have rejoiced sincerely if your attempt to secure another President and a worthier one had succeeded. My friend Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru has qualifications for the position, natural and acquired, to which I cannot lay claim. The Liberal party's bad luck had ordained that his release from official bondage should come a few days too late. And I am here. I am willing to serve. Make the best of me you can.

First let us pay a tribute of affectionate memory to those of our friends who have passed away in recent months from the scenes that knew them well. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, after many years' faithful and highly appreciated labour in the field of journalism, died in his native district in honourable poverty. The political views of Babu Motilal Ghose and his quaint manner of expressing them gave him during nearly two generations a place all his own in the public life of our country. We shall long miss the amiable figure of Dr. Sir

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Bhalchandra Krishna, somewhat rare in recent years on our platform, but one of the heroes of the past generations, of wise and weighty speech and not easily swayed by passion or prejudice. The loss of Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey is a grief from which we shall take very long to recover. His knowledge of business, courage in advocacy and restraint of expression gave his pronouncements uncommon weight in the Assembly. A debate in the old Imperial Council when it still sat in Calcutta is among my vivid memories, in which he vigorously and skillfully assailed the Railway policy as to rates, while Mr. Gokhale sitting near him beamed approval and encouragement. The Bombay Legislative Council is the poorer for the death of Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe, whose clear common sense and quiet speech made his counsel invaluable both to those who sit on the official benches and to their critics.

#### MR. MONTAGU

On this occasion, when the Liberal party in India meets for the first time after the recent political changes in England, our thoughts go naturally to the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu. (Applause). In the long history of our British connection, no one has loved India more, no one has suffered more for her, no one has been more courageous or persistent in the application to her of the noble principles of Liberalism, no one amongst front-bench politicians in England has had a more thorough or sympathetic knowledge and appreciation of her problems or her ambitions, no one has had a higher conception of her destiny within the British Commonwealth and no one has put together a more substantial record of actual achievement in the pursuit of that destiny. We all regretted very much the sinister intrigue which deprived him of office, and we regret still more those cross currents of English politics which have resulted in his exclusion from Parliament altogether. What a loss it is in these days, when there is reasonable fear of reaction or stagnation in Indian affairs! Though in opposition, his voice would have carried more moral weight than that of any other single member of the House and his guidance would have been of rare authority. India thinks of him with sorrow made poignant by her gratitude and sends him her best wishes for a future career worthy of his great services to India and to the British Commonwealth.

#### SIGNS OF REACTION.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India and certain other politicians of note have declared their intentions not to go back on the policy of the Government of India Act, 1919, and to abide loyally by its provisions in spirit as well as in the letter. This doubtless brings some relief to the anxious mind of India, and we trust that the strength of the Labour party in opposition and of the Liberal party, will be sufficient to avert any tendency to reaction which the presence in the new Ministry of some well-known opponents of the Government of India Act might lead us to apprehend. Our friends in England, of whom to the honour of British public life there never has been a want, hold out no great hope of any advance under the present regime. Those who have experience from the inside of actual administration in India already detect pronounced symptoms of a tendency on the part of the India Office, while observing the letter of the law, to violate it in the spirit. The more acute section of the general public here, only too ready to imbibe a note of pessimism, profess to be startled by an attitude of entrenched confidence on the part of the Imperial services quite at variance with their uneasy apprehensiveness of a little while ago. Speaking in May last to an audience composed almost entirely of high officials, I took the risk of being accused of

impertinence, warned them solemnly that there was a very widespread distrust of their good faith in the matter of political reforms in the country and implored them not to be too solicitous of the maintenance of vested interests, but to proceed with high hearts in the work of preparing India for Dominion status giving continual proof of a recognition on their part that that was their one high mission and purpose here. So cautious and just-minded a man as Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar has recently given expression in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century and After* to similar sentiments. I will make no apology for quoting some sentences from his weighty pronouncement: "It, i. e. the unrest is largely due to a complete loss of faith in the minds of large sections of the people in the sincerity of the declarations and promises of the Government, and in their sense of justice. Belief in the justice of the British Government has been the most valuable asset of British rule in the past. The result of Mr. Gandhi's agitation has been to undermine this belief. It is this distrust of the Government which is largely responsible for the disbelief of many educated men in the reality of the constitutional reforms, and which has induced them to become extremists and resort to the method of Non-co-operation with all its pernicious consequences. The most pressing problem, in my opinion, is how to restore the faith of the people in the good intentions of the Government."

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When I was in England last year I heard a member of the Cabinet deplore a political mishap and add that it could have been avoided if the men on the spot had given timely warning of the magnitude of the danger that was gathering head. The remark struck me at the time as a rather forcible reminder of the duty of all public men, non-official as well as official, to speak out in critical times without fear and without reserve. Doubtless some men in authority will resent candid speech and denounce it as a threat, but that is a risk that must be faced by those who would save communities from injury and statesmen from blunders. It is in this spirit that I venture now to survey broadly and briefly the present political situation.

The new constitution of India has been designed as a first step towards responsible Government. It transfers to the control of elected representatives of the people certain departments of public business, while it enhances the influence of those representatives over the remaining departments. The British element in the public services has been told that it will diminish continuously in the future, and that, while it lasts, its function is to train people in self-rule. British officials must now be prepared to be judged by the care and solicitude with which they discharge this last duty. They have, it must be allowed, a more vivid appreciation of the difficulties and complexities of self-rule. They must know that, while Parliament can pass an Act and sanction a few rules, the actual transfer of political power has to be effected in this country in a multitude of matters more or less large, and that they must not lose a day or an opportunity in giving to the children of the soil every possible facility for learning how to work parliamentary institutions in their entire range. While the statute prescribes that after ten years a commission should be appointed to examine and report how far further progress is possible, the executive of India are expected in the interval not to mark time or refuse sullenly to move, but to do everything short of Parliamentary legislation to keep the good work going. Let us take, in the first instance, what is put down in the forefront of the preamble to the Act, viz. the increasing association of Indians in every branch of public service. Before the declaration of policy of August 1917, the position of Indians in the public services had been the subject of one of the bitterest complaints against British administration. After the Act, one would expect the association

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of Indians in every branch of the public service to proceed with marked speed. Some time ago, instead of declaring in conformity with the above mentioned policy what the minimum proportion of the British element should be for the time being and leaving the balance to be filled up by statutory Indians, the old principle was continued of dividing the cadre in British and Indian proportions, as though it were a common patrimony, and the Indians were to be limited to a percentage of 48 which was to be reached in ten years from an immediate beginning of 33 per cent. This 33 per cent is on the annual recruitment. Before the Indian element would actually reach 33 per cent of the whole service, it would be 20 to 25 years. When that element attains to 48 per cent it would be about 30 to 35 years. Already interested people fill the air in Britain and in India with the cry that the Indian element is growing alarmingly and dangerously large. The famous O'Donnell circular asserts that the proportion of Indians to the total cadre is to-day only 12 per cent. We are thus enabled to see the slender basis on which alarmist forecasts of the destruction of the steel frame are based. It is such unfounded representations, repeated in the English Press over Anglo-Indian signatures, which are to a great extent responsible for the growing unpopularity of the Indian services, and which friends of India like Lord Meston, Sir Claude Hill and Sir Valentine Chirol find it so difficult to counteract. Now my question is, is the Indian patriot generally and the elected member in particular of our new Legislature content with this rate of Indianisation of the great Civil Service? On the contrary, is it not a most depressing and disheartening indication of the intolerably long delay in the attainment of full responsible government, which, it is the apparent intention of the authorities to cause in so far as it is in their power? When we think in addition of the overpowering consideration of economy we are disposed to grudge every single year of this delay.

I wish to take you somewhat deeper into this question of Indianisation. Now by the very hypothesis of the case an important aspect of Indianisation is the admission of qualified Indian members of the Service into those branches of administration where they would be trained in the inner art of government and initiated into its secrets. No better test could be devised of the sincerity of the authorities in their desire to obey the requirements of the preamble to our Act than the extent to which they have appointed Indians to the Secretariat of the Government of India and the various Local Governments. The following table gives the necessary figures for comparison:—

TABLE I

Government of India

Secretaries (including Joint Secretaries)	13	1 Indian
Deputy Secretaries	...13	3 Indians
Under Secretaries	... 5	1 Indian
	31	5



TABLE II

## Local Governments.

	Secretaries	Dy. Secy's.	Under Secy's	Indians
Assam ...	4	0	2 (1 Indian)=	6 1
Bengal ...	9	2	2 =	13 Nil
B & O ...	6 (1 Indian)	0	5 (2 Indians)=	11 3
Bombay ...	9	6 (1 Indian)	3 (1 Indian) =	18 2
C. P. ...	3	0	3 (2 Indians)=	6 2
Madras ...	8 (1 Indian)	1	7 (6 Indians) =	16 7
Punjab ...	7 (1 Indian)	0	10 (1 Indian) =	17 2
U. P. ...	9 (1 Indian)	4	5 (3 Indians) =	18 4

\*55(4 Indians)13 \*(1 Indian) \*37(16 Indians)=105 20

\*N. B. Including figures for the P. W. D. also.

If it be urged that Indians of sufficiently long standing are not available, the following table will supply the means of testing the contention.

TABLE III

Indian Officers	5 years	10 years	15 years	20 years & up.
Assam ...	1	1	1	1
Bengal ...	4 (1)	0	1	1
B. & O ...	3	0	1	...
Bombay ...	1	1	3	1
C. P. ...	2 (1)	1	1	2
Madras ...	1	2	1	4
Punjab ...	1	1	1	2
U. P. ...	6 (2)	2	4	4
	19 (2)	8	13	15

This table shows that there are at least 19 Indian officers available for Under-Secretaryships under the Government of India, 8 officers for Deputy-Secretaryships, 13 for Joint or Deputy Secretaryships and 15 for Secretaryships, and members of the Executive Councils, etc. Assuming that there had been no declaration of policy in 1917 and no action consequent thereupon, these figures would disclose grounds for the belief that Indians had not had a fair chance given to them of acquiring Secretariat experience. Judged in the light of that declaration and the preamble to the Act, the authorities responsible for the selection of Secretariat personnel will find it hard to prove that they have done their duty. While a tilting of the balance in favour of Indians might be justified and even required in view of the future, they are not getting their due. How ridiculously wide of the mark is the cry of interested parties that Ministers choose their officers on grounds of favouritism!

## THREATENED INCREASES IN SALARIES.

I have never been slow to sing the praise of the Indian Civil Service. I admire their high record, and I am thankful, deeply and sincerely thankful, for the way in which they have built up the administration of India on firm, efficient and thorough lines and given us, what perhaps we might not be able to evolve for ourselves, a whole body of auxiliary and subordinate services characterised by a fair degree of integrity, discipline and

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usefulness. I am not quite fitted by my birth or upbringing to judge of the pecuniary circumstances of well-placed officials (laughter) but some recent observation in England and the Dominions inclines me to concede that there is much in the contention that in the case of those who have to maintain establishments in India and outside, salaries, even though improved slightly, are not the same as they were some years ago. At the same time I am one of those who hold firmly that the claims, however legitimate in one sense of high-salaried employees of the State are by no means comparable in justness or urgency to those of employees in receipt of modest salaries. Further I contend that their claims to relief are sternly limited and may be completely negated by the low condition of public finance and the intolerable burden on a notoriously poor tax-payer. On purely economic considerations, therefore, it seems to me that, if further recruitment in Britain is possible only on a greatly increased scale of salaries, allowances, and emoluments of one kind or another, the representatives of the people in our Legislative Assembly will be compelled, with much reluctance, to recommend a cessation or at least a substantial abatement of such recruitment (Applause) No commission, however authoritative, can reconcile us to increased impositions on account of the British services. Moreover, British prestige and the continuance of relations of mutual friendship and confidence between the races alike require that none but the best products of British culture should be brought hereafter to fill positions of influence and responsibility alongside of the best men turned out of our Universities. More than once before we have made the costly mistake of supposing that to increase the attractions of the services is necessarily to improve the quality of recruits. I am aware that during the last two years the number of British competitors at the Civil Service Examination has diminished considerably, and in consequence the recruitment has been greatly in favour of the Indian element. Some further experience is necessary before we can determine how far this alteration is permanent. It seems to me anyhow the equity of the case would give to the children of the soil the benefit of any unforeseen conditions that operate in their favour.

#### ORDER REGARDING THE I. M. S.

A recent cablegram gives the disquieting news that the Secretary of State for India has appointed or is about to appoint to the Indian Medical Service 30 men on terms of special advantage, and I have read in some newspapers that this action of the Secretary of State is heralded by the termination of the services of Indians that have been taken temporarily during the war. While I was in England, I heard that a proposal of the Government of India, that in consideration of the difficulty of attracting British recruits, ten appointments should be conferred on these temporary incumbents, was turned down by the India Office. I make these statements for what they are worth. I have not verified them. But one would like to know on what recommendations of the Government of India the Secretary of State's recent addition to the burdens of India is based. Our case is that the retention of the Indian Medical Service on its present footing has the effect of treating the civil medical needs of India as though they were completely subservient to the requirements of the Military and that it constitutes not only a serious hardship on the independent medical profession in India, but an artificial bar to the advance of medical research in this country. Champions of this service have not improved their case by resting it in great part on the necessity of providing qualified European medical assistance to the European services of the country. These latter services would on that view become in the popular eye even more burdensome than they are. It is quite true that under the statute the Secretary of State in Council has power to determine such matters; and the Indian Medical Service is placed in a specially privileged position by Rule 12 of the Devolution Rules: "A local Government shall employ such number of Indian Medical Service officers in such appointments and on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council." But the mere possession of power will not justify any and every use of it. The Indian Legislative Assembly has certain financial

powers and would be quite justified under provocation in employing them so as to embarrass the Government (hear, hear and applause). I much fear that if the 30 appointments are made by the Secretary of State to the Indian Medical Service on the conditions named, no one can foretell what the Assembly will do to safeguard the taxpayer's interests. It is difficult to imagine a representative House anywhere in the world sitting still and watching the nation's resources squandered with so little justification while the Central Government and most Local Governments lay under the nightmare of financial bankruptcy. How entirely without initiative we are here in India is proved by the statement made the other day by Sir Ludovic Porter in the U. P. Council that the Retrenchment Committee of that Province could not even consider the case of the Imperial Services without special leave of the Secretary of State.

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#### CONTROL OF THE SERVICES.

Before I leave the subject of the services, there is one suggestion which I commend to the acceptance of the Liberal Federation. The point occurred to me rather forcibly when we were considering the provisions of the Government of India Bill before the meeting of the Joint Select Committee. There is no government in the world of the magnitude and importance of that of India whose employees down to those drawing salaries of 400 and 500 rupees are chosen for them, punished and dismissed by superior authority. The anomaly, why the limitation of it, was made glaringly manifest when, in a measure conferring self-government on the people of India, the provision was repeated that all the Imperial services were to be recruited by the Secretary of State and that their salaries, pensions, allowances, &c. were to be regulated by him and were exempted from the vote of the Legislative Assembly consisting of a great majority of elected members and supposed to be endowed with the power of sanctioning, reducing, or refusing money grants at the time of the annual budget. It is highly honourable to the discipline and the sense of propriety of these services as a whole that they have remained amenable to the control of the Governor General in Council or the Governor in Council though these cannot dismiss them. It is difficult, however, for Ministers and Indian Executive Councillors to command the same willing homage and co-operation from the great body of these services. It seems to me that the time is come when we must demand that the Governor General of India in Council should take the place of the Secretary of State for India in Council in all matters relating to the India Civil Service and other Imperial services, the High Commissioner for India entering into covenants, dealing with the Civil Service Commissioners and doing other functions in this connection as the agent of the Government of India. Of course the statute would have to be altered and many rules and regulations modified accordingly. But the dignity and authority of the Government of India must be recognized and the Secretary of State for India, who is entirely out of touch with Indian sentiment and can defy it with impunity, removed from the position of supremacy which he now occupies with regard to the great services (Applause).

This proposal would seem to be incongruous with the plea advanced here for provincial autonomy. In fact certain provinces have already begun to clamour for the complete provincialization of the Services hitherto recruited in England and called Imperial. Without doubt that is the proper ideal, but there are cases in which what is logical is not necessarily sound and this is one such. I cannot do more than mention the principal grounds on which I recommend this half-way-house arrangement. In some provinces appointments are regulated on communal considerations while it is necessary that the higher services should be on grounds purely of merit and efficiency. Narrow political considerations would interfere with the bestowal of patronage far more in the provinces than at the centre. It is desirable that provincial barriers should not be recognised in

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the recruitment of the higher services so that the unity of India may be maintained in this striking way. The public spirit and civic virtues of a people are largely influenced by the character of the services which must deteriorate under political influences.

Let me likewise recall the disappointment of the public that the experiment of appointing an Indian to one of the Governorships was abandoned so soon as the man of first choice vacated his office. It is doubtless true unfortunately that the name of any conceivable Indian would have been received with disapprobation by the ill-tempered section of the Press. The same remark would apply to the post of High Commissioner for India. But this circumstance should not be taken advantage of by a high-minded Government anxious to associate competent Indians in every branch of the public service.

While on the subject of high appointments I must deprecate the practice that now seems to have established itself of shifting Governors from one province to another. Some years ago strong disapproval was expressed of the appointment of High Court Judges to the executive Government. It seemed as though the authorities agreed to the general principle. But curiously enough soon afterwards an Executive Councillor at the end of his term was appointed High Court Judge. Now holders of these high appointments must not be taught to expect further favours, and the people of every province are entitled to expect that their affairs would be administered by one who is above fear or favour.

#### THE ARMY.

The Army question, however, is the test of tests for the *bona fides* of the British Government. Its urgency arises from two considerations, either of them strong in itself, but both together of paramount and overpowering force. The first consideration is financial, it being indisputable that the straitened state of Indian finance is due in great part to the inordinately bloated expenditure on the Army. The Indian Government are genuinely alarmed and besides affording full information to the Assembly and seeking their advice, they have also forwarded to England with their own recommendations the findings of a strong and representative Committee which were calculated to effect certain economies immediately and also reduce the total cost of the Army by gradually Indianising the commissioned ranks and reducing the British part of the Army. Nobody can tell with certainty at what stage these urgent proposals and recommendations lie in England, but it is rumoured that the Army authorities, who have the last say in the matter, have not been moved even by India's direst necessity. The other aspect of the matter goes even more to the root. Dominion status, which has been promised to India, is not possible in its fullest sense without the means of self-defence. It is true she pays every anna of the stupendous cost of the Army and in that way fulfils, nay more than fulfils, the conditions embodied in a resolution of the House of Commons of the 4th March, 1862: "That this House (while fully recognizing the claims of all portions of the British Empire to Imperial aid in their protection against perils arising from the consequences of Imperial policy) is of opinion that Colonies exercising the right of self-government ought to undertake, the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence." An unexampled policy of suspicion, however, has hitherto denied the inhabitant of India admission to the King's commission, with the result that, even if Indiaisation began to-day on the most generous and thorough-going scale and were prosecuted without intermission in the most honest spirit, it would take 25 to 30 years to complete the process. One hears that the proposals now before the authorities would spread the process over something like 35 years, and that even these are likely to prove unacceptable. Was Mr. Montagu gifted with prophetic insight when on the 5th December, 1919, at the last stage of the Government of India Bill he warned the House of Commons in a memorable passage? "Do not", he said, "deny to India self-government because she

cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves" (Applause). This odious combination of insult and injury was paralleled only in India till the other day by the denial of representative institutions to her people on account of their illiteracy and resistance at the same time to all attempts to introduce a system of compulsory elementary education. The stagnation that has overcome the proposals of the Government of India with a view to retrench expenditure of the Army and Indianise the officer ranks is the most serious indictment of the intentions of the British authorities, and one does not see how the charge can be refuted. The delay aggravates anti-British feeling every day, and a loyal citizen feels it his duty to sound a serious note of warning and trusts that it will not be construed as a threat. The idea that self-defence is an inseparable attribute of Dominion autonomy is a theory of recent growth. In its early stages what was required was that the expenditure should be borne by the self-governing colony, a condition which has always been fulfilled by India. I believe British troops were not withdrawn from the Transval till several years after it had received self-government. No doubt the inauguration of the Irish Free State has been followed within a short time by the withdrawal of the last English garrison. But this precedent can not be applied in its rigidity to India, where the citizen has long been denied the right to bear arms or to exercise any but the most insignificant command in the so-called India Army. If the civil side of Dominion Status is practicable in this country much before the military side, the anomaly is the direct consequence of the narrow policy pursued by Britain hitherto; and during the period that the Indianisation of the Army takes place the British Army here must agree to defend the country, though it be governed by a civil power not of its own nationality. There is no inherent necessity for the transfer of the civil power to wait on, or be measured by, the transfer of military power. At any rate Great Britain is under a moral obligation not to insist on any close committance between the two.

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#### INDIANS OVERSEAS.

I had intended after my speeches concerning my Dominion tour not to refer to the subject of Indians overseas in this speech. But certain events, that are taking place around us render it advisable that I should express my feelings on the subject as clearly as possible. British Guiana and Fiji have recently been visited by Commissions appointed by our Government. Considering their personnel, I am inclined to await with confidence the publication of their recommendations. Great interest attaches to the colony of Kenya, where the relations between the white settlers and our countrymen are so strained that influential men in London throw up their hands in despair. The white settlers in whose composition as a rule greed and pride seem to be combined to an intense degree cannot brook the idea of equality with Indians and threaten violence if a system based on equality were forced on them. Our people are equally determined to take nothing less than equality. I heard good accounts of Sir Robert Coryndon, the new Governor of Kenya, but it is doubtful that he can do much. It is surprising that after two or three years of struggle the Colonial Office should abdicate its function as it were, and the Duke of Devonshire proclaim that he would support the man on the spot. It is difficult to interpret properly a meagre cablegram, but the principles involved and our interests at stake alike require that we should not put our trust too much in the personal idiosyncrasies of the man on the spot, whom an arrogant and overgrown community may coerce in many ways. If the Imperial Cabinet of Great Britain find themselves unable, owing to the truculence of white colonists, to carry out the resolution of 1921, it is an impressive lesson to other communities in the Commonwealth that what prevails at the seat of Empire is neither justice nor the sanctity of resolutions, but a threat of force. Even in the history of British India an episode or two have happened in which the European community have gone immoderate lengths in defence of unjust

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privilege and monopoly. In French Canada the establishment of responsible government was accompanied in 1849 by an outbreak on the part of the English malcontents which ended in the burning down of the House of Parliament and a personal insult to the Earl of Elgin, Her majesty's representative. A sentence may be quoted from his despatch on the subject and commended to the Colonial Minister and his man on the spot. "Meanwhile it is my firm conviction that if this dictation be submitted to, the Government of this province by constitutional means will be impossible, and that the struggle between overbearing minorities backed by force and majorities resting on legalities and established forms, which has so long proved the bane of Canada, driving capital from the province and producing a state of chronic discontent, will be perpetuated."

With regard to the self-governing Dominions, the Bombay Corporation and Indian Chamber of Commerce have passed resolutions expressive of impatience at the way in which they treat the just rights of our countrymen. Apparently these bodies think that we had best retaliate at present. I have more than a suspicion that this is exactly what the shrewd anti-Asiatic would desire. In fact I was asked by a representative of South Africa last year in London: "If we hit you hard, why don't you hit us hard in return? We have agreed to the principle of reciprocity." They know that the number of their nationals resident in India is so small as to be negligible, and that our retaliation therefore cannot amount to much. On the other hand if we did retaliate, we should have shot our last arrow, and our opponents might cry quits. I am sure our nationals domiciled abroad will not thank us in the end, for we shall have lost the moral advantage we now possess in urging their claims. Moreover, in the three Dominions that I have visited I see no insuperable barrier in the way of our people similar to that which by all accounts exists in South Africa. Our people in Australasia or Canada have not organised themselves and made a demand for equality. In fact they are incapable without aid from us of a sustained struggle for their rights. Active Indian propaganda is the one condition of ultimate success. Without such it is unwise to expect just treatment or become angry when it is denied. We have just made one attempt at direct negotiation and, though I say so, not without some success. I submit it is too soon to give up hope.

#### THE WORKING OF REFORMS.

Let me now turn to a review of the earlier events under the new constitution. They were full of promise and gave cause for gratulation. Officials were cordial and courteous, non-officials were willing to learn and full of consideration for the need of the executive. Both alike were keen on the success of the Reforms. In several provinces the Governors forgot diarchy and treated the two halves of Government as one undivided Cabinet. The new legislatures, under the double blight of non-co-operation and financial bankruptcy, faced their tasks with a courage and sagacity which promised well for the future of political India. On the central Government, contrary to expectation, the interest of India centred. The Legislative Assembly, though consisting of representatives from diverse parts of India, discharged its duties like a tried body of legislators and won the approbation not only of their President, but of impartial observers generally. The official members too for their part showed a spirit of tolerance and helpfulness which did them great credit. Rules and regulations were interpreted in a liberal spirit, and the Assembly were invited to discuss the military Budget and other proposals as though they had not been excluded from their scope. A strong committee of that body also sat on military matters generally and produced a unanimous report which did not make heroic recommendations, but which even so lies unheeded on the shelves of the War Office. On a resolution on Indian autonomy the Home Member, Sir William Vincent, thought it necessary to adopt a conciliatory attitude and himself proposed an amendment which, being accepted by the Assembly without a

dissentient, committed that body, including the members of Government, to the view that the question of further constitutional reform should not be allowed to wait till the ten year limit had expired. Again, on a motion regarding the rapid Indianisation of the services the same spokesman of Government treated the question from a detached and sagacious point of view and agreed to institute immediate inquiries as to how to secure increased recruitment of Indians to the all-India services. With regard to those sections in the Act which represented the vestige of autocracy, endowing the Governor-General and the Governors, acting sometimes singly and sometimes with their Councils, with extraordinary powers of overriding their legislatures, one must admit that on the whole there has been little cause for public dissatisfaction. Such exercise happened only in two or three instances in the provinces and passed off quietly. It is well-known that the Governor-General of India in Council recently resisted great pressure brought to bear on him to resort to the process of certification in connection with the Budget. His forbearance till last September must be mentioned with especial thankfulness, because it has had the somewhat unexpected effect of enhancing the prestige of the Indian Parliament. It will be remembered that it was contemplated to leave the Government of India in the possession of undisputed and indisputable authority and that this authority should be frequently and as a matter of course asserted. The institution, however, of two Houses of Legislature, one with an overpowering and the other with a decided elected majority, has made the exercise of overriding powers a matter of such grave risks that it was possible for the Assembly by judicious restraints upon its own conduct to have allowed the autocratic sections to remain inoperative for a long period, and then it might have been comparatively easy to ask for the repeal of the obnoxious sections. From a popular point of view it is regrettable that with regard to the Princes Protection Bill one of these sections has been utilized. On the merits of the question, I should say the enactment of the measure was unnecessary. On the other hand, it is open to question, with the clear sight which comes after the event, whether the Assembly was wise to refuse leave for the Bill to be introduced. It was and is to our interest that if the Governor-General has recourse to these sections, he does so in cases in which a detached observer would say that the Assembly had behaved with moderation and self-restraint and given the Executive no justification or excuse for out of the way procedure.

To go back to the main line of thought. I was saying that, though the original idea had been to give the popular voice no real controlling power, the forbearance of the Executive had in practice given the Indian Parliament a fair measure of real control over the policy and measure of administration. In my accounts of our new constitution and its working during my recent tour, I have always emphasised this unintended effect and claimed for the authors of the Government of India Bill that they builded better than they knew. To the higher officials concerned in the working of the new regime, I have given full meed of praise for their friendly and liberal attitude. I used to mention Sir Harcourt Butler in particular as a striking instance not only of ability, but of that rare sense of discipline which is one of the high qualities of the Indian Civil Service and which enables its members cheerfully and faithfully to carry out policies of which, however, they may not personally approve. Sir Harcourt, far from favouring the original Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, had fathered a rival scheme and pushed it as far as he could. Nevertheless, when called upon to administer the Act, which he had strenuously opposed, he was regarded as one of its truest interpreters. I am happy to think that Sir Frank Sly is administering the Act in this Province with exemplary statesmanship.

#### IMPROPER INTERFERENCE.

But has this great chapter closed? Are we no longer a happy family? Have the authorities begun to weary of well-doing? Are they pulling themselves back? One would not like to believe so, but there are disquieting portents which may not be

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overlooked, and they proceed from a quarter where, while Mr. Montague was in office Indian interests never failed to find a champion. One of the cardinal principles laid down by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill was that, when the Legislature and the Executive were in agreement on any matter not involving Imperial interests, there should be no interference from higher authority. Fiscal autonomy, to the extent that we now enjoy it, is regarded as a special application of this principle. During the discussions of 1919 it was regarded as of the utmost importance, and in the period of transition public opinion in India must jealously safeguard it from violation by the Secretary of State in the case of the Government of India or by the Government of India in the case of the Local Governments. Some months ago in another connection I had occasion to praise Mr. Montagu for the way in which he was willing to let the autonomy of India develop even at the cost of some self-suppression, and I have heard him say, with humorous exaggeration, that his ambition was very soon to abolish himself. Could it be said that the India Office respects this principle sufficiently? I read the other day a long string of matters of apparent agreement between the Government of India and the Indian Legislature either negatived or held up at Whitehall—the recommendations as to military expenditure, proposals for Indianising the Army, proposals for diminishing recruitment in England to the All-India Services, proposals for appointing Indians to the Indian Medical Service, proposals in regard to Frontier policy and the recommendations of the Racial Distinctions Committee. Even if the Secretary of State in Council has interfered only in some of these matters, it is a cause for public alarm in India, and it is necessary to consider how we could help the Government of India resist these encroachments. At the time this principle was enunciated, I remember pointing out that, if it was to be at all efficacious, the Government of India ought to be expressly freed from the necessity of previously consulting the Secretary of State before taking part in the discussions with the Legislature. My information is that the rules require such previous reference in far too many matters yet. This unwholesome practice unduly limits the initiative of the Government of India and automatically narrows the limits of possible concurrence with the Legislature. It is no wonder if the tendency to reaction, wherever it exists in the official world, has received encouragement by knowledge of these circumstances, betokening, as they do, a change in the atmosphere of Whitehall. The Secretary of State has sent out orders forbidding Local Government to refer to Committees any question in any manner affecting any of the Imperial Services. In practice this would greatly narrow the scope of our Legislatures and prevent them from even advising on reserved subjects, let alone exercising increased influence over them.

#### DIARCHY.

Since I spoke on this subject in Bombay my opinion about diarchy has not been shaken. I think it has reached its limit of usefulness. (hear, hear). Not having inside knowledge of any administration, I am unable to enforce my opinion by a striking array of specific instances. Perhaps Ministers at present in office and Executive Councillors, when freed from official restraints and called upon to state their experience before a duly authorised commission, will make out an overwhelming case for the termination of duality in provincial administration. The best results have been obtained where Governors have treated Councillors and Ministers as belonging to one Cabinet. Diarchy has done best where it has been totally absent. The rule requiring that the Finance Member should be an Executive Councillor has placed Ministers at a decided disadvantage in obtaining money for their departments. Official discipline too is difficult to maintain, as Ministers have discovered, when an officer cannot be censured or transferred except with the consent of the Governor. In some provinces Ministers are not recognised as forming one official group. This practice violates the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, which was in these words:—'In these circumstances



the Committee think that it should be recognised from the commencement that Ministers may be expected to act in concert together. They probably would do so; and in the opinion of the Committee it is better that they should, and therefore that the fact should be recognised on the face of the Bill." Some Ministers have complained that, while anybody and everybody was free to communicate his views on the O'Donnell circular to the Government of India, they, *i. e.* the Ministers, were precluded from doing so, because their Governor took a narrow view of diarchy and would not consult them where a reserved subject was concerned. In another case a Minister had to threaten to resign before the Governor would allow him to choose his Under-Secretary. A Governor has even been known to play a backward section of the Legislative Council against his Ministers, who could not except in special cases depend on the official votes either. They thus depend on a highly precarious and shifting majority. The United Provinces Council presented to a scandalized India the spectacle one day of an Executive Councillor speaking against a Minister and on another day the spectacle of a Minister requesting his own Secretary not to move an amendment to which he, the Minister, had not given his consent. In the same province for many days a Councillor and a Secretary were openly accused, without eliciting any satisfactory reply, of canvassing members of the Legislature against the District Boards Bill which had been brought forward by a Minister. The fact that no notice is known to have been taken of these incidents by the Governor would seem to lend colour to the suspicion that he rather enjoyed the confusion of the Minister in the circumstances. (laughter). In Madras, where the evils of diarchy are the least felt, the desire for complete provincial autonomy is the strongest. One of the Ministers of that province said the other day :

"I am Minister of Development *minus* Forests and you all know that Development depends a good deal on Forests. I am Minister of Industries without Factories, which are a reserved subject, and Industries without Factories are unimaginable. I am Minister of Agriculture *minus* Irrigation. You can understand what that means. How Agriculture can be carried on extensively without Irrigation in the hands of those who are responsible for it is rather hard to realise. I am also Minister of Industries without Electricity, which is also a reserved subject. You all know the part which Electricity is playing in the development of Industries now-a-days. The subjects of Labour and of Boilers are also reserved. But these after all are some of the defects of the Reform scheme." (laughter).

A half and half system is naturally productive of friction and wears out the nerves of those who have to work it. Members of the services are not the least loud in demanding that the system should be developed to the full. It seems now to serve no useful purpose. No one, official or non-official, has questioned the efficiency of Ministers or their ability to manage the reserved services if these should be entrusted to their care. The public will long remember the indiscriminate arrests of a few months ago and the high-handed use in certain place of section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and they no longer wish to have such powers exercised by officers without fear of being called to account in the House of Legislature.

These remarks should not be interpreted as amounting to a wholesale condemnation either of diarchy or of the machinery of which it forms a feature. An enumeration of the good work accomplished by the popular side of our Local Governments would be cheerful reading. Here is a summary, by no means careful or exhaustive. Ministers in all the Provinces have to their credit legislative measures which will redound to the country's advantage. I need instance only a few in order to show how successful they are in initiating new policies in their respective departments. It is an unfortunate circumstance that Ministers were called to administer these departments just when financial difficulties became very serious; and therefore naturally the first reforms to be

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effected were those which did not entail much outlay of money. For instance, municipalities and district boards have in most provinces been placed on a popular footing. But Ministers have not shrunk from undertaking large schemes of expansion involving heavy increases in expenditure and thus facing additional taxation. Some of the measures introduce bold new departures in policy which would have been almost inconceivable in the old regime. I would give the first place among these to Dr. Paranjpye's Compulsory Education Act, which replaces the optional compulsion of the Act of 1918 by absolute compulsion and seeks to universalise primary education in the whole of the Presidency within ten years. When the whole scheme is completed, it will throw an additional burden upon the provincial exchequer of more than three quarters of a crore every year. Mr. Chintamani has introduced in the United Provinces excise reforms calculated to effect a very drastic reduction in the consumption of alcohol etc. In the Bombay Presidency Mr. C. V. Mehta has not yet been able to complete his inquiry into this question, but he has already introduced a reform which, if small in itself, initiates a new policy substituting direct for indirect checks on consumption. In Madras, Ministers have adopted the policy of giving judicious State aid to new or nascent industries and have put in hand several other measures of no small benefit to the Province. Reform of old universities and the establishment of new ones are taken in hand in several provinces. These and other measures of the kind are the first fruits of the popular control over transferred departments for which we the constitutionalists need not blush.

It is not meant that diarchy has been a pit-fall to the feet or a fetter to the limbs of Ministers. But it has serious defects, as has been pointed out. It has served its purpose as a test and as a preparation. It is now a clog and an irritation. The demand for its removal comes from many sides. The satisfaction of the demand will go far to allay public discontent and ease the tension between the Government and the people. The Legislative Assembly has lent its countenance to the acceleration of the march of India's constitution. No risks need be apprehended from the grant of full autonomy to the provinces, except the loss of two Councillorships in the bigger, and one Councillorship in the smaller provinces to the Indian Civil Service.

If at our next election the matter is properly placed before the constituencies there can be no doubt of their giving a mandate to their representatives to try and secure provincial autonomy as early as possible. A legal difficulty occurs to me. Supposing the question of provincial autonomy were raised by a private member in a legislature in 1924, and a resolution were moved asking that representatives be elected to an All-India Convention for the purpose, would the Governor be justified in disallowing the resolution? I am informed that the law would permit him to do so. At the same time the law would not stand in the way of his allowing the resolution either. So that it would be largely a question of how thoroughly the constituencies had been educated in the matter and what momentum the demand for provincial autonomy had gathered. If our non-cooperator friends would not indulge in the violent fun of breaking up of other people's meetings, but cheerfully help in the good work, the prospect would by no means be gloomy. Should any Governor, however, be obdurate, the elected members of the Legislature could still obey their mandate by meeting at their own instance without fear of their proceedings losing moral authority in the eyes of reasonable people.

#### THE TEN YEAR LIMIT.

Speaking a few months ago to a meeting of Bombay Liberals, I expressed my opinion of the provision regarding the appointment of a statutory commission after ten years. The obvious interpretation is that while Parliament must appoint a commission at that time, there is nothing to prevent a commission issuing before that period. During the

Commons debate in 1919 Mr. Montagu explained the point clearly in these words: "If there is a remarkable and unforeseeable development in Indian conditions in the short space of ten years, it does not tie the hands of Parliament in any way whatever. There can always be a commission appointed in the interim." On another motion Mr. H. A. L. Fisher delivered himself of a similar opinion: "May I point out that there is nothing in the Bill which prevents revision taking place before ten years, but there must be a revision at the expiration of ten years? If it be true that great progress will be made, and if it becomes obvious that the transferred subjects are being handled wisely and effectively to the satisfaction of India population by the Indian Ministers, then there is no obstacle to a revision at an earlier period than ten years." Let it be remembered that in the original proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford it had been suggested that a fresh transfer of subjects should take place at the end of five years. It would be pedantic, it would be inexpedient, nay it would be a political blunder against which it is our duty to warn Government, to prolong the trying period of transition unnecessarily, to allow the sense of grievance to deepen until it becomes a danger and to refuse to rectify an error which actual experience has exposed in the divided constitution of the provinces. I therefore commend a suggestion which our honoured leader Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar has made at the end of his article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* in these words: "The least that should be done by the Government in the present circumstances is to send out a small but strong committee of statesmen and constitutional lawyers to ascertain on the spot how the system of diarchy has been working, what defects have been brought to light, and what remedies could be devised to promote smoothness and efficiency in working." Before, however, the present conservative government would take this step, they would have to be convinced that the constituencies in India desired it strongly and had expressed their desire in the usual way at election time.

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#### REFORM AT THE CENTRE.

This, however, is not the whole of our demand. At the last session this Federation of Liberals asked in addition that the Central Government should be brought under popular control in all matters except ecclesiastical, political and defence. Perhaps that resolution would be repeated at this session. When I presided earlier in the year at the meeting of Bombay Liberals, I ventured to express a feeling of hesitation with reference to this demand and indicated my grounds for the hesitation. But I promised at the same time that in a matter of that kind, where the difference was not one of aim or principle but of temporary expediency, I should consider myself bound by the superior wisdom of the party. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, a safe man, if there is one in our ranks, has pleaded cogently for popularisation of the Central Government in the article from which I have already quoted. An argument that appeals to me is contained in the following sentences. "The Central Legislature has enormous voting power, but absolutely no responsibility. But for the fact that the Government has displayed the greatest possible tact and the members of the Legislature great self-restraint, and that both sides have been anxious to make the Reforms a success, there would have been a deadlock several times during the course of the last year and a half. It is impossible for the Government to adopt any bold policy in any matter, legislative, administrative or financial, for the reason that they cannot be certain beforehand of the amount of support that they are likely to receive in the Assembly. The divorce of power and responsibility, which was regarded as the greatest defect of the Minto-Morley scheme, is perpetuated in a magnified form in the Central Legislature at the present moment". I have likewise endeavoured to ascertain the views of as many men of our party as possible and I find that although some share my hesitation, opinion preponderates heavily on the other side. Let me therefore fall in publicly with the majority view. After all, when the provinces have attained to autonomy and assumed responsibility for peace and order, the Central

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Government cannot long lag behind. Its responsibility to the constituencies must arrive inevitably, and the sooner the better.

While agitation for these important advances is in progress, each day will bring its own problems. I see Members of the Assembly are bringing up a motion for the abolition of the distinction between votable and non-votable items of expenditure. The non-votable items far exceed the limits which are compatible even with a first instalment of the power of the purse. What is almost a humiliation to the Government and Legislature alike is that the salaries and pensions of persons appointed by the Secretary of State in Council and of Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners should be excluded from the scope of the Assembly's vote or discussion. The correct principle is for the Imperial Government to guarantee the salaries and pensions only of those officers who are appointed by the Crown. It is little short of a slight to treat as sacrosanct enormous sums taken from the taxpayer and payable to junior officers reaching down in some cases to below Rs. 500 a month. We know that, when responsible government was given to other communities, due provision was made for British services. But then this demand is not that the Government of India should be made absolutely responsible, and the Governor General in Council has overriding powers for exceptional cases. Serious objection would likewise be taken to allowing military expenditure to be voted by the Assembly. We admit that expenditure depends on policy and military policy it would be premature for the Assembly to attempt to lay down or regulate. But the difficulty is all the creation of the executive. If they had used their irresponsible power with moderation and kept the military Budget within the limits of reason, the revolt against budget exclusions would not be so strong. But as it is, a desperate situation can only be met by a desperate remedy, and as the Assembly consists of human beings and not of angels, the Government might find that they had presumed too far on what was once euphemistically described as the Indian's faculty of unlimited acquiescence.

#### FORMATION OF PARTIES.

There is also much in the working of our constitution which cannot give cause for satisfaction. In no case has responsibility been brought home to a Minister. A Minister was recently defeated in a certain province over an important Bill on a transferred subject, he neither resigned nor was called upon to resign. The country would perhaps have welcomed a proof that the Legislature not only has the power of dismissal in law but can actually exercise it on adequate occasion. It is with profound grief that one records the impression that in the Punjab and Madras the majority has shown that it cannot be trusted to treat the minority with fairness and equity. The evil in the southern province is bound to be felt for a long time yet. May I from this place appeal to my friends, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay and C Ramalinga Reddy, to use their undoubted influence so that the bitterness may be assuaged and the younger generation grow up in an atmosphere of less strife and contention? One may venture to think that there is no need any more for non-Brahmin leaders to spread the unloving gospel, "Do not vote for the Brahmin, never trust the Brahmin". No clear definition of parties has yet been evolved, except in the Assembly, and there for a wonder the Democratic party glories in having no leader. No leader, no discipline—is an axiom in political organization. In the country at large people are mostly under the spell of that pious doctrine of inexperience, unity. A vague hankering after a reconciliation of all parties and the honours of a universal peace-maker is the dominant characteristic of a considerable number of men in public life, of attractive personality and decided talent, but unwilling to recognise that Indian politics have come into a phase of reality in which unity is not only impossible, but sure sign of inefficacy. The apparent advantage of being free to embrace what is for the time being convenient stands in the way of most people labelling themselves Moderates or Extremists, Liberals or Non-co-operators. As soon as the votes are polled and the names of the successful candidates announced, it ought to be possible, as in other countries, to calculate the

exact distribution of parties in the legislatures. Not knowing how many their followers are, Ministers, supposed to represent the non-official part of the legislature are compelled to look upon the official nominated element as the nucleus of their voting strength, hoping by individual negotiation to beat up a few more recruits on each occasion—a most distressing situation for those who are expected to build up the strength of the popular party. How dare we talk of full Parliamentary institutions so long as nine out of every ten politicians will refuse to take a name, be classified or acknowledge a leader? As to the education of electorates to which our venerated leader, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, draw our attention last May, nothing much seems to be doing. Even if special popular lectures on civics should prove impracticable, and there is no reason why they should do so, the practice might at least be started of members going down to their constituencies after the rising of Parliament and speaking to them on what has been done or may be done. Our new constituencies cannot be expected to compel the attendance of their representatives for some time yet; the representatives should regard it as their duty to keep them fully informed as to the state of public affairs and legislation. The lesson will soon have to be learnt that nothing of more than ordinary consequence could be done in Parliament without the wish of the electorates on the subject having been specifically ascertained. Besides being illiterate, ignorant and desirous to be let alone, the ordinary elector is liable to be gulled by the demagogue and persuaded to vote for the person who makes the most intemperate speeches and the most extravagant promises. The education of electorates even in advanced countries is a never-ending process. When I was last in London during the season of the recent General Election, I heard no remark so often as this—that a large number of men and women had come into the registers for the first time, that they had no experience and no calculation could be made as to how they would vote. Candidates, whether successful or not, when successful more than otherwise, must remember that this is more their duty than that of others. The situation is devoid of hope so long as the bulk of our legislators grudge the few weeks at a time they give to public business and, as soon as Parliament rises, do not think of going to their electorates and rendering an account of their doings, but run back to their business, briefs or lands.

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#### ORGANISATION OF OUR PARTY.

I will now ask your leave to say one or two words about our party. It would perhaps be best to clear the ground of two criticisms. We have from the very nature of the case to answer charges from two opposite ends. Our extremist countrymen complain that we have merged ourselves in the bureaucracy and must be held responsible for their blunders, high-handedness and repression. Our answer must be firm and frank. So long as they will proclaim war on the established government, talk openly of revolution, inculcate disloyalty and rash political action and send about the country a committee of men of influence with the express object of finding out the prospects of a campaign of civil disobedience, we must sternly disapprove and stoutly oppose (applause). So long as they preach the gospel of despair, they command neither our assent nor even our sympathy. So long as they boycott the present constitution, pooh-pooh the reforms and talk of wrecking the Councils, there is no common ground between us and we can have nothing to do with them (cheers). Officials and organs of official opinion deplore our lack of organisation and vigorous propaganda. We must admit the truth of this charge, though we are not without excuse. But when they attack us for indecision of thought, fear of unpopularity and a tendency to take up the most violent and passionate cries of the extremists and echo them feebly, thus affording no constant support to Government, we must repudiate the charges as unfounded. Our business is to promote our country's welfare, to enlarge her political status through the present constitution, to secure her ordered progress and compatibly with these aims, but not otherwise, to support Government. When government officials go beyond the

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necessities of the case and become indiscriminate in repressive measures, threatening to stifle the very spirit of agitation, we will not hesitate to condemn their action. When the Secretary of State abuses his irresponsible power in disregard of the Indian taxpayer, we cannot but protest. When we are faced with prospect of stagnation while there is so much to do every day in the direction of preparing the Indian people for self-government, we must give solemn warning. We are prepared to let our leaders accept office and support them when they carry out our policy and our aim. We will oppose and thwart them when they neglect or defy our wishes. It is amazing how they expect us to stand by them when they do us harm as well as when they do us good, in their excessive military expenditure, in their high-handedness, in their hesitation to afford Indian talent every possible opening for employment in the highest and most delicate spheres of work, seeing that it no long time Indians must be prepared for self-government. Our English brethren must understand this clearly. Every day we shall ask, what has been done to-day towards the advent of Swaraj? Of every officer we shall inquire, does he realize that he is here to fit our people for self-rule? (cheers). Of every rupee of expenditure we shall require to be satisfied that it was unavoidable and in the interests of India. We believe in the ideals of the Britannic Commonwealth, we cherish our connection with it, trusting that our equal partnership therein, which has been admitted in theory, will soon be translated into fact in all essentials. We believe in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional methods, and in the pursuit of our high aims we are upheld by the consciousness that they have been admitted as proper and legitimate by the highest authority. And as our motto is *Ordered Progress*, we do not despise compromise in public affairs, provided it is honourable, advances the present position and does not bar further progress.

The first requisite of a party organisation is the maintenance of a list of members who are prepared to own themselves as belonging to the Liberal Federation, to subscribe to its principles and to pay a certain prescribed fee periodically. The second requisite is to appoint a leader for all India and for each province every year, who will be entitled during his period of office to speak for the party, to treat with Government on behalf of his party, to call meeting of the Executive when necessary for the purpose of determining policy or action to bring up matters of discipline when they are of more than ordinary importance, and to be consulted before individuals in the party or groups, make serious pronouncements or adopt definite action on important occasions. It would be well to adopt the term leader, for it would carry the right to lead, and therefore signify the real business. President, on the other hand, suggests mere dignity and may go to a man of wealth or social standing and is no good for our present purpose. He should be placed in funds so as to command secretarial facilities. The third requisite would be a general fund, both for propoganda and electioneering purposes. This however would be very slow in growing and we need not be discouraged by it. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

#### SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

Subject  
Committee

The President then requested the delegates to elect members of the Subjects Committee. He announced that the Subjects Committee would meet at 7 p. m.

The sittings adjourned till the following day.

#### SECOND DAY.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Thursday the 28th December at 11 a. m., the Rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri presiding.

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The President:— Members of the Subjects Committee. Before the regular proceedings begin, I wish to ask your assent to my including in the first resolution, which I have to propose, the name of an esteemed friend of ours, a stalwart of the Liberal Party of Madras, who passed away about a year ago. I mean, the late K. R. Guruswamy Ayer. He was for a time a member of the Madras University Senate and also a member of the Legislative Council. We used to know him as a prominent figure in the old Congress and in the subsequent moderate organizations. I hope you will allow me to put in his name. (Cries of Yes, yes). I will now begin the proceedings formally. Mr. G. A. Natesan wishes to say a word or two.

Subjects  
Committee

#### Letters of Sympathy.

Mr. G. A. Natesan read letters of regret from Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindraghava Iyer and Sir Deva Prasad Sarwadhikari at their inability to attend the Federation and wishing it all success.

#### Resolutions.

The President:— Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to put the first resolution from this place. When I have done so I shall request you to stand in your places and pass the resolution in solemn silence.

Mr. G. A. Gavai, M. L. C., (Nagpur), then rose and proposed to the President that the name of the late Maharaja of Kolhapur be also included in the first resolution. The President took the sense of the meeting which was against the proposal.

#### Condolence Resolution.

The President:— Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to propose the first resolution which is in these terms:

Condolence  
Resolution

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

Death is a mighty leveller far and near; friend and foe, great and small all merge in his embrace. I have therefore used a common formula for all, hoping that it will be acceptable. I will now ask you to rise. (The resolution was passed in solemn silence, all standing in their places.)

Rt. Hon. E. S. MONTAGU.

The Hon'ble Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, who was received with cheers, said:— Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. The resolution I have the honour to move for your acceptance reads as follows:—

"This meeting of the All-India Liberals records its profound grief at the defeat of the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu at the last general election which deprives India of his services. Mr. Montagu by recognising the right of India to full dominion status and getting it admitted by the highest authority saved India at a critical time to the Commonwealth of Britain and has thus established a name second to none amongst the benefactors of India and the champions of the subject

The Hon.  
Dr.  
Paranjpe

nations. The Conference trusts that a future is in store for him worthy of his great services to India and the Commonwealth."

*Mr President:*—The fundamental basis on which the Liberal party takes its stand is a belief, on the whole, in the righteousness of the British people and of the British Empire. In spite of occasional mishaps, one might say, that if this belief was not ingrained amongst us, we should not be liberals but might have joined some other party in this country (hear, hear,). But what does this belief in the general goodwill of the British people amount to? After all, we can judge of such things by individual instances - and it is because since the time when the destinies of India have been linked with those of Britain, we always counted upon many high-souled Englishmen who have made the case of India their own. The list is long and any country might be proud of such a list of friends. That list begins with the illustrious name of Burke who nearly a century and a half ago fought for the oppressed millions of this country in the House of Commons and also when he impeached the Governor General of that time before the House of Lords. His sympathies were well known and a very small illustration of the way in which he looked at small things as well as great was the way in which he befriended the ambassador and the agent sent by Raghoba Dada to England to plead his cause. The man was bred in the most orthodox manner and therefore was in the greatest difficulty. Burke gave him special facilities in his own park at Beaconsfield and made things as easy for him as it was possible for Burke to do. Since the time of Burke India has not failed of friends in the United Kingdom. Not to make the list too long, in that list shines the name of such a democrat as John Bright whose sympathies were never failing and continued all through his life. Then there was an ex-Viceroy of this country, Earl Canning, sneeringly called by the Anglo-Indian, Clemency Canning, whose name must be forever enshrined in the affections of this country as his weight was always used in the direction of clemency in those hard days of the mutiny and the subsequent difficult times. Since then we have had Fawcett and only recently we have lost Wedderburn, that most devoted friend of India, Sir Henry Cotton, and many others too numerous to mention. (Cries of "Hume"). Yes, there were Hume, Lord Ripon and many others; but I don't wish to continue the list. Only in this list we feel that it is but right to enshrine the names of two recent Secretaries of State for India, Lord Morley and our last Secretary of State, Edwin Samuel Montagu. Although Mr Montagu's name comes last in the list, his name is certainly not the least in the glorious catalogue. Mr. Montagu's sympathies with India have not been of a very recent date. I am proud to remember that he was a contemporary of my own in my student days at Cambridge (cheers) and even in those times his sympathies with the cause of India were well known. Many a time he came down to our Indian majlis and had spoken and tried to understand the Indian point of view. Occasionally he spoke at the Cambridge Union Society on the popular side on Indian questions whenever they came up for discussion. We all knew at that time that a man of the intelligence and the eloquence of Mr. Montagu was bound to rise high and our expectations were not unfulfilled. Early in the Parliament in which the liberals came with a large majority, Lord Morley chose him as the Under Secretary of State for India after Lord Morley himself was transferred to the House of Lords; and some of the speeches he made on the Indian budget are deservedly famous. Later on just before he took charge of the distinguished office of the Secretary of State for India, Mr Montagu made a very remarkable speech in the Mesopotamia debate. That showed how his sympathies were excited by the vast millions of the people of this country. Perhaps Mr. Montagu being himself a member, if not of a depressed, at least of a backward class in the United Kingdom, had naturally a certain amount of sympathy for the people of backward and depressed nations; and therefore I believe Mr. Montagu felt a sympathy for the people of this country which could not have been felt by other people belonging to the domineering section of the people of England.



Almost immediately after he assumed the reins of the office of Secretary of State for India he came into Parliament with that famous declaration of August 20th, 1917, which laid down for the first time the goal of responsible government for the people of India as the ultimate ideal of British rule in India. Mr. Montagu did not stop at laying down this goal. He immediately began to take steps to go as far as possible near that goal. He immediately came to India to investigate the question on the spot and in conjunction with the then Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, he brought out that memorable Montagu Chelmsford Report on which our present scheme of reforms has been based. Those who happened to meet Mr. Montagu at that time have a lively recollection of his deep interest, his profound knowledge of the Indian conditions, and his great sympathy and interest in the cause of political advance of this country. Perhaps some of us may feel that if Mr. Montagu had been on the scene a few years earlier and if the reforms could have seen the light only two years earlier than they did, some of the troubles that we are experiencing at present might probably have been avoided (hear, hear). But still as soon as Mr. Montagu came on the scene he put his earnest hand to the plough and we know that he had to use a great amount of tact, statesmanship and devoted labour in order to carry his scheme through. This is not the occasion, Sir, for discussing the question whether the reforms could have been carried out in a different manner; but Mr. Montagu to the best of his ability investigated all possible avenues of reforms. He studied the Congress League Scheme in a most sympathetic manner and rejected it simply because he thought that at that time it was unworkable; for, as a practical statesman, he had to take things as they were and to persuade a not very sympathetic House of Commons and a not very sympathetic bureaucracy here, to grant reforms to this country. But being singleminded of purpose and also well supported by distinguished Indians like Lord Sinha and many others of whom our distinguished president is one (cheers) he carried through this very important measure of Indian reforms in the Parliament, and since that measure was put on the statute book he has devotedly worked for making those reforms a success. He has been the originator, in fact, the father of these reforms and, in the earlier days at least, the kindly hand of the father was necessary to raise those reforms to the full height of their possibilities. What these reforms would lead to when the sympathetic hand of their originator has been removed lies in the womb of time. Perhaps some people may feel that they already smell the reaction in the air under the unsympathetic guidance of the present ministry in Parliament. But I don't propose to speak on that point at this time, I would only say that if Mr. Montagu had been allowed to continue at the helm of affairs for a few years longer, the progress of India in the direction chalked out by the reforms would have been more rapid than it would otherwise be.

Mr. Montagu, however, was not satisfied with merely giving to India internal reforms. I believe an almost equally great service of Mr. Montagu was to raise the status of India in the British Empire, to raise it as an entity to an equal level with the dominions. There is no doubt at all that after the war when we fought shoulder to shoulder with the dominions, India counts as an equal partner in the British Empire; and it would not have been possible for anybody with a less far-sighted imagination to give India this status. If one were to go into the internal history, one might feel that Mr. Montagu had to use a great deal of tact and strategy to give India this power. The present dominion status of India is something to which the British cabinet woke up only after it was an accomplished fact. They did not know it and if it had been put in black and white just when it was going to be done, possibly India would not have attained that status. But Mr. Montagu, an acute tactician that he is, came forward before the Cabinet with a *fait accompli* and then there was no going back. These are some of the things for which India has to be grateful to Mr. Montagu; but there are also a large number of other questions. We have recently been reading the discussions of the international conference at Lausanne in which the Turkish question is on the high road

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to solution. But well informed observers say that if Mr Montagu had had his way about eight months ago, the acuteness of Turkish question would not have been so great as it has been. Smyrna would not have been a heap of ashes which it now is, if only Mr. Montagu's policy had been followed. After eight months the Allies had to follow that policy only after going through a great deal of sacrifice, having had to yield far more than Mr. Montagu advocated should be yielded at the proper time. English history is full of instances in which concessions long delayed have led, not to the concessions being permanently refused, but only to their being granted in larger measures. Mr. Montagu's statesmanship is seen in the manner in which he advocated the case of the Khilafat in a way in which it would be appreciated by our Moslem brethren. A technical error was found in the way Mr. Montagu got the telegram from the Government of India published; but I think if Mr. Montagu did at all behave in a spirit of indiscipline, which I rather doubt, that spirit of indiscipline was justified by the result. Mr. Montagu's name will be forever enshrined in the affections of our people. Our people are known for their gratefulness and it is only on account of the heated discussions about the reforms that our people have not adequately shown their gratitude to Mr. Montagu. I think India to a certain extent stands disgraced by the way in which it failed to rise to the support of Mr. Montagu. We have had public meetings on all occasions for the most trifling matters; but in a cause so great as this when India's gratitude was to be shown to the world, and when it was to be shown to the English people particularly, that the whole of India was to a man behind Mr. Montagu. I am sorry to say our country failed in a large measure. Even the liberals failed in that duty. The liberals, as I have mentioned, base their policy on a belief in the good intentions of the whole of the British people. Mr. Montagu, we feel, is the embodiment of those good intentions in the in best possible form and it is but right that a Liberal Conference like this should express in most emphatic manner its sense of appreciation of the devoted labours of Mr. Montagu. Gentlemen, I personally might be regarded in the office of a minister as a creature par excellence of Mr. Montagu's policy (laughter). But my words of gratitude on this occasion are not from that well known saying that gratitude is a lively anticipation of the favours to come. Mr. Montagu is no longer in power. Neither myself nor the Liberals expect today anything more from the hands of Mr. Montagu; but it is necessary in order to keep our national self-respect, if for nothing else, that we should not give up our great supporters and protagonists when they are down. We know that a man of Mr. Montagu's abilities will never be for a long time down. He will rise with his energy to further heights. We know his abilities; his sympathy with the poor, the helpless, and the backward is of the utmost keenness; and we have full faith that Mr. Montagu will rise and shine and that he has a long career before him. He is not a very old man, he is only in the early forties at present; and therefore he has a long time still before him. But we feel that in Mr. Montagu, British statesmanship so far as it has reference to India, has risen to its greatest height. If we only knew of the internal history of the reforms and could look at the correspondence of Mr. Montagu with the Government of India, as we can now look at the correspondence that passed between Lord Mroley and the Government of India, we would come to know a great many things which are at present unknown to the public. But judging from the effects which we see, we are certain that Mr. Montagu's services to this country have been of the most invaluable nature; and I am sure that the resolution that I am proposing before you will meet with your hearty acceptance (loud cheers).

Mr. R. G. Pradhan (Nasik) :— Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel very great pleasure indeed in seconding the resolution which has been proposed by the Hon'ble Dr. Paranjpe with his usual ability and eloquence. This resolution is really a vote of confidence in Mr. Montagu, an expression of our appreciation of the remarkable services he has rendered to the cause of the country, and an expression of our hope that he will at no distant

date again find his place in the House of Commons and continue his work on behalf of this country. Ever since the resignation of Mr. Montagu the Indian Legislature and I believe every provincial legislature passed resolutions expressing their sense of appreciation of the excellent work that he has been able to do in the interests of this country. This is, I venture to think, a unique instance in the history of the relations between Indian people and the Secretary of State for India. There has been a long line of Secretaries of State for India, some of them very distinguished men who have left a mark on the history of Great Britain and also to some extent upon the history of this country. But no Secretary of State has captured our hearts as Mr. Montagu has done. Not even Lord Morley has been able to win our affections and our devotion to the extent of which Mr. Montagu has succeeded in doing. Sir, what is the secret of this extraordinary hold upon our minds? Why is it that we feel that when he was driven from office, the then Prime Minister inflicted a cruel wrong, not upon Mr. Montagu himself, but also upon the people of India? Why is it that in his defeat in the recent parliamentary elections, not only British liberalism but Indian liberalism has received a serious reverse? Sir, the secret of that extraordinary hold upon our minds lies in the fact that he has invariably acted on the golden maxim, alas, too often forgotten by statesmen all over the world, namely, do unto others as you would be done by. Sir, some one has said, I believe it was General Gordon, that the decisive test of statesmanship and particularly of statesmanship that has to deal with alien peoples, is this: how far it aims at getting behind men's skins and realising their hopes and joys, their sufferings, their aspirations and their ambitions. I venture to think that Mr. Montagu's statesmanship was of this type, of this high character; and he instinctively realised the soul of India and understood the spirit of India. Ladies and Gentlemen you will pardon me if I just refer to a personal reminiscence of that great statesman. In 1919 I had an occasion to meet him in England and he was good enough to give me a long interview and condescended to discuss with me, though a comparatively young and humble worker in the political field, some of the most important political problems of India that were then agitating the mind of this country and also of England. Among the several questions he discussed with me was the question of communal representation for the Marathas in the Bombay Presidency. I represented to him that communal representation for the Marathas should be granted subject to two conditions: that there should be a special electorate of the Marathas but the candidate might belong to any caste and that the special representation of the maratha community should automatically cease after a period of 10 years. He discussed the question with me and I was extremely impressed by the easy sympathetic manner, the quick comprehension in which he appreciated the point of view of the marathas. Sir, the secret of Mr. Montagu's success as Secretary of State for India lies to my mind in this: as I have said, he fully understood the soul of India; and therefore he felt that holding as he did the high office of the Secretary of State it was his duty to do all he could to realise the ambitions and the aspirations of this country. For several years we have been saying that the Indian Government should be a national government. We have been saying that though the personnel might be European, might be alien, the spirit should be national. Well, Mr. Montagu embodied in himself this national spirit of India (hear, hear); and it is in that spirit that he worked for this country. Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of satisfaction that his failure to retain his seat at Cambridge has not daunted him and that he has taken his defeat like a soldier in a sportsmanlike spirit; and that he is still continuing to take interest in India and doing his best to promote her interest. You remember, that recently, probably a few days after the general

G. R.  
Pradhan

elections, he had occasion to speak at Cambridge and in that speech he expressed a hope that an Indian Smuts an Indian Botha would soon arise and would do his best to reconcile England and India and bring about a permanent union between the two countries. Well, ladies and gentlemen, an Indian Smuts has already risen and it is no other than the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Shastri, the president of this Conference (cheers) whom we acclaim as the accredited and trusted leader of the Liberal Party. But, Sir, if it is the duty of the Indian Smuts to do his best to reconcile India and England, he has also every right to expect that the advice he gives, and the suggestions he makes will be accepted and I therefore venture to hope and trust that the lead which the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivasa Sastri, the Indian General Smuts, has given in his beautiful address delivered to us yesterday, a lead which he has given not only to the Liberal party and to the Indian people but also to the British people and the British cabinet, will be accepted and that his suggestions will be carried out by the present ministry. Sir, I don't wish to take your time any longer. I feel that in passing this resolution we shall have done nothing more than our duty and with your permission I would only suggest one amendment which is of a formal character, that the president should be authorised to telegraph this resolution to Mr. Montagu. (cheers).

R. V.  
Mahajani

R. S. R. V. Mahajani (Akola) further supported the resolution in Marathi.

President

The President: Ladies and Gentlemen, before putting this proposition for your acceptance, I will say in the first place that with the consent of the Hon. Dr. Paranjpe who moved this proposition, I am perfectly willing to cable the message to the Rt. Hon'ble Montagu as early as possible (cheers). Perhaps you will allow me also to share with you an element of rich humour furnished in the course of the discussion by the speech of Mr. Pradhan. I dare say he was utterly unconscious of it (laughter) when he likened me to General Smuts. Gentlemen, you all know that I have been blamed for not going to South Africa and I have an intention some day if you will depute me to that country. Apparently Mr. Pradhan is not of that opinion; he does not want me to go, for it is perfectly clear that the English people there will not welcome me and my appearing there as an Indian General Smuts will not make me welcome to the Indian community either, seeing that my first encounter in 1921 at the Imperial Conference was with General Smuts as the representative of South Africa (laughter). To send me there in the capacity of an Indian General Smuts would certainly be a lesson in practical humour. Gentlemen, I will now now take your sense on this motion. [The resolution was carried unanimously]

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT.

N. M.  
Samarath

Mr. N. M. Samarth, M.L.A., (Bombay): I have the honour to place before you a resolution of vital importance not only to ourselves but to the whole of India. It runs thus :

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

Brother delegates, this is a resolution upon which our critics, more especially our critics in England and Anglo-Indian critics in India, are apt to raise the objection that we of the Liberal Party are asking the Government of India and the British Parliament

to tear up by the roots a plant which is only of two years' growth. That is the objection which I have heard raised by an eminent member of Parliament with whom I had conversation on the subject some months ago. I told him that analogies do not help in the solution of any problem ; but if you want analogies I will say that this plant of two years' growth has around it pebbles and uncongenial soil and all I want to do is to remove those pebbles and uncongenial soil (cheers) so that the plant may attain its full stature and not be stunted. To drop the analogy, I put it to him thus : my justification for asking it is the experience that we have had during the past two years. I don't say that diarchy was not justified under the circumstances under which it was granted ; perhaps that was the only way to start us on the road to self-government ; but the experience is that on account of this blend of responsibility and irresponsibility in the provincial government, there has been a crop of difficulties, disabilities and disadvantages which were perhaps not anticipated at the time. For the healthy growth of the plant it is necessary to remove these disabilities and disadvantages and statesmanship lies in doing so now or taking steps at any rate which will result in that contingency.

Now what are these difficulties ? I confess I am not of those who have had an intimate knowledge of the inner working of the machinery of the Government. I am only a fly on one of those two wheels, one a decorated one and another a big brass wheel, which have been recently started and I have had hardly any occasions to come into intimate contact with these wheels of Government machinery. But sometimes on account of the requisition of some of the Committees I do get some sort of insight and all I found is that it is a wonderful mechanism, a wonderfully curious machinery. And our critic tells us : " you cannot afford to tamper with it in two years' time lest the whole thing may come to a stand-still or there might be absolute set back." Well, I agree with him. It is a wonderful machinery, curious and wonderful no doubt. There are wheels within wheels (laughter) and sometimes some wheels go one way, while the other wheels go the other way (laughter). And what I further detected was that the inner wheels and the spokes of those wheels were made in Whitehall (laughter). On closer examination I found that the whole thing is set in a steel frame (loud laughter), a steel frame not of Jameshedpur make but of Sheffield make ; and there was a brass plate attached to it on which the inscription ran somewhat like this : " This is a wonderful mechanism. The owner of this wonderful mechanism is the general taxpayer of India (laughter). It is his duty to supply the necessary oil, fat, white paint and rose colour that may be necessary for its proper working and even its decorations. But he has no right to remove even a bit of that steel frame or any of the wheels, nor has any right to prevent the highest authorities from adding to the wheels." Well, I said, this is no doubt a wonderful mechanism and I want it to be improved by importing into it something of Indian manufacture and remove some of the additional wheels which have been put into it more or less for the purposes of decorations.

To drop the analogy, as I said at the outset, there are certain difficulties which have been found by experience. Speaking about the provincial government, the one thing that is needed is collective cabinet responsibility. As I said this blend of responsibility and irresponsibility cannot last long. It has already been producing results which are far from satisfactory. Collective cabinet responsibility means collective financial responsibility so that the whole executive government and the whole provincial government should be one body amenable to the House. But the objection is raised. " That means that you want to do away with the prospects of the Civil Service. At present the goal of some of the ablest men of that Service is to be members of the Executive Council and you want to do away with that." Well, my position is this : I say that it is not right to say that full responsible government in the provinces means necessarily doing away with the civilian members of the executive government. All

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I say is that civilians or non-official Indians who are appointed to be members of the Executive Council should, along with the ministers, be responsible to the house in the sense that their salaries shall be placed on the estimate. If a civilian at present is a member of the Executive Council he knows very well that whatever he says or does, does not matter because his salary is not on the estimate. The house has no power to move a vote of want of confidence in him. But if he is made amenable to the House, as the Secretary of State has latterly been made amenable to the Parliament by having his salary placed on the British estimates, then the advantage of it will be that the civilian member of the Executive Government will always see that he has to be responsible to the House, and that the policy that he proposes and the measures that he brings forward must be such as will accelerate the pace of parliamentary government in the province and as will be of benefit to the people at large; and that he cannot afford to take up the present position of isolation and, if I may be permitted to say so, in some cases of detachment from the sympathies of the House. Well then, they say : how will it work? To my mind there is no difficulty in working such a system. The advantage of it will be this : although the civilian member, say for instance the finance member, may be in charge of the home department as it is called, still his department will be worked in such way that it will carry the majority of the House at any rate with it. And so far as the adjustment of the finances is concerned, as the whole cabinet will be by itself responsible to the House, the distinction of reserved and transferred subjects will cease to exist and they will mutually adjust the expenditure on each department in such a way that there will be no starving of the departments in charge of the ministers. That is the idea, which I think is very feasible and there is no need to take an alarmist view of the situation when we of the Liberal Party ask that there should be full responsible government in the provincial legislatures.

Now I will pass on to the second part of the resolution, responsibility in the central government, but before doing that, I want to point out one important thing. Originally, as you remember, in the Montagu Chelmsford Report we were assured that although we started with diarchy, there was a scheme by which a sure and regular step towards complete responsible government will be taken and one of the guarantees was that at the end of five years it will be open to the provincial legislatures to make an application to the Government of India asking for some more departments to be added to the transferred list. Thereupon the Government of India were to report to the Secretary of State, the matter was to be investigated and the list added to. As you will remember we made a point about it before the Joint Parliamentary Committee as we were very keen on it. The Southborough Committee had differences regarding the reserved and transferred subjects and in Bombay, for instance, land revenue was proposed to be a transferred subject by three Indian members of the Southborough Committee. We lost it by a vote. Now at that time the three Indian members yielded apparently on the ground that it was merely a matter of five years and that after five years land revenue would be transferred on the application of the local government or the local legislature to the transferred list. We said that five years is a necessary period at the end of which this regular and sure process will take place. The Government of India at that time opposed the five years' period on the ground that there must be a very long period which must elapse before another step is taken. But I have reason to believe, having regard to what Sir William Vincent said in the Legislative Assembly, that the Government of India have changed that idea, at any rate they moved an amendment to the resolution which was moved by Mr. Muzumdar that "in the opinion of this House the ten years' period is too long a period." That is to say, they have come back to the idea that at the end of a long period the demands that will be made are likely to be more radical than they would be if they are granted before that period. That then is my justification for asking for full responsible government in the provinces. But if you want it in a few words you will find it in the there

placards here. One is "India wants ordered progress", another is "Liberalism is the only way to Swaraj" and the third and the most important is "Good Government is no substitute for self-Government" (cheers). If you want ordered progress, if you want to take with you the educated and thinking people who have thrown their lot with the reforms and are trying, according to their lights, to do their best in making them a success, if you don't want to reinforce the forces of disorders, if you really think that Swaraj can be and should be attained by a regular process of evolution, then the only way to do it is to take the advice which is given by men, like our distinguished President, namely, that conservative pessimism is of no use, that you must take the time by forelock and make a progress in the direction of full responsible government.

Coming now to the Central Government, everybody knows that the position there is very anomalous. The experience of the past two years has shown that the Government is in a hopeless minority. There is an overwhelming elected majority in the Legislative Assembly and with the non-official nominated members added to it, it becomes still more overwhelming. Every time the Government is in such a hopeless position as to ask itself on which side will be the majority of the elected members, what way will they vote? They have to consult the exigencies of the moment and bring forward resolutions accordingly. They are not sure that they will be supported; therefore they cannot take any definite attitude. Of course, so far as we members of the Legislative Assembly are concerned, we have tried to discharge our responsibilities with due regard to the public welfare. We have made no secret of the fact that if the Government takes up an unreasonable attitude we shall vote against and defeat the Government. We have also made no secret of the fact that if any section of the House takes an unreasonable attitude we shall vote with the Government and defeat that section, as we have done in some cases. That however is the position of the Government and we say that that position cannot last long. There must be in the Central Government, excepting the departments, military, political and foreign, members in charge of portfolios who will be responsible to the House. Here again speaking personally, as I said there is no objection to members of the Civil Service being in the cabinet; only let their salaries be placed on the estimates. Let us have a lever in our hands to make them turn to our side and threaten them that we shall deduct their salary by a rupee if in any way a wrong is done by them (laughter). That then is the situation in the Central Government and I think the only way in which we can get out of it is by asking for a Commission from the Parliament authorised to go into this question and to report to the Parliament. There is nothing to prevent a Commission of that type coming before ten years. As you know Section 84 (a) of the Government of India Act only lays down that at the end of ten years there shall be a Commission. That means that it is made obligatory by the Statute that at the end of the ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 the Secretary of State with the concurrence of both the House of Parliament shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons who are to act on such a Commission. That does not however mean that it is not permissive for the Parliament to send before ten years a Commission of that kind; and this point was made quite clear at the time of the second reading of the Government of India Bill by Mr. Montagu. We only ask: let a Commission come immediately. Even if the Commission were to come immediately, it will take a couple of years before their Report goes to the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India and to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Immediate steps should therefore be taken to send a Commission which will inquire from the ministers who have had experience of working the transferred departments how far the machine has satisfied its expectations, what are its defects and what can be done to remedy them. And the chief thing that should be done is to bring about a joint and collective cabinet responsibility, a financial partnership in which there will be no bifurcation of responsibility. Well, if a Commission is appointed as we want, then I

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do think that a case can be made out for granting full responsible government in the sense in which I have outlined it to the provinces and for granting in the central government responsibility which we ask for in accordance with this resolution.

I will say only one word as to what we mean by omitting for the present military, foreign and political departments. When we say we want responsibility in the Central Government except in these departments, we don't mean to say that the expenditure on these departments shall not be made votable; all that the resolution says is that the salaries of the men in charge of these departments, the Commander-in-chief, for instance, shall not be placed on our estimates.

I don't think it is necessary for me to say anything more in support of this resolution; I hope you will pass it with acclamation (cheers).

Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Kt., who on rising to second the resolution was loudly cheered, said :—

Sir B. K.  
Bose

“ Sir, I rise in response to your call to second the resolution just moved; but I feel that I am in a somewhat unfortunate position. Most unkindly as I think my friend the mover has said all that could reasonably be said in support of this resolution and there is hardly anything for me to add. In these circumstances, however, having been called upon to say something, I will, with your kind permission, state as briefly as I may, some of the leading landmarks in the history of this important subject. Thirty-four years ago, exactly thirty four years ago this day I can almost say, when I was a young man I attended that historic session of the Congress at Allahabad in the year 1888 with Pandit Ajodianath as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Yule as the President. Just then Lord Dufferin, in the congenial atmosphere of the St. Andrews Dinner, surrounded by his sympathetic countrymen, had fulminated to his fullest in a tirade against the Congress. He had chosen to describe the aim of the Congress to be to introduce in India full responsible government under which the power of the purse shall be entirely in the hands of the representatives of the people and through the instrumentality of this power the representatives of the people will bring under their complete subjection the bureaucratic British rulers of this country. It fell to K. T. Telang (cheers) to move the resolution of the Congress regarding the Reform and the extension of the Indian Legislative Council and what do you think he said? He said Lord Dufferin's description of the ideal of the Congress was as true as the well known description given of a crab that it is a red fish which walks backwards, and the crab, as everyone knows, is neither a fish nor is it red, nor does it walk backwards. Now just see, gentlemen, how far we have progressed since then. What one of the great leaders of the then Congress described as a travesty of the aims and objects of the Congress will now be found embodied in the legislative measure which has been placed on the Statute Book by the countrymen of Lord Dufferin himself (cheers). That is by the way. It took more than twenty years for this demand to be repeated year after year before we could see even the least sign of the fruition of our hopes and how it came along has been described in graphic detail by the authors of the new reforms. That most unfortunate of government measures, the Bengal partition, evoked in the country a wave of dissatisfaction which it would be impossible for one who has not witnessed it to vivify before his mind. Lord Morley has told us that he was pressed time after time to introduce repression of the worst possible kind in order to find a remedy for the agitation which was started. Now so far as the people themselves were concerned, when they found that the thousand and one meetings protesting against this unfortunate measure went for nothing, that no redress was forthcoming, and that even radical statesmen like Lord Morley said that the settled fact could not be unsettled, they began to despair and then came that most unfortunate incident in the history of the Bengal political agitation, the advent of the anarchist. The deluded and I had almost



said, the half demented youths of Bengal, when they saw the result of this so called constitutional agitation, turned to anarchism and Lord Morley has told us distinctly and clearly in the pages of his *Recollections* that it was when he saw this great danger to Government that he made up his mind in spite of all opposition from various quarters to introduce the new reforms. The new reforms therefore came, I had almost said because of the bomb; and when they did come, they were acclaimed throughout the country with the highest approbation except in respect of one or two items which I need not mention. We of the Central Provinces and Berar had the good fortune to participate in the benefits of that great and beneficial measure. In 1913, our first Local Administration was inaugurated in accordance with the provisions of the new reforms. I had the honour to be a member of this Council throughout its life which extended over a period of six years and I can conscientiously and honestly say that no legislature in the whole of India did such excellent work for the good of the people as this new Council did (cheers). Most important measures affecting the well being of the people, settling the thorny and intricate questions relating to landed interests and the cultivator's interests, and various other matters, were passed by this Council. The volume of work both legislative and administrative which passed through this Council was such as could be claimed as a triumph and justification of the new reforms. How was this result, I say, arrived at? It was because of the good will and harmony and hearty co-operation between officials and non-officials. There is no reason why officials and non-officials, if they are animated by one single desire to compass the good of the country, should not work in harmony; that was the principle the officials and the representatives of the people who went to the Council placed before themselves, and knowing of this salutary principle, I say, we were able to turn out the volume of work of which any legislature might well be proud. Now after these reforms had been in existence for three or four years, came all of a sudden, almost with dramatic suddenness, the titanic war. The whole of the British Empire rallied to the standard of Britain to support her cause of righteousness, India joined whole-heartedly in the universal rally. Indian troops, sent from India, trampling over the blood-stained fields of Flanders, laying down their lives far away from their hearths and homes in defence of Republican France and Christian Belgium was a spectacle never before witnessed in the history of nations (hear, hear) and very naturally and rightly it touched the hearts of the British people. And what was the result? The result was the historic proclamation of August 20th. India was stirred to its uttermost depths by the great ideals which this great war threw out. The whole nation was pulsating with aspirations and hopes which were entirely cut of the ordinary run of ideals and aspirations. The great ideals of nationalism and self-determination were agitating the popular mind from one end of the country to the other. It was a great feat of statesmanship that at this juncture the British statesmen rose to the height of the occasion and gave us what was our birth-right, at all events the first instalment of it. And herein lies the secret, the origin, the genesis of the reforms under which we are now working. These reforms have been in duration, as has been said by my friend, only for two years; but I submit to those in whom our destinies lie that that time has been enough to convince a reasonable mind that we can be trusted to shoulder our responsibilities in a manner best conducive to the good of our country (cheers). I have no experience of outside legislatures. My experience is confined to the work that has been carried on by our local legislature and I can honestly say that the members who have come to our legislature are animated by one singleminded desire to do what is best in the interests of the country (hear, hear); and I am most happy to say that the attitude, the demeanour and the conduct of the officials has been everything that could be desired. I am well aware that this is in a great measure due to the attitude and sympathy of the head of our Administration (Sir Frank Sly) (cheers). Whatever may be the inner workings of the official mind, the fact remains that we are a most happy

Sir B. K.  
Bose

Sir D. K.  
Dose

family in the Central Provinces (hear, hear). We have had our differences, it is impossible in human nature that we should not have differences when different minds come together in public questions; but our differences have never been of an acute character, have never marred the harmony of our proceedings or prevented us from acting in co-operation when the interests of the country demanded such co-operation. And the result has been, so far at all events I can say, without the least hesitation and without any fear of contradiction, that the reforms so far as they have gone have been a success (hear, hear). I claim that measure of success which it is possible to attain under its limited powers and responsibilities. I submit therefore that we have established and well established a claim for further advance.

I have been speaking long of our own provincial legislature because my experience has been confined to it; but although I have no personal knowledge of what is taking place in other parts of the country, I have read what is said about them in the newspapers and all competent and impartial judges seem to be agreed that the members of the new legislatures have brought to bear in the discharge of their responsibilities and duties an amount of self-restraint, moderation and reasonableness which fully justified the confidence that was reposed in them and fulfilled the expectation with which the new reforms were introduced. If that is so, if that is the situation to-day, I for one, although all my life I have been what has been called a moderate, can see no reason why a further step forward should not be granted (cheers). If the past is to be any guide for the future, there is absolutely no reason to fear that the future will be otherwise than what it has been in the past.

There is another aspect to the question. We all know that a new force has been generated in the country, a very great volume of public opinion has been created throughout the length and breadth of the country which aims at the complete and full destruction of the present machinery of the government. I have no desire to judge of my countrymen in this matter. They know their duty, they know better what is best for the country than I can pretend to do. I have no right to judge them, they act according to their own lights. But I wish to emphasize that these new forces, that this new spirit that has been generated in the country will result if allowed to run its course in what I cannot but call a revolution. Whether a revolution will be good for the country or will land us in anarchy, chaos and confusion I don't for the present discuss. I merely point out to you the indubitable fact that some of the best brains in the country, men whose honesty and patriotism we have no right to question, have enlisted themselves under the banner of non-cooperation and their doctrines are permeating the country throughout its length and breadth. There is a great danger in that, at least from the point of view of those who are for orderly constitutional progress step. Whether they are right or we are right I don't for the present discuss or decide; but there is a grave danger to the whole of the present government machinery being uprooted and turned upside down. If we think, if our rulers think, that this is a contingency which ought to be provided against, let us try and find out how this is to be brought about. Repression will probably occur to most men as a best method for meeting this new danger. But Repression, as Lord Morley has said in his *Recollections*, is no remedy for a permanent, abiding, constitutional discontent running through the inner minds of the people and permeating the whole country. You may repress twenty people, you may repress a thousand people, but you cannot repress thirty millions of people (cheers). Therefore some remedy more effectual and abiding has to be thought of by men who have the true welfare of India at heart and who wish for British connection to be maintained for all time to come as equal partners in the great Commonwealth. What is that remedy? In my humble judgment, in all humility, it lies in extending the present reforms so as to usher in full responsible government (cheers). Why I say so I will explain in as few words as I can. I have already taken a long time (cries of: go on, go on).

Responsibility and power divorced from one another can never be a permanent abiding force in the country. It may with mutual good-will, mutual co-operation, mutual forbearance work for a while; but it can never last forever. A time will come, some day or other, when there will be friction, that friction will generate heat and that heat will create a conflagration in the whole country (laughter and cheers). Therefore I say don't divorce power from responsibility. Join them together; and if you do that, if you join power and responsibility, then those who are in power and those who are responsible will think twice before they lend themselves to any fantastical wild dreams and wild projects of wrecking the present Government (hear, hear). A good many of those who belong to the opposite camp are now agitating for entering the councils, with a view not to work it to success but to wreck it and by wrecking the councils they wish to create deadlocks, and to bring back chaos and anarchy which ran supreme before the advent of the British. Now what is the proper remedy for an attempt of that kind, for a mentality of that type? I humbly say, give them responsibility with power, make them feel responsible for the administration of the country; make them feel that for every wrong that they commit, for everything that they do, the responsibility will be theirs. If then you join responsibility and power together so as to make them inseparable and so as to make them centred in the same body of people, it is impossible for them, if they have any regard for their country, that they will wreck the machinery of the government and bring back the reign of chaos and anarchy (cheers). Therefore I say to those who are for breaking this huge monster that is appearing before us: if you want to bring about peace and harmony and co-operation between classes and classes, communities and communities, give the country full responsible government, of course with due safe-guards. I don't mean to say that the British people should retire and be merely lookers on. By no means. They are still responsible for the good of the country, for the maintenance of law and order; and even if we are given responsibility, for a long time to come the ultimate responsibility will rest with the British Parliament and in order that the British Parliament may fulfill its obligations there must be some safeguards. But barring these constitutional safeguards, give those who live in the country, who call India their motherland, full responsible government and make them the rulers in their own land. Make them responsible for their own destiny. If you do that then all this present froth, this present excitement, discontent and resentment, against the ruling powers will disappear and mutual good-will will soon prevail. Herein then, I say, lies the genesis and the justification of the resolution moved by my friend Mr. Samarth (loud and prolonged cheers).

Mr. M. R. Aiyangar, M. L. A. (Sivaganga) very briefly supported the resolution.

Sir B. K.  
Bose

Mr. M. R.  
Aiyangar.

Pandit Gokarnanath Misra in further supporting the resolution in Hindi said that in the Congress League Scheme they never had demanded a system of dyarchical Government in the provinces but had asked for complete provincial autonomy. However if diarchy was introduced merely in order to test their capacity for self-government, sufficient proof of their capacity had been given. The Ministers had in all the provinces managed their departments well and ably. Such proof having been given it was but only fair and proper that complete responsible government should be introduced in the provinces. He also pointed out that if the government accepted the advice given by the Liberals and granted complete responsible government in the provinces—non co-operation movement would go away to a great extent. The non-co-operators said that they wanted "Swaraj" for their country but had never defined what it meant. They the Liberals, if their demand was accepted, could definitely point out to the people the "Swaraj" which they

Pandit  
Gokarna-  
rath Misra

had obtained by constitutional means, and he felt sure that the Electors would appreciate that position. If the Government was anxious to kill the non-cooperation movement they could only do so by making suitable concessions at the proper time. The time had come when he felt that complete responsible government should be introduced in the provinces and responsibility should be introduced in the Central Government. He also exhorted the liberals to go forward among the Electorates and to make that demand an election cry and if they were returned in large numbers to the provincial Councils and to the Legislative Assembly, that demand was sure to be conceded.

Mr. M. D.  
Altekar.

Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay) further supported the resolution in Marathi.

The President:— This resolution, perhaps the most important on our paper has been duly proposed, seconded and supported. Whatever may be said against it, nobody can say that we have passed it in too brief a time or without a thorough discussion. In particular, the Federation may congratulate itself that in any charges of rashness or extravagance that may be brought against us, we may shield ourselves behind the ripe experience, the mature judgment and cautious statesmanship of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, I now take your vote on the resolution.

The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority, only seven dissenting.

The President:— I wish beforehand to say that it is my intention to ask the Subjects Committee to meet here from 3 to 4-30 p. m. in order to dispose of tomorrow's business. In order to be able to do that I shall request the speakers on this resolution to finish by 2-30 so that there may be half an hour's rest before the Subjects Committee meets.

#### INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. B. S.  
Kamat.

Mr. B. S. Kamat, M. L. A. (Poona) moved the following resolution:—

“ This meeting of All-India Liberals regards with the gravest concern the delay in the inauguration of the plans for the Indianisation of the officer ranks in the Indian Army, for the reduction of the British element and for the introduction of other improvements and economies recommended by the Military Requirements Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and regards it as a crucial test of the sincerity of the authorities regarding India's Dominion status and sees no way except through drastic retrenchment under this head of the country's regaining financial equilibrium and calls upon the British Cabinet and the Army Council to restore by speedy action the confidence of the people of India in the often repeated promises to grant full responsible Government to India.”

Mr. Kamat said:— Mr. President, Brother delegates and gentlemen. I must thank the president for bringing down his axe on this resolution and indirectly therefore on the duration of my speech. I am thankful to him because I was not quite prepared with the details and statistics about this question. I shall therefore deal very briefly with this resolution. Now the question of Army Reform is, next after provincial autonomy and constitutional advance, to my mind the most important resolution on the agenda, for I regard that if we have real swaraj at all, that swaraj will only depend on military swaraj. If India is to rise to the same level as any first class nation, e. g., Japan, the two things which I value most are industrial swaraj and military swaraj as complements to our constitutional swaraj. That being the importance of the subject, I shall engage your attention with reference to this subject only to one or two vital points. The whole question falls into two categories, firstly, what we demand of the government is the reduction of military expenditure and the second category of this question is the rapid Indianization of the Army. Now with reference to the first aspect

of the question about the reduction of the military expenditure, the Legislative Assembly, since the time it came into existence has been active on various problems about army reforms. With reference to the recommendations of the Military Requirements Committee last year, the Legislative Assembly formulated our policy and our demands on the question of armies. Now what we want in the first place is the reduction, if possible, of the British element in the army. At the present moment the strength of the British element is something like 70,000 people and the strength of the Indian soldiers is about 2,20,000. That is to say the British element stands to the Indian element in the proportion of 1 to 3. This is we think an excessive proportion. There was at one time a similar Commission and that Commission laid down the proportion as 1:2. Then the British element is extremely costly. The Indian soldier costs to us something like Rs. 500 per annum, while the British soldier costs to the country something like Rs. 2,000 and even more, so that the cost of the British soldier is four times that of the Indian soldier. The cost of the British officers is still greater. The total cost of the British element is disproportionately great so far as the taxing capacity and the resources of the country are concerned. Now we have been told that the Indian army is a part, as it were, of the Imperial defence and the general policy and the strength of the Army has to be laid down by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief, not alone, but in consultation with the War Office in England because they have to co-operate in Imperial defence. Now as a matter of principle it may be good from the point of view of the Empire but so far as the resources of the country are concerned, I believe the Indian army must be supposed to be for Indian defence and if we want to extend the army as a linked chain for the Imperial defence, I think, the Empire and the British Cabinet should bear the additional expenses. In any case the policy as to how much we shall maintain as our army ought not to be laid down or dictated by the War Office and the Government and the Commander-in-Chief must be masters of themselves in their own houses.

Well, so far as the question of the Indianisation of the Army is concerned, we have been pressing on the Government of India that there ought to be more Indian element in the Commission ranks. I am not going to give you a long list of statistics but I may tell you for your interesting information that so far as the last two or three years are concerned, the Government of India have been making frequent promises that the army would be Indianised as fast as they possibly could do so. In 1919 something like 16 permanent King's Commissions were offered to the Indians. In 1920 the King's Commissions granted to Indians were only 2 and in 1921 the permanent King's Commissions granted to the Indians were only 7. Possibly this year they have granted a few more. That will show you, gentlemen, that the pace at which they are offering the King's Commissions to the Indians, is indeed a very slow pace for the country. If as they tell us our progress towards our military swaraj must proceed *pari passu* with constitutional advance, then I think we have every right to demand that the Indianisation of the army should be more rapid. In his speech to the Legislative Assembly, His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say that his government was making every effort to Indianise the army but he regretted to say very few suitable candidates came forward for the cadetship. Now as a matter of fact there must be some difficulties in the way. There are a number of martial races in the country which came to the rescue of the British Govt. and it sounds rather strange that there should not come forward in large numbers suitable candidates for military careers in India. I have looked into the figures and there were no less than 141 applications from Indians for military careers; and out of them Government chose something like 29 candidates for cadetship. Now that means that the test the Government have laid down must be very rigid and if we must have rapid Indianisation, we must look into the tests laid down by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief for suitability for military careers.

Well, last year a Military Requirements Committee was appointed in the Legislative Assembly and the report of that Committee was sent to the British Government and a small sub-Committee was appointed in England in order to consider the report of this Committee. We have been thinking that the Government of India have taken a long time indeed to cogitate over the report of this Committee. We understand that in September last a Communication has been received from the British Government indicating the views of the Secretary of State for India and the War Office. That communication has not yet been published. I believe the whole country feels a sort of grave concern and alarm why this publication is being retarded to such a great extent. It is a vital question and it is the duty of every liberal to call upon the Government of India to publish this communication and disclose to the world their plans for the Indianisation of the Army.

There is only one more question to which I would like to refer and that is about the Territorial forces. Now the Government of India have passed an Act and it is open to the Indian people, if they wish, to join the army with a view to render military service for the defence of their country. Now the Government of India are, according to themselves, pushing on the work of the Territorial forces; but even with all the attractions which are offered, the status, the rank, and the regulations about clothing etc; in the Territorial forces are something which require looking into. For, in last year, in spite of every effort in every province, there has been a total strength of only 10,000 in the whole of India. Now I must admit that there is a little bit of reluctance on the part of the middle classes amongst us to join the Territorial forces. There must be reasons on the other hand, so far as the terms accorded to the people are concerned, why they do not come forward to join the Territorial forces. But just as we have found fault with the Government for not rapidly Indianising the Army, I feel it my duty to urge my countrymen to join the Territorial forces and be as it were ready to defend our country when we get our swaraj (hear. hear).

Principal  
K. R.  
Kanitkar

Ladies and Gentlemen, as we have to finish by 2. 30, I do not think I should extend my remarks any further. I commend this resolution for your acceptance (cheers). Principal K. R. Kanitkar (Poona) in seconding the resolution said:- I am not going to refer to the two aspects explained to you by the mover of this proposition. The first aspect is the retrenchment aspect of it. He has made it clear to you that the Indianisation of the army is absolutely necessary on account of the expenditure. I am not prepared to lay much stress on it. It may be found necessary later on that in order to accomplish the Indianisation, more expenditure may be likely to be incurred. But leaving that aside for the moment I want to just explain to you how the Government of India and the British Parliament should take steps in order to make the profession of army popular amongst our people. At present, the I. D. F and Indian Territorial Forces have been organized recently but a difficulty arose in the granting of the Commission. Our youngmen who were prepared to enter the army, especially the Indian Territorial Forces, are not granted the King's Commissions and a way has been found out that instead of the King's Commissions they may be granted the Viceroy's Commissions, so that there is some inferiority left attached to the Commissions which are given to our youngmen. The result is that youngmen taking education in the different colleges are not prepared to enter the I. T. F. as readily as they would otherwise do. I therefore wish that this difference should be removed as early as possible. Secondly, more military colleges ought to be opened in different parts of the country in order to induce our youngmen to get a chance of defending their country. Well, the moral aspect of the Indian Territorial defence or the second line of defence is far-reaching than is apparent on the surface. Young men, educated youngmen, are not induced to join the regular army because they do not realise what the defence of the country means to them. If the Indian Territorial Force is made popular by proper means, then in every

home there will rise a desire to send the youngmen to join the regular army as well as L. T. Force. Now this is the moral aspect and this moral obligation would create amongst us a sense of responsibility which is at the basis of self-government and therefore I venture to say that the Government and those that are responsible for army organisation should take early steps to make the L. T. F as popular as possible. I do not think I need add any further but I cannot conclude without referring to a sentence quoted by our president yesterday. Mr Montagu is reported to have said: "Do not deny to India self-government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves". I hope that this opportunity will not be denied to us and that early steps will be taken to Indianise the army and to give the Indian people more opportunities to defend their country. (cheers)

Principal  
K. R.  
Kanitkar

Mr. A. P. Sen (U. P.) in supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. A. P.  
Sen.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. As I have to observe military discipline and to obey the command of the Chair, I shall with only one sentence support this resolution and I shall do so with all earnestness. I shall only say this that a nation that cannot command her army cannot demand her rights (hear, hear). We therefore claim that along with our civil Swaraj we must also obtain our military Swaraj. During the last war England fought to deliver the world from the military dominion of Germany. Is it too much to ask England to-day to relieve us from the military tutelage which England has imposed upon India and still continues to impose on India? I suspect that distrust is at the root of our disability and until this distrust is removed, I fear there can be no peace in the country. There must be mutual trust and mutual appreciation before we can make our association with England permanent. That permanence of association must rest upon the contentment and happiness of the people and there can be no contentment or happiness of the people unless we are allowed the defence of our homes; and the nation which cannot defend her home is not fit for swaraj. With these words I support the resolution (cheers).

R. B., A. R.  
Bambawale.

Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambawale (Nagpur) in further supporting the resolution said:—

I am very glad that I have to be brief this afternoon and that I have not to say much. But I will only say that the Government always levels a charge against the moderates that they are only moderates in name but really they are extremists under the garb of moderates; and that the moderates do not take sufficient interest in defending the cause of Government of their own country because, they say, the moderate party is so small, so weak and generally repeats the programme which the extremists have passed at their conferences. Well, I am inclined to think that the Government is more or less to blame for this. If the Government wants the help of the moderate party, if the government desires that the moderate party should bring the people to the views of the Government then the Government must give something to the moderates to show to the people and particularly to the youth of the people (hear, hear). You know it is no good crying down non-cooperation. There are also good friends among the non-cooperation leaders; they also have the same burning patriotism and zeal as we claim. Then why is it that they are having insane programmes? Why is it that sane heads should take to insane programmes? That is simply because the moderates have got nothing to attract the youth of the country. They give you something which perhaps appeals to the older brains only but nothing which appeals to the youngmen; and to come to our resolution, I say this is the only resolution which will appeal to the youth of the country (cheers). If we could go to the electorates,

R. B. A. R.  
Bambawale.

as Pandit Gokarnath Misra said, and tell them that by this resolution we mean to ask the Government to Indianise the military service, then the youth of the country will come round and will hear you with deference. Our President has already pointed out yesterday that military responsibility or responsibility for defence of the country is an inseparable concomitant of home-rule or as we put it, of full dominion status. They both go together, they cannot be separated. They may exclude each other for some time, but the real fact is that must go together. That is to say, our youth must be trained and we must form a nation and no nation can possibly exist unless it can repel unprovoked aggression and also defend itself against any internal disorder. That we must wake up if we wish to justify our claim or demand for home-rule or full dominion status or whatever you choose to call it. If we can do this, if we take this programme to the people, even to the non-cooperators, then there is every hope that they will be weaned from their mad programmes. It is for this reason and for many others that I most emphatically support this resolution put forward by my friend Mr. Kamat and supported by abler men than myself. (cheers).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The sittings adjourned till the following day. Sir M. B. Dadabhoj was 'At Home' to the President and delegates this evening.

### Third Day.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Friday, the 29th December 1922 at 12 noon with the Rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri in the Chair.

The President:— I must in the first place convey to the meeting the apology of the Reception Committee for the circumstances that they have been unable to print the agenda of to-day as is usual in such cases. The printing facilities in Nagpur are not of a very high order and besides you will remember that we sat this morning till late fashioning resolutions, so that you will extend your indulgence, if I am obliged more than once to read the resolutions, some of them rather long. I will begin by putting some resolutions from the chair as I have been asked to do.

The following resolutions were then put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

### RETRENCHMENT.

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

### PRINCES PROTECTION ACT.

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

### EDUCATION OF THE MASSES.

While fully recognising the need for rapid political advance, this Federation emphasises the great necessity for pushing on the progress of the masses in all directions, educational, social and economic, and for this purpose urges on



Government as also on the people, the great desirability of adding to the institutions that aim at the advancement of the masses all along the line.

Mr. A. V. Thakkar moved the following resolution:—

Mr. A. V.  
Thakkar

#### UNTOUCHABILITY

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

Mr. A. V. Thakkar: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is unfortunate that at this day in the year 1922 A. D we are passing such a resolution as the one which the President has just read out to you (hear, hear). When we are asking for full responsible government, can we do it without the full concurrence and approval of our brethren who are the so called depressed classes. I would have wished this resolution to go a little further than the removal of untouchability and would have liked to add that they should be allowed entrance to all public institutions including public wells as well as temples of worship, but as it is worded I hope you will allow to pass it.

The President: The resolution says: "It is necessary to remove all the disabilities to which the untouchables are subjected"

Mr. Thakkar: I beg your pardon. As the resolution is not in my hand I could not see it. Well, these disabilities are a great blot on the whole nation. I may mention only one instance and that too in the very big city of Bombay. The Corporation of that city recently passed a resolution asking the Tramways Compay to remove the disability that is enforced against the sweeper class in Bombay. It was up to now a rule that sweepers will not be allowed to ride on the tramways cars; but happily that disability has recently been removed since a few days only. I hope that similar disabilities in other parts of the country and in all sections of the community will be removed at an early date so as to do away with the necessity of passing such a resolution next year. I hope you will all pass this resolution (cheers).

Mr Bhatkar supported the resolution in Marathi.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The resolution which I have been entrusted with, runs as follows:—

Pandit  
H. N.  
Kunzru

#### THE IMPERIAL SERVICES.

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

Pandit H. N. Kunzru said :—I will address myself first to the second part of this resolution which asks that the Secretary of State should transfer control over the public services to the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures. In order to enable

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you to understand fully what section 96 (b) of the Government of India Act lays down, I will read out to you a portion of that section. The section deals with the public services, with their manner of recruitment, with their conditions of service and with their future prospects and sub-section (2) of this section says: "The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances and discipline and conduct. Such rules may, to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed, delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General in Council or to local governments, or authorise the Indian legislature or local legislatures to make laws regulating the public services." It was possible for us to ask that section 96 (b) itself should be changed and that all power of controlling the Imperial services should be transferred by Statute to the Government of India. If it is not unseemly for me, while speaking on this resolution I might say that my own point of view is slightly different from that expressed in the resolution which I have read out to you and I should like to say what I would have preferred a change in the statute asking the Secretary of State to transfer some of his powers to the Government of India and to the Local Governments. My reasons for it are two: in the first place, if the Secretary of State can delegate a power to the Government of India or the Local Governments, it can also by the exercise of the very same right withdraw any power that he might confer on them. In the second place, sub-section (1) of section 96 (b) of the Government of India Act lays down that no person in any public service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed; and to the extent that the Secretary of State retains the power of appointment in his hands, the Government of India or the Local Governments would not have full disciplinary control over the services which are called upon to work under them. But we have for the time being chosen the line of least resistance and ask that the Secretary of State should use the power conferred upon him by sub-section (2) of section 96 (b) of the Government of India Act to authorise the Indian and Local Legislatures to make laws regulating the public services. I need not dilate on the importance of the matter for it was referred to at considerable length by our President in his address. He pointed out not merely the anomaly but the extreme humiliation in which the Government of India was placed by being deprived of all control over the services subordinate to it and expressed surprise that these services have so far shown loyalty which they have hitherto displayed to the Governments under whom they are working. Some gentlemen here who have read the Report of the Crewe Committee which was appointed to consider the relations of the Secretary of State in Council with the Government of India might remember that this was one of the points which attracted the attention of that Committee and Professor Keith who was one of those members wrote a minute of dissent in which he dealt specifically with this matter. He pointed out the undesirability of fettering the powers of the Government of India in regard to so important a matter. He pleaded for full trust in the Government of India, not merely because in the last resort it would be responsible to the Secretary of State but also because it would be more amenable to public influence; and surely when we are making a start with the reforms and inaugurating a new regime nothing was of more importance than that even in matters over which full control had not been given to the Indian legislature, the Government of India should be influenced increasingly by the views of the elected representatives of the people. That advice of Prof. Keith was however disregarded and within two years of the reforms coming into operation we find ourselves compelled to ask that the power so unwisely withheld from the Government of India in 1919 should be conceded to it now.

The second part of the resolution asks also that while rules are being made for the transfer of control over the public services from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, all recruitment in England should be stopped. Now this does not mean that in future Britishers are not to be taken into the services. It only means that the Secretary of State should enter into no commitments on our

behalf, that it should not be open to him to enter into obligations during the period while the new rules are being made which render them nugatory for a considerable time to come. I say again that it would be a mistake to suppose that this temporary stoppage of recruitment is meant to shut the Britishers forever out of the higher services. The proportion of the Britishers to be taken into the services would depend in future on the Indian Legislatures. I am quite free to say that if the power we are asking for is conceded to the Government of India, British recruitment will be substantially curtailed. That is one of the definite objects with which we have brought forward this demand. But I make bold to say that once we have got the power to make appointments, to dismiss officers, and to create or abolish appointments, the suspicion that now exists, the jealousy with which recruitment of non-Indians is regarded will disappear to a large extent and this question will then be discussed in the light of administrative necessity and economic considerations in which they should have been regarded even in the past. It may, however, be said, what is the practical necessity which compels the Federation within two years of the working of the Roferms to come forward and demand the change which this resolution asks for? Ladies and Gentlemen, you are fully aware that financial bankruptcy has overtaken every Government of India, Provincial as well as Imperial; and one of the most important things to be considered in this connection is the reduction of the overhead charges of administration as they are termed in the resolution. It has been an old cry of the Congress that if the Services were more largely recruited in India, apart from other advantages, the financial burden of India would be considerably reduced. The O'Donnel Circular which was issued in response to a debate in the Assembly in February 1922 admitted that if the recruitment to the Imperial Services were largely Indian about  $\frac{1}{2}$  the expenditure on the salaries could be reduced. Then consider the effect of the reduction of the salaries in the higher services on the provincial and subordinate services: Once an impetus is given to retrenchment and economy by curtailing expenditure on the higher services, the subsequent stages would be easier and our progress towards economy would be much more rapid than it otherwise may be expected to be. Again in practice, the power which the Secretary of State exercises is likely to be used in a manner very prejudicial to the interest of the Government of India and the Local Governments. The President in his address referred to the meticulous control which the Secretary of State was trying to exercise over the Governments in India and pointed out that the Finance Member of the U.P. Government said, the other day in the U.P. Legislative Council, that under the orders of the Secretary of State they were precluded from enquiring into cases affecting the Imperial Services. I come from the U.P. and I understand that if this had been received earlier, our local Government would not have been free to appoint, as it did, committees to consider the reduction in the number of or the abolishing of commissionerships or to consider the reduction in the staff of the public works department. I am further given to understand that had these orders been received earlier it would not have been open to the U.P. Government to appoint a Committee to consider the separation of judicial from executive functions; as a matter of fact this Committee was appointed last year and has already reported; but had the orders been received earlier it would have been impossible for the local Government to appoint such a Committee. Take another instance: if in the Education department there is a particular post which is now regarded as unnecessary it is not open to the Local Government to take the Legislature into its confidence in regard to it or to make any inquiries with regard to its abolition. That post must be continued so long as it does not please the Secretary of State for India to abolish it. Now in the matters to which I have referred namely, the abolition of certain posts or the separation of the judicial and the executive functions, or the number of superior

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officers that are to be employed in any department or public service or in the matters which primarily concern the local governments and at a time when the local Governments are faced with deficits and many of them have had to resort to extra taxation in order to balance both sides of the account, if the Secretary of State stands in the way of provincial governments and prevents them from following a sure course to economy, a course which would not merely have important results in the immediate future but would have far reaching effects in time to come, it is time we strongly protested against the power which the Secretary of State is exercising and ask him to part with the control which he exercises in favour of the Indian and provincial legislatures. In the debate which took place in the Imperial Assembly in February last, some interesting figures were given in regard to the number of Indians in the various services. This information was elicited by Mr. Joshi. The Government of India stated in answer to his question that at present there were 13 per cent Indians in the Civil Service and 5 per cent in the Imperial Police Service. I am aware that the initial recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was 33 per cent and it increases automatically by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent annually but we cannot ignore the fact that for the present Indians constitute only about 13 per cent or less than  $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the entire Indian Civil Service. In the next place how long are we to wait before we have reached this proportion in the entire service. According to the O'Donnel Circular even if a complete cessation of recruitment in England took place it would require a large number of years for Indians to form a one third of the entire Indian Civil Service. But if recruitment is to go on in England at the present rate it would be practically a generation before Indians reach the percentage fixed for recruitment in the entire service; and if a change is to be made within or in ten years as is contemplated by the Reforms Act, it will require atleast three generations for us to be able to recruit the Service completely in this country. It was stated by Sir William Vincent in the debate to which I referred just now that between 1917 and 1921, Indians were recruited to a pretty large extent and that on account of various causes, for instance the changed conditions of the Service, the lesser attractions of the Indian Civil Service as compared with the Colonial Services, and the new political circumstances, recruitment to the Indian Civil Service had fallen in England and that the question would solve itself automatically. It is true that recruitment in England has become less than formerly but we are aware that some time ago the Secretary of State employed a number of surplus officers in the Army who had been demobilized or compulsorily retired, in the Indian Civil Service under the Act passed in 1915 which was to deal with a temporary state of things only, that is the state of things created by the war. As the President pointed out in his address, if the recruitment of Englishmen in England had abated, equity requires that the advantage of it should be given to the children of the soil (hear, hear) instead of attempts being made under an Act framed for special conditions arising out of the war to nominate Britishers to the Indian Civil Service merely in order to prevent the proportion of Indians from rising higher. We also know that in the I.M.S. the Secretary of State has recently appointed 30 men on terms rather more advantageous than those given to ordinary recruits. It may, therefore, be true that recruitment in England to the Imperial Services is not taking place at the rate at which it was in old days. Nevertheless, the effect of it is being nullified by the Secretary of State using his powers to make nominations to the various services in order to make up the quota of Englishmen.

Apart from this the demands that we are making now supplement the demands which we made yesterday for a further constitutional advance. We asked yesterday that the provincial governments ought to be made amenable, over their whole range, to the provincial legislatures and that all imperial subjects, except political matters and those relating to military and foreign affairs should be brought under the com-

plete control of the Indian legislature. Now is it conceivable that a self-governing India should depend on a foreign agency to carry out its policy? I use the word 'foreign', I assure you, in no bad spirit, not in order to make any invidious distinction between Indians and Englishmen but in order to emphasize the fact that a country which wants to govern itself must be able to provide men, capable of carrying out all civil and military duties which self-government brings in its train. The question of the Indian Civil Service has loomed large on the political horizon of India, not because of the comparatively high emoluments of the members of that service, but because they control to a large extent the destinies of India; because even now while there are ministers exercising control over the transferred subjects, the heads of the department and the members of the higher services who continue to be drawn from the Imperial Services controlled by the Secretary of State continue to exercise a large influence over the shaping of the policies; and because whenever we make demands for a further advance those services which ought to be mere executive in character and whose duty ought to be merely to carry out the work entrusted to them by the superior authorities will be given a potent voice in determining the future policy to be pursued. In other words, these services are not merely executive at the present time but are rivals for the authority which ought to be solely in our own hands, the authority to form and regulate all questions of policy. To be brief, I will make one quotation from the speech of Sir W. Vincent in the Legislative Assembly on the occasion to which I have referred in order to show that this position is appreciated by fair-minded Englishmen and that even in responsible quarters in the Government of India itself the considerations that I have now urged were regarded as deserving of great weight. "I quite realize", said Sir W. Vincent, "that Indians in this country have every right to expect an increasing proportion and a largely increasing proportion of Indians in the public services. It is indeed unthinkable to my mind that a country with dominion status should at that time allow its affairs to be controlled entirely by a foreign service". And Sir William Vincent himself proposed an amendment to the resolution moved in the Assembly to the effect that enquiries should be promulgated without delay as to the measures possible to give further effect to the declaration of August 20th, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the all India services. We know that in response to this resolution the opinion of the Local Governments has been asked for and we also know that there is a great deal of excitement in the ranks of the Indian Civil Service in particular over this circular which although it states impartially arguments on both sides, is regarded in reality as suggesting to Local Governments to recommend a cessation of recruitment in England or a substantial reduction of it. Personally I would have been very glad if I could agree to the view that the O'Donnell Circular gave even an indirect encouragement to the view of those who wish for a speedy Indianisation of the services; but I can see no such encouragement in that circular and His Excellency the Viceroy referring to the matter the other day in Calcutta delivered himself of sentiments which would prevent anybody from cherishing undue hopes on this subject. In view however, of the opposition which has been raised to this question it behoves us to place it in the forefront of our political programme, to go on hammering it and not to rest content till we have secured to ourselves the power which is rightfully ours, not merely morally but if the British Government is to act in accordance with the spirit underlying the Reforms. For my part I would go further and say that if the Secretary of State is not willing to entrust the Legislatures complete control over the services, he might at any rate trust the Governor-General in Council who is ultimately fully responsible to the Secretary of State and who will always have at his elbow the views of experienced men of the Indian Civil Service who have spent a life time in administering the affairs of this country.

I am afraid I have taken already too much of your time but I cannot sit down without saying something about the first part of the resolution which asks us to protest against the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the financial and other grievances of the Imperial Services. This is a somewhat more important matter than

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it might appear to be at first sight. We know that the Secretary of State, lamenting the fall in the number of recruits to the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial Services, appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Lord MacDonnel, to report on the causes which had checked recruitment and to suggest measures to increase the attractions to the Imperial Services. That Committee, Reuter wired to us some month ago, had submitted its report to the Secretary of State and it appears from a question put to Lord Peel the other day in the House of Lords that the matter was engaging the close attention of the Imperial authorities and that an alternative proposal of appointing a Commission was also under discussion. Now against this proposal we ought to protest with all the force at our command. If the object of this Commission is to increase the pay and the allowances and the prospects of the Imperial Services, then as the President has pointed out in his address, no matter how authoritative the Commission may be, we can never reconcile ourselves to its recommendations. If British recruitment can only be secured by making further enhancements to the pay and privileges of the Imperial Services, then without any feeling of racial prejudice, we are bound to say that we are not willing to have any further recruitment in England. If the financial position of the members of the Imperial Services is insufficient to enable them to maintain their present standard of living and to act up to the notions of prestige which find currency in the official circles in this country, then whatever hardships the individuals concerned might be involved in, we have a higher duty to perform. We have to look to the interests of the poor tax payer (hear, hear) and to urge on the attention of the British authorities, to use the happy language of the President, that any relief which we can give to the services is sternly limited by the economic conditions of the poverty ridden taxpayer. If, however, the object of the Commission be to increase the scope of functions of the Imperial Services, then its inquiries are bound to be even more dangerous (hear, hear). I said a little while ago that I understood that if the orders recently issued by the Secretary of State had been promulgated two years ago, then it would not have been possible for our Local Councils to consider the separation of judicial from executive functions on the ground that the matter affected the functions of the Imperial Services, the functions, which Mr. Lloyd George said in his notorious speech, must remain unchanged. This is a matter of constitutional importance. Are the Government of India and the local Governments to be free to determine what reforms are to be introduced into the administration of India or not? Or are they to be hampered at every time and be precluded from a proper discharge of their duties simply because the reforms which are called for urgently in their opinion might lead to a reduction in the number of posts at present held by the Imperial Service men or diminish their authority and prestige? We, ladies and gentlemen, who are not concerned with the prestige of any service but are anxious to see India attain full responsible government at the earliest time possible, cannot protest with sufficient force against a Commission whose recommendations might have the serious effect which I have just pointed out. We are in a great danger, I hope I am not exaggerating, at the present juncture of being ruled by the Imperial Services. While Mr. Montagu was in office the danger was less but since the change in the headship of the India office and in the ministry, the services find themselves in a stronger position than that in which they were placed two years ago. Gentlemen belonging to the Central Provinces will remember that many members of the Imperial Services stated in their evidence before the C. P. Retrenchment Committee that recruitment to the Imperial Services should stop completely and yet an Association representing the views of their colleagues sent a memorial to the Government of India strongly protesting against a decrease in their cadre and indulging in political reflections which ought to have been regarded as beyond the scope of merely executive and subordinate officers. This action of theirs was criticized, I remember, in the C. P. English Weekly, the *Hitavada*, which dwelling on this matter, was inclined to think that the change in the views of the Imperial Services was the result of the Premier's speech and was due to a feeling of greater security in the services and to a belief that in future they would find more willing listeners so their complaints in the Imperial government than had been the case in the past. I will not dwell any further

on this matter. Summarising what I have said, I will only point out to you that this is a matter of far reaching consequences, no matter from what point of view we look. Administratively, it is of the highest importance that we should have an indigenous agency to carry out our orders. Constitutionally, it is equally important that the final control of questions of policy should be in our hands and not in those of the vested interests; and economic considerations, I venture to think, are not of less importance than political considerations in a poor country like India. It is therefore imperative that recruitment outside India should be curtailed and the way thus paved for the laying down of a scale of salaries and pensions in accord with the conditions prevailing in this country. (loud and prolonged cheers).

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Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., (Satara), in seconding the resolution said :—

R. B. R. R.  
Kale

Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen :— I am asked to second the resolution which has been so ably moved by Mr. Kunzru in a very forceful and well reasoned speech. The complaint about the top heaviness of the Indian administration is as old as the hills. The late Dr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, the grand old man of India, was never tired of repeatedly bringing to the notice of the British public the injustice of employing a foreign agency at a cost which was burdensome and heavy to the poor Indian tax payer. He spent the best part of his life in working for the cause and for the rights of the masses whom he loved and whose welfare he always cherished. He maintained that the existing taxation, the land taxation for instance, was already too heavy and that it should be lightened. But, gentlemen, you will see that now at the very threshold of our existence under the Reforms Act, we are faced with a problem which is far more serious: it is not a question any longer of reducing the existing taxation but it is a question of imposing fresh burdens on the shoulders of the poor people of this country. You will see that proposals for taxation were placed before the Imperial Council as well as before Local Legislative Councils and representatives of the people in those councils were faced with a situation which can better be imagined than described. We were determined to resist all taxation which was proposed, not for the expansion or development of the useful departments like Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief etc., but simply for the purpose of carrying on the present administration of the country. Retrenchment Committees have been appointed, in my Council also a Committee has been appointed, and they have been at work. Some of them have made their reports, others are yet taking time to make their reports; but after all what are they going to do? Well, they are merely proposing to reduce a few clerks, a few peons, a little reduction in the establishment or of the members of the subordinate services, at the most in the provincial services, say the abolition of a deputy collector or a deputy superintendent's post; but they cannot touch, as has been pointed out by the mover, what is the untouchable (laughter), namely, the Imperial Service people (hear, hear). In this state of things, the work that can be done by these Retrenchment Committees seems to me to be very little hopeful. As we say in marathi *dat korun pot bharat nahi*. Unless we reduce the top heaviness of the administration it won't do for us to merely curtail a few posts in the subordinate services. It is therefore necessary to find out means by which we can proceed to do that and that brings me to a consideration of the resolution placed for your approval.

As the President pointed out in his address, the proper function of appointing and regulating the services of the country should rest with the Government of that country; but we find an anomaly in the matter and that anomaly is that a foreign agent, namely, the Secretary of State for India, sitting at Whitehall in a foreign country is to determine the number of men that are to be sent out, the salaries that are to be paid to them, allowances that are to be given to them etc. Now when the Government of India Act was being enacted this question of the recruitment of services was considered but we find that Chapter VII A of the Government Act which deals with the whole question of recruitment has been

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huddled up into the enactment in a manner which appears to me to be somewhat clumsy. The rules which have been hitherto in existence are to be followed by the Secretary of State in the matter of the appointment to be made to the various services. Further, there is a section which says that the Secretary of State shall make rules for the purpose of governing the recruitment, the salaries and so on; the Act also says that the Government shall appoint a Public Service Commission and the function of that Commission is to carry out the rules which will be so framed by the Secretary of State. But strange to say, that although two years have passed since the passing of the Government of India Act and although rules regarding the electorates and other matters have been framed and the new constitution has come into existence, and our new councils are sitting and transacting business, still no new rules have yet been framed as required by the Act, nor has any Public Service Commission, as required by that Act, yet been appointed. I had asked a question in my legislative council on this matter but it was ruled out as being a matter of Imperial concern. Mr. Samarth had put a question in the Legislative Assembly and the reply was that rules will be soon made; but curiously enough, no rules have yet been made. Well, that shows the dilatoriness and the delay with which this matter of vital importance to us is being considered and the Secretary of State is apparently acting upon his own rules because there is a section in the Act itself that until new rules are made matters are to be governed according to existing rules. Now therefore a time has come, and I submit this is a most opportune time for it, that we should do our best to carry on an agitation and concentrate our attention on this important subject; and it is for this purpose and in order to draw the attention of the Government to this important matter that this resolution has been placed before this Federation.

By this resolution we seek to do something which is allowable by the present statute as it stands. We have here a power already given in the Act by which the entire control of the services can be transferred from the Secretary of State to the Governor-General in Council or to the local Councils. The Act empowers the Secretary of State to make rules by which he can authorise the legislatures of the provinces or the Indian legislature to make laws regulating the public services. If this power is delegated to the local legislatures, then I submit, the persons engaged in the task of framing these laws will be in a position to tackle the whole problem and frame the laws in such a way that the services will be cheapened and the poor people of the country will be benefitted. No doubt it is a tall order but it seems to me that the time has come for demanding it. Here we find a great deal of unrest and discontent in the country. That discontent instead of lessening is, I am afraid, likely to grow more and more because the Acts of the Retrenchment Committees will fall on the subordinate staff and on officers belonging to the various subordinate services in this country (hear, hear). I have already heard complaints coming from these people; and we are asked, what are we going to gain in the new era of the Reforms? We have already lost much of the ground and we are likely to lose what little ground is still under our feet. The discontent of the people, as I said, instead of decreasing, will increase. If therefore the British government and the British statesmen wish from their hearts that this Indian unrest and discontent should disappear, then it will be a wise policy on their part to exercise the powers which they do possess under the Act and transfer those powers to the representatives of the people themselves. You will see, ladies and gentlemen, that it is not by repression, by resort to coercive measures or by the sword or the bayonet that contentment can be restored; it is wise statesmanship which ought to be brought to bear upon the situation in order that the country may have permanent peace and ordered progress. Now so far as the local governments are concerned, the matter of these appointments is such a delicate task that even if the governments wish, they are powerless. Neither the local governments nor the supreme government is able to put any restraint upon this influx of officers who are being sent from England. Therefore I think that even the local government and the imperial government will welcome a transference of the kind that this resolution



recommends. It will strengthen their hands; and when their councils, which are the representatives of the people, will make recommendations, they will be in a better position to see if really by the retrenchment they are able to effect, they will not be in a position to carry on the administration of the country. Not to speak of the various developments and expansions for which the Reforms Act in my humble opinion contains great potentialities, the sinews of war, namely, money, is wanted to carry out the reforms themselves; that is the crux of the whole situation. It is therefore of the utmost importance that some way must be found to meet the situation and I hope that by passing this resolution the Federation will have gone a step further in the achievement of the goal, which is complete provincial autonomy. I urge this resolution not merely from the point of view of economy; but from the point of view of obtaining training for persons in this country and of the benefits of their services being available to their countrymen, even after retirement. When you employ foreign agents, the experience they gain is lost to this country when they go away and we who have been paying them for all these years get no benefit from them. These are the various considerations on which the government will be in a position to make recruitment in such a way that more Indians would be employed by them in the interests of economy and of the administration of the country. With these remarks, I second the resolution and leave it for the acceptance of this meeting. (cheers).

Mr. R. R. Jayavant, M.L.C., (Nagpur), in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. R. R.  
Jayavant

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. The importance of brevity has already been pointed out to you and I shall, therefore, confine myself or try to confine myself to the time limit that has been imposed upon me. From the resolution which has been read out to you, it will be apparent that the logical way of dealing with this resolution would be the one which has been followed by the Mover of this resolution, Fandit Hirdayanath Kunzrn, who took the second part of this resolution first and for obvious reasons. The reason is that we have to show some way out of the present difficulty which is attempted within the four corners of the law as it stands at present and he has shown to you how without changing in any way the Government of India Act or without asking the Secretary of State to go to Parliament for that purpose, he himself can by exercising certain powers vested in him under the law give us relief. We want the power which the Government of India Act confers on the Secretary of State to be delegated by him to the various governments in India and I beg to submit that it is for obvious reasons. The reasons are the old reasons, that the power which has been vested in the Secretary of State has not been utilized for the benefit of the people of this country. You will see that this was also the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee. I shall read out the recommendation itself: "They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified." It is one of the ironies of Indian political life that whenever there is any recommendation which is bound to do good to the people and if there are any safeguards which are also contained in the self same document, then it is these latter, the safeguards, which are looked to by the highest authorities and not the beneficial provisions and it seems to me that in this case the same thing has happened. It is the latter part of the provision,— "that it is perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified",— that has been carefully guarded by the Secretary of State and not the former part of the provision. And therefore, we see that within the last two years, since the passing of the Government of India Act, not only has there been no active attempt on the part of the Secretary of State to associate Indians more freely with the administration of the country but, on the contrary, more and more Europeans have been appointed to these services. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us to

Mr. R. B.  
Jaywant

rise to the occasion and speak in clear terms to the Secretary of State that it is no longer for him to exercise those powers and that it is the demand of the people of India that he must hand over those powers to the Government of India and to the provincial governments.

The second part of the resolution deals with the stoppage of recruitment in England to the Imperial services. I shall with your permission tell you very briefly the history of the movement in our province for the stopping of recruitment in England. Last year a resolution was passed in the local legislative council on this matter asking the government to stop all recruitment outside India in the interests of economy. It was in the interest of economy only that that resolution was urged and passed. At that time government officials one after the other rose and supported that resolution on the same ground; and be it said to their credit that they supported the resolution not in a spirit of antipathy or because they were dissatisfied with the conduct of other officials, but because they felt that the financial situation of the province was such that such a costly service is not needed and until the province regains its financial equilibrium recruitment for the services in England may be stopped. That was the deliberate opinion expressed by the government members and the resolution was passed with the assent of European members, some of whom said that they spoke on behalf of the European Association also. A suggestion has been made that they voted from ulterior motives. The suggestion is not made openly but it hinted, is whispered, it comes over the wind. But should we not expect the highest officers to speak out their minds openly as we are asked time and again to speak out our minds? No, the European officials did not vote at that time from any ulterior motives. At that time their speeches were entirely in sympathy with the public demands, and they fully agreed with the reasons on which they were based. My friend Mr. Kunzru referred to this matter but he was somewhat inaccurate, because these are facts affecting our local legislation. A few months after, there came Mr. Montagu's resignation and just at that time the local European Association sent out that Circular to which Mr. Kunzru has referred, which showed a change of front. Now I must point out that the highest officers in the province have not really changed their front as seems to be the general idea because after this Circular was sent out, before the Retrenchment Committee, of which I had the honour to be a member, the official witnesses have endorsed the position which they took formerly. And it is the deliberate opinion of this Committee which consisted of six members, five elected and one nominated, and which again was presided over by one of the biggest and one of the most experienced officers in the province, that recruitment in England must be stopped at present. I shall read out to you a passage or two from this Report. At page 15 the Report says: "It is largely on the admissions of official witnesses, as well as on the documentary and statistical information which we have collected, that we base our recommendations in the ensuing paragraphs". It is therefore not on political speeches and on the statements of our own men but on official documents and official witnesses that we have based our conclusions. Then further on we say: "All that we need say is that obviously the employment of an agency paid at English rates is more expensive than one paid at Indian rates, and can only be justified on other than merely financial grounds, though we cannot help observing that it seems inconsistent that, after the general principle of Indianization had been accepted by Government, the strength of the All India Services and the number of European officers in them has gone on steadily increasing during the past thirty years in spite of the fact that during that time the standard and morale of the Provincial Public Services has improved out of all recognition." Therefore there are no grounds, administrative, or grounds of policy for the retention in its present form of the imperial services. We made it clear that on financial grounds also the present policy cannot be supported. This is the deliberate opinion of the Retrenchment Committee presided over by an official of vast experience; and at the end of the next paragraph of this Report we recommend that this principle be adopted in the case of the services which fall in this category. In order to facilitate the introduction of the organization outlined above, we

recommend that recruitment for the All-India Services be curtailed or completely stopped, as the case may be.

Mr. R. R.  
Jayavant

I shall now go back to the first part of this very important resolution. Now there has been a proposal for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the alleged financial and other grievances of the Imperial Services. So far as I know these other grievances can all be converted into financial grievances. If there are other grievances of these services, all they will say is: pay us more money and then we shall not complain. A charge that can be levelled against us on the passing of this resolution is: why does the Federation which bases its case for political advance on reason and argument object even to the appointment of a Commission to inquire and report on the grievances of the services so that we shall be in a position to know whether there is any justification for their demands? Our reply to that is that the services have really no grievance, their grievance is merely financial. As it is, they are the costliest services in the world and India is the poorest country in the world; and the costliest service in the world cannot demand that more and more burdens be put every day on the poorest country in the world. It is on this ground we say that we cannot hear them if they have any financial grievance. With these words I support the resolution as it stands in all its aspects (cheers).

Professor Sapre (Poona); in further supporting the resolution said:—

Professor  
Sapre

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. I want to emphasize one aspect of the question which has been neglected so to speak by my predecessors, and that is the constitutional aspect. We may look at any government from two points of view: the policy of the government and the personnel of that government. Now the policy of the Government of India so far as the element of responsibility has been introduced into its determination has been laid out in the whole of the Government of India Act and that Act cannot be changed within the next eight years. But the second half of the government, namely, the personnel of the government and the regulation of that personnel, is contained, strange to say, only in one obscure section of that Act. That section says that rules regarding the recruitment and discipline of the public services of India may be made by the Secretary of State or power for doing so may be delegated by the Secretary of State either to the Governor-General in council or to the local legislatures. Now this resolution wants the Secretary of State to make an immediate use of such extensive powers that have been given to him under the Act and it would be a test of the sincerity of those who want to give a fair trial to the reforms, if the Secretary of State could make an immediate use of those powers. What has happened is this: that on account of the increasing pressure that is being brought to bear on the governments of this country, provincial as well as central, the policy of the government is being made more conformable to the wishes of the people; but most unfortunately it is also happening that the personnel of that government is getting more and more obdurate. In fact there is a great danger, a great constitutional danger, that the position of these services might become stronger under the new regime and a sort of differential treatment like that which the services get on the Continent where they have got separate laws, where all officers are amenable to a law distinct from what the people are amenable to, might come to be accorded to these services. The creation of such a body of persons is to be feared in this country. That would be a great calamity. It is therefore necessary that the services should be entirely amenable to the Government and to the Governor-General so that the pressure of public opinion could be brought to bear upon them. I therefore support the resolution which wants the Secretary of State to make an immediate use of the powers vested in him and to make such rules as would be more and more conformable to the changed conditions of the country (cheers).

Mr. M. R. Dixit (Nagpur) further supported the resolution in a brief speech.

Mr. M. R.  
Dixit

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

## SECRETARY OF STATE'S POWERS.

Mr. N. M.  
Joshi

Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., moved the following resolution in Marathi :—

This meeting of the All-India Liberals attaches the utmost importance to the principle laid down with emphasis by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that where an executive Government in India and its Legislatures are in agreement on any matter, there should be no interference by higher authority except when Imperial interests are involved. It regards it as an essential condition for the growth of Indian constitution and the preparation of the Legislatures for the ultimate responsibility of the whole movement, and it trusts further that besides loyally observing the principle, the Secretary of State will give it full scope by releasing the Government of India from the obligations to consult him previously in such matters, both by liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations on the subject and by modifying these wherever necessary.

Prof. Jog

Prof. Jog (Poona) in supporting the resolution said :—

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen :—I cannot claim to have any inside acquaintance with the question raised in this resolution and I am therefore unable to speak to you on this question from such information. I cannot cite cases for your information of the experience of the Secretary of State such as that which is deplored in this resolution. I shall therefore commend this resolution to you with a few general observations. We all desire that India should progress as soon as it can towards the attainment of full dominion status. We want to be masters of our destinies in this land as other people are masters of their destinies in their lands. We have already passed a resolution that immediate steps should be taken towards the fulfillment of this demand of ours for further constitutional advance. We are told by those who are in authority that this demand cannot be fulfilled without an amendment of the Government of India Act of 1919 and as that is not possible under the present circumstances this demand is one that cannot be met. It is not for me to examine on this occasion the merits of this contention; but we venture to think that it is possible for those who are in authority to take immediate steps towards the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country without an amendment of the Government of India Act, 1919. Mr. Samarth indicated how steps can be taken by the British Parliament and others in authority towards the realization of full responsible government in the provinces by developing certain functions by which the executive councillors could act as those that were responsible to the legislatures. He told us how the authorities can place on the estimates the salaries of the executive councillors in the provincial and the central governments. In one of the resolutions that were passed to-day we indicated how steps can be taken by the authorities by the mere exercise of the powers which are given to them by the Government of India Act to make the services in India amenable to the will of the legislatures here and in this resolution we are now asking that the wholesome practice begun by our late Secretary of State of non-interference in all matters in which the governments in this country and their legislatures agree should be allowed by the present authorities to grow into an established function. We need not be shy of this word "function". In fact no written constitutions can fulfill all the legitimate aspirations of any people. Most of the rights of the people of England, for instance, are secured to them, not by the written constitution but by the functions that have grown around the constitution of England. We ask the authorities here and in England to allow such functions to grow around the present constitution in order to enable Indians to take further steps along the path of full responsible government and in this resolution, as I told you, we ask the present authorities not to interfere in matters on which the governments in India and their legislatures are in agreement. This was the practice begun by our late Secretary of State and with the change of government in Great Britain,

suspicions have been created in the minds of the people of this country that the Government of India Act may not be carried out in spirit, though there are men who think that it would not be carried out even in letter. I know that the present prime minister of England and the present Secretary of State for India have made declarations that they would faithfully carry out the Government of India Act, 1919. If they now want to demonstrate to the people of this country that these declarations by them are in all good faith, then here is an opportunity for them. We ask them to allow this practice to grow into a function, to allow many other functions to grow round our constitution. If their declarations are made in good faith, let them stick to this practice ; it is not a new practice, it is already there. All we ask them to do is to adhere to it. That is how I look upon this resolution as a very important one because it shows to the authorities here and in England what immediate steps can be taken in fulfillment of the demand that we have pressed upon them in our resolution yesterday for full dominion status. I therefore trust that this resolution will commend itself to you all and that you will pass it with your whole-hearted support (cheers).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### MESSAGE FROM INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

The President :—The Federation will be glad to hear that we have received from the Indian Christian Conference at Lucknow a message of cordiality to our Federation (Cheers).

#### INDIANS OVERSEAS.

Mr. G. A. Natesan (Madras) :—

Mr. G. A.  
Natesan

Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution committed to my charge runs as follows :—

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

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

This resolution is lengthy and speaks for itself and it has the further advantage that it will be spoken to at length by my friend Paadit Gokarnath Misra. I therefore propose to content myself to making a few observations and that of a very general character. As you are aware the first part of this resolution refers to the position of the Indians in Kenya. It concerns the welfare and interest of about 30,000 of our countrymen. Kenya is a Crown Colony and so the representative of the British Government, the Colonial Secretary, who was a party to the Imperial Conference resolution, is bound in honour to see that the terms of that resolution are fulfilled.

Mr. G. A.  
Natesan

You will all be glad to know that the late Colonial Secretary, Mr. Churchill, who made the famous pronouncement and caused a lot of alarm and disgust in this country by saying that Kenya should be considered distinctly a British Colony is now no longer at the head of that department and though Mr. Ormsby Gore, the present Under Secretary is a conservative, I have been assured by competent authorities that he is a liberal in spirit and that at any rate from his hands we may expect justice. I have also been told by the correspondent of the *Leader* who is a gentleman, who is expected to be in the know that there is a prospect of this question of the Indians in Kenya being satisfactorily settled. We have long been accustomed to live in hope and in this case perhaps we have also to live in hope.

Then I turn to South Africa where it concerns the interest of over a lac and a half of our countrymen. This question of South Africa naturally brings to my mind and to the minds of most of you and I am sure of others who would hear of this resolution the great and the brave struggle which Mr. Gandhi and his comrades there waged for the honour and interest of our countrymen in South Africa (cheers). We all thought that at least the terms of Smuts-Gandhi agreement would be faithfully fulfilled; but twice in the history of this unfortunate transaction Mr. Smuts has broken faith. The Union of South Africa is a Self-Governing Colony and we have to regretfully confess that even the British Imperial Government seems to have no influence over them. So much is the prejudice against Indians there, that even a person like the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri who could present this question in a manner worthy of the cause and least offensive to others concerned, was told politely by Mr. Smuts that it would be difficult for his Government to welcome him. This is the position in which we are placed; I don't wish to dilate upon it further, but I venture to make one observation. The history of the question of the grievances of the Indians in Kenya and in South Africa is at its best and at its worst a history of compromises broken and pledges unfulfilled. Sir Siwaswamy Aiyer, the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivasa Shastri and others have been pointing out and doing the very painful but necessary duty of warning the authorities here and in England that in India many people have lost faith in Great Britain and I think it behoves us to warn the authorities here and in England to see that this faith is not completely lost; and that even those few who like most of us here, believe, in spite of its aberrations and its fatal mistakes, in the justice- and ultimate righteousness of the British Rule in India are bound to point out that if this question is not satisfactorily solved, the consequences will be serious. You are aware of the many magnificent speeches which were delivered by our friend the Rt. Hon'ble Shastri during his recent Dominion tour and of those speeches one was a very remarkable one and I have studied the words of that speech very carefully. It was delivered at the Montreal Reform Club and he told these people face to face: "My countrymen have long put up with many insults but if any colony or dominion hereafter tries to play the part of a bully, then the Indians will return it and many Indians may be forced to consider whether it is worth being under a commonwealth where parts of the commonwealth treat us with injustice and insult and even with indignity". (cheers) I would ask you to bear with me for a few minutes when I quote the concluding portion of a paragraph from a document drawn up and published for the benefit of the authorities in England and in India by our two esteemed friends Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pollock who have long served us faithfully and well (cheers). After narrating the various grievances to which our countrymen in South Africa, East Africa and in other places are subjected to every day and warning the authorities of the situation and of the urgent peril that stares us in the face, they wind up that statement with these remarkable words: "We are of opinion that nothing could be more disastrous in India at the present time than a widespread conviction that the Colonial Office is determined to reduce so vital a

document as that embodying the Imperial Conference resolution of July 1921 with regard to equal Indian status to a mere scrap of paper. The time appears to us to have come for the Indian Government itself to declare that there is no possibility of the people of India being willing to remain permanently within the British commonwealth of nations except upon terms of actual and not merely theoretical equality. Such a declaration would clear the air. It would show more plainly than anything else to the colonial office in London and to the South African Union Government that by these perpetual humiliations and disabilities to Indians abroad, they are forcing an issue from which they themselves might well recoil". There is one bright aspect to this otherwise very unhappy position and it is this that since the time of Lord Hardinge the Government of India have whole-heartedly sympathised with the grievances of our countrymen not only in South Africa but in other parts of the world as well and I hope I am stating the bare fact that all of us feel very grateful to the Government of India of the present day also for the strenuous fight they are putting up on behalf of the Indians in colonies and the Indians overseas. I do venture to think that the protest of such an important body as this will not go in vain. With these few words I move this resolution which I have already read out (cheers).

Pandit Gokarnath Misra (Lucknow) in supporting the resolution in Hindi gave the history of Kenya Colony and pointed out the part taken by the Indians in populating the said Colony. Now that about thirty thousand of the Indians were there the terms on which they were to live in that Colony were being considered. The question of the non-transfer of the agricultural holdings on Highlands to Indians, the question of the application of the rule of compulsory segregation both residential and commercial to the Indians, also of placing the Indians on a common electoral roll with the European settlers and lastly of prohibiting the Indian Emigration were now being considered and discussed by the colonial office and it was the emphatic cry of the Indians that in deciding these questions the policy of equal status to all the Members of the British Common-Wealth as determined by the Imperial Conference of 1921 should be followed. Regarding South Africa, the speaker referred to three pieces of legislation passed by the Natal Government, two of which had been vetoed by the Union Parliament of South Africa and one had been passed subject to certain modifications. He pointed out the injustice of substituting licensing Boards for licensing officers and of making them consist entirely of Europeans and of making their decision final. He also referred to the attempt on the part of the Natal Government to deprive the Indians settled in Natal of the municipal franchise. Then there was the Durban Segregation Act, the object of which was to forbid the Indians from acquiring lands in areas marked for Europeans which had been subject to certain modifications passed by the Union Government. All these measures could not be acceptable to India which was now a member of the British Common-Wealth. He pointed out with a feeling of gratitude the way how the Government of India had helped their cause and he appealed to the Government of England to give effect to the desire of Indians conveyed in this resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RT. HON. SASTRI.

The hon. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel certain you would not like me to dissolve this Conference without placing on record our appreciation of the eminent services rendered by our President to the country. I shall therefore call upon our well-known citizen Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit to move the next resolution.

Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit said :—

R. B. V. R.  
Pandit

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: You will have noticed that the summons to me to move this resolution comes from an unusual quarter. It does not come, as it came in the case of the previous speaker, from the President. I suspect also that most of you are unaware of the terms of the resolution which I am asked to move, the gist of which has already been given in a way by our worthy Chairman of the Reception Committee. I shall therefore first proceed to read out the terms of the resolution that has been entrusted to my charge:

“ This meeting of the All-India liberals emphasises its high appreciation of the services rendered to India by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Shrinivas Shastri by his recent tour in the dominions and thanks the dominions for the welcome accorded to him ” (Cheers). The way in which you have received the wording of this resolution makes it clear to me that only a few words are necessary for me to commend it to your hearty acceptance. Our worthy President, the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri, as you know, has only returned barely three weeks ago from the tour which is mentioned in this resolution. A preliminary history of this tour is not necessary at any length, for the previous speakers when dealing with the last resolution which we have passed have already alluded to the question of immigration which has been exercising the mind of the people and the Government of India for many years past; and to the way in which the public and the Government of India have been striving their utmost not only for the sake of a few individuals that may be resident in the colonies but also for a due upkeep of the sense of dignity and self-respect which we ourselves, Indians in this country feel, in respect to the position of the Indians in the dominions in the British Commonwealth. The Government of India have for a long time past taken a strong line of action. A resolution was passed in the Imperial Legislative Council and accepted by the Government for enforcing the principle of reciprocity, should need arise. Those of us who were present at the last Federation will remember that the efforts which our worthy President made, no doubt with the full support of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, at the Imperial Conference which was held last year to secure the recognition of an equal status for Indians in all parts of the British Commonwealth, were successful to a considerable extent (cheers). Not all the Colonies and Self-governing Dominions did agree but a great many of the principal Dominions and Colonies, at any rate, put before themselves the ideal of working up so as to secure for Indians in the Colonies an equal status with the Britishers everywhere. In response to that resolution the premiers of the Colonies that were assembled there and who supported the resolution and wholeheartedly accepted it so far as their individual efforts could secure its accomplishment, extended a cordial invitation to our worthy President and insisted upon his visiting the various Colonies, particularly, New Zealand and Canada, not merely with a view to placing the request of the people of India or of the Indian Government before the Government of the Colonies but to educate the parliaments as we may call them, — or whatever the particular designation by which the representative assemblies of those Colonies may be called, and the people there to a proper understanding of the position of the Indians and the necessity for giving them an equal status in the Colonies. In response to that invitation the Government of India deputed our worthy President to these places and he went there. No doubt, no great hopes in the sense that an immediate accomplishment of the object which we were aiming at could be obtained at once were entertained by any one conversant with the Self-Governing Colonies and Dominions, despite the backing of the Government of India despite the prestige of His Majesty's Government which was contained in the



resolution which was passed in the Imperial Conference. It must be remembered that the Self-governing Colonies would not tolerate interference from above any more than we are prepared to tolerate, as we have expressed in the strongest terms a little while ago, an undue measure of interference by the Secretary of State in the work of the Indian Legislature. With those difficulties clearly before every one who knew the affairs of the Colonies and their position in the British Commonwealth, no body was so sanguine as to expect that the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri on his return would bring with him copies of the enactments of the various legislatures giving to the Indian residents in those Colonies the full privileges of citizenship. But gentlemen, although we did not pitch our hopes high we certainly did not go merely on a false errand. We went there in order, in the first place, to show to the British people and to the people in the Colonies that the Indians were not to be judged harshly and unjustly because they may not have had the good fortune to come into contact with representative Indians of high education and of really national type. The Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri served in those places with all these difficulties, with all these prejudices which the people entertained with regard to Indians, the purposes of an ambassador, an ambassador from the Government of India, an ambassador, from the people of this country, despite what a few people might choose to say to the contrary, in order to convert the peoples of the colonies and the governments of those colonies to our point of view; and all I can say is that those of you who have read an account of his doings from time to time in the public press and the resume of his activities as given by himself recently in Poona and Bombay will fully realize that despite various difficulties he has been able to achieve to a very great extent the object with which he set out, namely, inducing in the people of the colonies a better understanding with regard to the people of India and of the Indians settled in those colonies. As a result, in certain of the colonies the Governments practically agreed to introduce legislation into their parliaments with a view to secure justice to the Indians resident there. In other places where the difficulties were still greater, he has tried to induce the people, particularly the labour, to whom the economic problem presents itself in a vivid aspect when the competition of theirs with the Indians is brought face to face, and has secured their adhesion to a programme of amelioration of the low condition of the Indians settled there, such as for example in British Columbia. In Canada too, he also despite the evil effects of the Komagata Maru he secured the sympathies of the people and of the government so that I fully believe and every one of you will agree with me in thinking that in the difficulties that faced him and in spite of the kind of prejudices that have been ingrained for so many years past in the peoples of the colonies, he has succeeded in achieving a great step forward so far as the amelioration of the position of our fellow countrymen resident in those colonies is concerned, towards attainment of the goal of an equal status for Indians in those colonies with the other citizens there. Of course you all remember that Mr. Natesan in pointing out just now how things stood in South Africa has pointedly drawn attention to a feature of the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri's advocacy which is well known not only to all of us who have seen him conduct the proceedings of our Federation but which has now a world wide reputation, viz. that while firm in his truth, while not giving up a jot of what he is aiming at, he adopts a most persuasive style, he never ignores the difficulties that are present to his opponents and others and by frankly admitting their difficulties and by seeing their point of view makes his case all the stronger, instead of pitching it unduly high without a recognition of the other side of the question. This sort of advocacy of his combined with the eloquence which he undoubtedly possesses in a pre-eminent degree, has evoked the panegyrics of people not only here and in the colonies but also in the mother of parliaments itself, i. e. in England. With such abilities and tact and eloquence he has achieved the object in a much greater measure than anybody else that we can think of could possibly have done (cheers): With these words I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers)

Mr. R. N.  
Ayyangar

Mr. R. N. Ayyangar (Madras) in seconding the resolution said:—

Sir Maneckji, Ladies and Gentlemen. I know you love action, you have been demanding it; but I love talk. In fact I live by talking (Laughter and a voice: "All Of us,"). But let me tell you I came to this Federation at Nagpur fully resolved to learn and not to speak. I kept this resolution virtuously till this moment when you, Sir Maneckji, called upon me to support this resolution. If however, I am to break my resolution, I am sure you will all agree with me that I cannot possibly find a better subject than the Rt Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri (cheers). I am told that other people too have broken their resolutions where the Rt. Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri is concerned I am told that even the colonies and the dominions have broken some of their resolutions (cheers) though not all. They often yielded in the presence of the Rt. Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri to his persuasions. Now in the Rt Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri you find a combination of qualities which perhaps you don't find in anybody else: imposing personality, charming manners, persuasive eloquence, convincing logic, supreme tact (cheers). If it were not for the simple fact that all of us see him here in flesh and blood sitting in our presence, if it were simply a description of a man combining all these qualities in such a supreme degree, I am sure every one of us would have said, that such a combination is impossible, that it is a miracle: the Rt. Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri is a myth, he does not exist. But it so happens, gentlemen, that the Rt. Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri exists here. He is here with us and may we pray to God that he may be spared to us for very many years to come (cheers); that neither the Government nor he will be satisfied with all he has undoubtedly accomplished, and that if necessary he will over and over again go abroad and plead for the cause of India. Ladies and gentlemen, it is unnecessary for me to say anything further and I would ask you to render our thanks to the Rt Hon' ble Shrinivas Shastri and to render them in the noisiest and most enthusiastic manner that we can possibly do. (Loud and prolonged cheers).

The Hon'ble Sir M. B. Dadabhoj: Ladies and Gentlemen: you have heard this resolution which has been so eloquently proposed by Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit and so ably seconded by Mr Ayyangar. Gentlemen, I ask you now as a mark of affectionate respect for the President to pass this resolution standing.

The resolution was passed unanimously, all present, remaining standing.

The President: There is one resolution of importance which still has to be moved from the chair. This resolution was by mistake omitted in the Army Resolution which we discussed in part yesterday. It was however spoken to, by those gentlemen who addressed you on the subject of the Army. I rectify that omission. I have to move the resolution from the chair and no speech is therefore necessary.

#### INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

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

The resolution was carried unanimously. ,,

#### LIBERAL ORGANISATION.

The President:— The first resolution concerning ourselves and our organisations which I am desired to put before you is as follows:—

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

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

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

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

As one member of this important Executive Committee, I realise the responsibility you cast upon us by means of this resolution. You wish it done apparently on a scale much larger than has been attempted before. It is a very difficult work but as we are assured that there is a good deal of earnestness which requires only to be co-ordinated and organised in the country, we undertake it in full hope that when we report as required by the last clause before 1923, we shall have something really to report. I put the proposition to you.

The resolution was carried.

#### **Other Resolutions.**

The following resolutions were put from the Chair and carried unanimously:-

#### **INDIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE.**

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

#### **General Secretaries for 1923.**

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

#### **COUNCIL FOR 1923**

"That the Council of the All-India Liberal Federation for 1923 be constituted according to the lists furnished to the General Secretaries before the 1st February 1923 by the Provincial Leagues and Associations."

Professor Kanitkar invited the Federation to meet next year in Poona. Mr. Ambekar seconded the invitation. The invitation was accepted.

#### **VOTE OF THANKS.**

The Hon'ble Sir M. B. Dadabhoj called upon Sir G. M. Chitnavis to move a vote of thanks to the President.

Sir G. M.  
Chitnavis:

Sir G. M. Chitnavis: Ladies and Gentlemen: it is my pleasant duty to ask you to give a vote of thanks to our worthy President, the Rt Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri (cheers). R. B. V. R. Pandit has told you what important services he has rendered when he went to the Colonies to secure equal rights for the Indians in those Colonies. We also know that he has placed India under deep obligation by the services he has rendered to us in the Imperial Conference and also in the several conferences that took place in Europe and America. The mantle of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, our worthy leader (cheers), and an ardent patriot, has worthily fallen upon him. He has maintained that reputation; and not only has he maintained it but he has enhanced that reputation (hear, hear and cheers). We all hope that he will long be spared to work for us and for our country in more important spheres. I am sure that his services to our country will elicit approbation and thanks from each one of us. As regards our conference, I need not say how important his services have been to us. Those who have heard his presidential address on the first day cannot but think that he has been to us a real guide, friend and philosopher (hear, hear). There were many misgivings when we invited the Federation to Nagpur that it would not be a success. But those fears have been dissipated and if the Federation has been a success, the whole of it is due to the Rt Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri (cheers). I thank him and all the delegates for coming here and for making this Federation a success (cheers)

Sir Bepin  
Krishna  
Bose,

Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, Kt, in seconding the vote of thanks said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen. It is a privilege that I should have been called upon to add my humble voice to what has fallen from my esteemed friend, Sir Gangadharrao Chitnavis. But when the heart is full, the tongue is silent. I am just now in that position; but it does not matter, for, who is there here who does not recognize and recognizing does not realise the eminent services which our president has rendered to our motherland? (Cheers). These services constitute for the nation its title deed of honour. Let then our heart's prayer go the Giver of All Good that his precious life be preserved for us and for our guidance, to lead us to our goal through the thorny path that lies ahead of us. Let him be forever an inspiration for high ideals and for more important works. India has need of such. Let us then gratefully convey to him how deeply we are indebted to him for having done us the honour, to preside over this Federation and for bringing these proceedings to what I believe to a great success (cheers). I hope you will pass with acclamation the vote of thanks proposed by my esteemed friend (cheers).

R. B. W. R. Dhobley further supported the motion in a brief speech.

The Motion was carried amidst loud cheers.

### The President's Concluding Speech.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, and Friends: I don't find words which can convey even a part of the feelings which now fill my heart. You seem apparently to be agreed that our proceedings during the last three days have been successful. I do hope they have been. I am sure my friends think that if they have not exceeded, they certainly have not fallen below the achievements of the last two years. But if this be true, if this year's Federation has had a successful session, depend upon it, the credit is due to the Chairman of the Reception Committee of Nagpur (cheers), and to those associated with him in the work of making these proceedings possible. To Sir M. B. Dadaboy we are under a great debt of obligation. A busy man, engaged in many pursuits which are likely to engross the energies of people, he still has found it possible to be amongst us for three days during the long time the proceedings were held and attending to the

actual management of the conference. You all likewise remember the lavish hospitality of which we were the recipients yesterday evening. To Sir M. B. Dadabhoy, I think you will give your thanks most heartily (Cheers). It is difficult to select from amongst his associates those who are entitled to our special thanks. I am sure the office bearers will come in for a large share of our thanks; but I have been told that there are some who gave to the business which has just been so triumphantly brought to a close, a great deal of organizing ability and much co-ordinating skill. Mr Dravid (cheers) I am glad you have thanked him without my requesting you, - has specially requested me to mention the names of R. B. W. R. Dhobley, R. B. A. R. Bambawalla, and R. B. V. R. Pandit. I must also mention the Volunteers' band with their captain Mr Soman and his most loyal and able lieutenants. I may also say that there is a hostel here, the *Chokhamela* hostel, the students of which have played a great part in our Federation success. To all these our thanks are specially due. But I shall not omit to mention the circumstance, that you see on the dais before you certain persons whom I will not name but whose presence you will join with me in recognizing as lending great weight and authority to our deliberations (cheers). Upon them has fallen recently the confidence of the Crown (cheers); but the confidence of the Crown has not as in other cases displaced and driven out the confidence of the people (cheers). They seem to know how to reconcile divided allegiance (laughter). Having asked you vote for thanks to these gentlemen, let me say that I will begin my concluding speech with a word of thanks on my part.

You have laid me under an extraordinary obligation. I believe I am the one person who has had passed in his honour two votes of confidence, two votes of thanks, one the usual one at the end but another one, amongst the regular proceedings, of a specific character. Let me assure you I value this general and this specific testimonial as the highest reward which it is in your power to bestow, which it might be the wish of an Indian citizen ever to earn (cheers). The words that have been spoken of me have so far exceeded the realities that it would be wrong of me to accept them in their literal meaning. Ladies and gentlemen, I have heard it said before on good authority that the Indian people either overpay a man or grievously underpay him. They are never able to be very moderate either in their blame or in their praise. When you praise a man you make him almost ashamed of his self and when you blame a man you make him almost despair of himself (laughter). Elsewhere I have been blamed, here I have received nothing but praise, nothing but warm commendation, nothing but affectionate testimony on every hand. My gratitude cannot find expression in language. I will therefore ask you to accept from me the highest and the deepest gratitude which it is possible for one person to convey to others, rather to attempt to convey to others.

Now may I say a few words on the work before us? As I indicated in my opening remarks, we of the Moderate Party stand in a somewhat difficult position. But those of us who know the complexity of human affairs must be prepared for re-doubling their efforts on that account, for putting up extra courage on that account and for resolving against all difficulties to make our cause prevail in the end. That we have difficulties in our path proceeding from our small numbers, proceeding from the very character of our aims and our methods, and difficulties likewise proceeding from a lack of organisation and pecuniary facilities, I admit; but these difficulties, instead of disheartening us, as they seem too often to do, should enable us to grapple with those difficulties, as I said before, with re-doubled vigor and greatly increased courage. Now I have been told sometimes that a spiritual people like those of India always attend rather to their obligations and to their duties than to their rights and privileges. How often have our champions distinguished the people of India from the people of other countries on the footing that we think of our obligations, while other people are thinking only of what is due to themselves from others. Is that the case? Do you feel, that this is praise

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to which you are entitled? Perhaps most of you believe it, because you would like that to be the fact. But if you do so now, be sure that in future at least you deserve it. Take the credit by all means, but deserve the credit. Now the test of accomplishment is the difficulty which has been overcome. Everybody will tell you that in science the power expended in producing certain results is determined almost exactly by the resistance that has had to be overcome. Now our cause is the liberation of India, our cause is the restoration to India of what is often described as her birthright: the acquisition by India of rights of Self-Government, not as they existed of old but in a greatly improved democratised form, embracing not small Principalities and Powers, here and there, but the whole of India. Do you really believe that work of that kind, involving unification, not under one Power which presses on all alike, for that will be soon of the past, but the unification that proceeds as it were from the insight, from the recognition on our own part of the unity of India, is a small thing? And do you really believe that it should be possible easily or that the sending of a deputation to England, the passing of a few strongly worded resolutions, or even the expression of our resentment and anger occasionally in the Legislative Councils, are themselves sufficient to produce that result? In spite of the fact that England, through the wisdom of her statesmen, has planted our feet firmly on the road of Self-Government, do you doubt, do we, even the Moderates, doubt, for a moment, that our future destiny lies entirely in our own hands and that we should be wise to expect in this task, not acquiescence, not cordial support and sympathy from the Europeans settled in the land or from their friends or associates in England, but rather much angry criticism and strong and powerful opposition? As you want your rights, so they want to preserve what they have got. If in the preservation of what they have they exhibit energy and combination and determination to sacrifice much in order to get much more, if they exhibit that spirit, it is not a thing at which we have reason to grumble. It is only right and proper. We on the other hand, should recognise what is our part in that business. Expecting from them every effort for the maintenance of what they consider to be their rights and privileges, we must determine to combat them by our superior energy, superior organisation and superior resolution to sacrifice a great deal in order to obtain a greater deal (hear, hear and cheers). The energy with which Englishmen here defend the rights does not surprise me in the least. It does not grieve me in the least. It does not make me angry either at all. I admire them for it. I honor and respect them for it; and I would strongly advise my countrymen to honor and respect them as well and to appropriate from them this lesson that nothing in this world can be obtained by merely wishing it. Our Tamil saying has it that a mantra can never precipitate a thing. We, on the other hand, are always too sure of the justice of the thing; many people say: Is it or is it not just, is it or is it not proper, and when they have said that with enthusiasm and conviction they think the whole world must be converted to their view, if there is any righteousness in this world. This world goes along the path of righteousness, let us hope, but if it goes along the path of righteousness it has got to be guided in that path, it does not go of its own free will. We who have the rights must be determined to defend those rights against aggression. There have been nations before us who have lost their liberty, who were disorganised and had to be rebuilt into one firm, well-knit nationality. There have been nations before us which have been oppressed for ages, which have been beset by difficulties even greater than those with which we have to grapple. There is nothing new under the sun. The only thing new in our case is that instead of going back, as some people would say, we have to make up our minds to go forward. If we want Self-Government it is not the kind of Self-Government that we used to enjoy before. If we want once more to be a strong, powerful, united, progressive Nation, it is in the sense in which the western nations are strong and united and powerful and progressive (hear, hear). That is to say, we want economically to be sound, to be firm, to be self-sufficient, and besides be able to maintain our status amongst the very rich nations of the world. We want further to be

amongst the peoples of the world a highly efficient race of workmen and thinkers and politicians, and we never could be that at all till we were a thoroughly well-educated people; educated not merely in our own law, but in the new organised science of the west; provided with all the implements, not only of warfare, that, alas, will be necessary still for some time, but with all the implements of civilisation, with institutions which were not known to us before except by vague analogy and similitude. Institutions of a totally novel and startling character have got to be erected, sometimes with adaptations to our peculiar genius, but more or less actuated by those ideals which we are accustomed to associate with western civilisation. Our politics has now flown in an entirely new direction, and I say with all my conviction that it should be clearly understood by those who would listen to me at all that what we desire hereafter is not the establishment of the Rajas and Maharajas with autocratic power which they are unwilling to part with, is not the re-establishment of a primary and all-consuming caste which intentionally or unintentionally has succeeded in keeping the good things of the world largely in its own hands. It is not going back to an oligarchic system that we desire. But it is a system in which every man and every woman has his or her rights the same as every other man or woman's, a system in which all alike might have the opportunities of self-expression placed at their disposal, in which democratic institutions which give the individual perfect freedom are established firmly. Now, believe me, although it is possible to pass laws and add regulations and rules to them quite easily in the course of six months or so, it is by no means so easy to endow your people at once with that array of moral and intellectual qualities which are necessary for the maintenance in their purity and efficiency all these modern institutions. When people tell us you have got still to educate your electorates, when they tell us that your parliamentarians in the Assembly and in the Council of State have still to acquire certain habits, certain qualities, certain honorable rules to be of course as politicians, we throw the things back at them, but deep down in our hearts is registered the verdict: O, yes, there is a good deal in that. I assure you, gentlemen, I am one of those who believe that by racial characteristics and by intellectual and moral qualities, of a deep and fundamental character, the Indian people are certainly qualified to be entrusted with full powers of Self-Government (hear, hear), but there is such a thing as training, as a period of probation. Some of you rebel at the idea that there should be probation or training. If an outside authority, if a person who exercises power amongst you and wishes to keep that power a little longer to himself says that to you, I can understand your turning round on him and saying: This is only another way of prolonging my subjection and your ascendancy. You will be quite justified in doing that and in questioning his motive. But if I say this to you, you need not say that thing or a similar thing to me. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am not one of those who would treat this question lightly. As I know the risks to be very serious, indeed, I desire also to make some serious observations in the course of the next few minutes. Don't accuse me of trying to discourage or depress you. That is not my object or purpose. But I wish you all to recognise the work that we have to do and not to underrate it in the beginning and then, when obstacles arise and nothing is accomplished to blame the white people or the brown, the bird in the air, the atmosphere, the stars, in fact, everybody and everything except ourselves. If we start with too high hopes, founded on undue estimation of our strength and then come to grief, the blame must be ours. Now, ladies and gentlemen, it will not do for me to be very specific or to be very detailed on an occasion of this kind; but I would ask you honestly to examine yourself and to say, supposing we had during the last two years—I will not take time any further back than that—full Self-Government, complete autonomy in our hands. Should we not have dealt adequately, firmly, generously and wisely with the difficulties that beset the Government during the last two years? You would say: If we had it for a long time previously, we should never have brought on us those troubles. That is a different proposition. I am asking you to imagine a condition when, with us enthroned in power, a great movement like Non-Co-Operation had started.

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I will assure you Non-Co-Operation is not dead in this country, it will revive in a hundred forms later on. We have sown a seed of which generations to come are going to reap the fruit. Now my answer to that question would be not, by any means, a confident one; yes, perhaps, no, and I will tell you why. The reason is that during this time of unexampled difficulties, even the best amongst us for very natural reasons, I am blaming nobody, even the best amongst us, did not consider that the difficulty was ours as much as the Government's. By all accounts we had trouble of the acutest kind, propaganda undermining the instinct of obedience, the love of civic virtues. Every one of us felt that the situation was daily getting worse and worse. I wish to ask, at that time, that is to say, after the house was on fire, and if that was the feeling of every inmate of the house, would persons belonging to the house go about saying that they had given warning before and that they had washed their hands clean of it; or whether their counsel was heard or not and whoever was responsible for the conflagration, the duty lay on all of us alike at that time to put down the conflagration, quench the flames and then start the work of mutual recrimination? It is not for the purpose, I tell you, of accusing or blaming any one; I am duly examining the situation from the point of view of those who say that everything is known to us, that all the secrets are in our hands, the firmness and courage and capacity to deal with emergencies are all now ours. I am only dealing with those who lay claim to all the virtues that lie at the root of the claim to Self-Government of a big country. Did the best of us realise—I am one of them—that the problem was ours just as much as it was of the Government? We all stood on the side of law and order, many of us faced much unpopularity and a great deal of odium; but, as a whole, did our community, did the Liberal Party above all, evince a sufficiently vivid sense of public danger, except perhaps intellectually, when we wrote in the press or declaimed occasionally, for if we did, we should have put forward a much greater effort to grapple with the situation than it seems to me we did. Don't tell me of the difficulties, I know them as well as you do. When the house was in flames and the country was on the verge of anarchy, several of us shrank from crowded meetings. A good many of us kept telling Government to do this or to do that; but I am afraid the charge is true that too few amongst us went about or put their whole soul into the work of combatting the common danger. Well, the Liberal Party has been blamed for many things and it will not be for me to add to their sins or wrongs by anything that I say. I am of that Party, I am proud to belong to that Party, and that Party has my fullest homage and commands my earnest services. Nevertheless I cannot but recall with a pang what I heard in Bombay a young lady tell me, when I asked her whether she was going to attend a meeting of the Liberals: "Why should I go to your meetings," she said "you pass resolutions in meetings and do nothing else. Look at the other people," by "other people" she meant the Congress. They may be foolish, and I think they are in many ways. But in the pursuit of their folly, because it is their conviction, they are prepared to make sacrifices; a great many of them have thrown off their professions with handsome incomes and go about making collections. They collected a crore; if it is not a crore, it is a good deal, may be 60 lacs; but they collected them. If there is a meeting of the Working Committee in Lucknow or in far off Tanjore, not one or two or three but a good many of them go to the meeting. They go and abuse each other there, it is true; but they go. We don't go. Why don't we? There are many more Liberals in all parts of the country. Why will they not come? If really the occasion is great for the snatching of the crown of Self-Government, if people felt it was easy, why do they not come and participate in the game? Take another thing. We all talk of our fitness for Self-Government. Now let me tell you that if you want Self-Government to-morrow, and if you get it, I am sure you would be fitted for it at the end of five or ten years by committing mistakes if you were left in peace to develop yourself. If you want Self-Government it is not as though any body is going to endow you with it. We have got to win it, though it is not in our power to command the means altogether. If that was the case,



my question to you is : Should we be able without any actual division of parties to run a system of Responsible Government. Whether we are to get Responsible Government and then slowly break up into parties, or whether we should fall into parties and then ask for Self-Government, is a proposition in casuistry which I will not take up; but to the extent that it is possible have our men declared themselves sufficiently clearly? I am not talking of the innumerable questions which when we go to the provinces for actual work we shall have to face. I fully recognise that the facts actually in the villages will be found to be very different from the facts we imagine them to be here or read in newspapers. We are living in a world very far from realities. We talked here for three days as if the country was divid' d only into Co-operators and Non-Co-operators. When you go to the villages and talk to the people and address your constituencies, if that was Madras, the view-point of the people would be not Co-operators *vs.* Non-Co-operators; the whole question to them would be Brahmanas *vs.* Non-Brahmanas; and you would find that in your elections this cry of Brahmanas *vs.* Non-Brahmanas would be more answerable for the final result than any other question that you bring. You go to the Panjab; the question is Mohamadans *vs.* Hindus. In the U.P. the question is Taluqdars *vs.* Tenants. Each Province has its own pressing problems which are not those of Co-operators *vs.* Non-Co-operators. But the whole country however is interested, profoundly and vitally interested, in this question of Co-operation *vs.* Non-Co-operation.

Now what is Non-Co-operation? Many of us think that Non-Co-operation is gone; but remember that the spirit of Non-Co-Operation is not gone yet. The active forms and practice of Non-Co-Operation are for the moment negligible, but the spirit is there. Already the mystic who has gained hold of the great National organisation is trying in Gaya to teach tens of thousands of his countrymen the mysterious proposition that Non-Co-Operation is best to be practised by Co-Operation (laughter); and further more, that in order to practise evolution scientifically we must first effect revolution (Laughter). Now these propositions which juggle with words are really juggling with men's minds and with men's hearts, and yet the Pandit is trying to rule the political world of India. It is simply tragic. Persistence in a course of action which proved wrong and futile must be abandoned for other things. Persistence in wrong is not a peculiar failing of the people in the West only. I will give you one extra-ordinary instance. The other day I read of a Congress worker who combined his Congress work with that of Khilafat propaganda in the unfortunate district of Malabar and was considered somewhat responsible for the fanatical forms which Islam gave to Khilafat struggle in that part of the country. This man went to another part of the country, recently and, was actually saying to the people: "Now what did it matter? They live on the borderland of Hinduism and Islam and in that state of their belief it did not matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims." And then he added another thing, which struck me as extra-ordinary. He said: "These people do not care for their religion. If they did care for their religion they should rather have fought for it and died with their children and women than have first been converted" (Cheers). Now that was plain. In fact, I can understand your admiring the sentiment that religion is a thing for which people should lay down their lives. But, my friends, just think what you are demanding of the people. We know in the past that idea was reached by a very few amongst our people. Have you not read of persecutions, of martyrs, of inquisitions and of the thousand and one forms which religious persecutions take. On all those occasions did you expect the common multitude to stand up either for their rights or for their goal? It was only a very few martyrs who did that. Did you expect every one of the 30 millions to be martyrs? If we had we should not have lost India altogether, we should not have allowed India to become a theatre of all contending races and all nationalities and

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religions under the sun. Remember that what I ask you is, would any one with a heart for the future of India go about amongst his countrymen and say, what did it matter if the people were converted from their faiths to another faith by force, why did they not fight and die for it? That kind of view is possible only to those who think that nothing is sacred in this world but the success of their own individual plans. If they are balked there, they are prepared to curse everything. Now it is that persistence of ideas which is at the present moment holding many a man, who is otherwise every sensible and who is likely in the course of a few years to prove a valuable citizen, from joining the Liberals from his conviction and from his inner thoughts. I hope now that after the appointment of the Executive Committee when we go about we shall be able to reach the more impressionable of these people to whom the past has taught a lesson and ask them to join our new and comparatively young Party, so that with their new enthusiasm we should be able to lay our Association on a really broad basis (cheers). It is in that hope that we shall be able to take our doctrines to those whom the touch of experience has taught the essence of reality; it is in the hope that we shall be able to address them and reach them that I have undertaken the presidentship of the Committee which you appointed a little while ago. Now that requires not merely money which somebody or other of a generous nature might give; but it requires not merely a few but hundreds and thousands of people. And here I may come to what I believe might command some amount of assent from you but what, I fear, may not be universally accepted. However, I will clear my own mind about it by admitting you to my confidence.

Most of you say that the doctrines of the Non-Co-operators are spread all over the country by an innumerable army of enthusiastic young men taken from schools and colleges, just touched by the wand of teachers and bidden to go forth and spread the gospel. They have done a wonder which we all acknowledge. Why should not we do likewise? The honest truth of the matter is that most of us think that they have got a prosperous business, that their briefs are always full, that that they and their tenants have always so much business to transact, that they cannot attend to these things, and that they would pay little money if some fellow who has nothing else to do goes about and does the job, and when it is right with the constituency they will come about and snatch the seat (laughter). Now that kind of thing will not do. Those of you who are either candidates or hope to become candidates in your turn, it is on you that this burden rests, not upon others. Now in a country which claims Responsible Government at once you should not find a lack of people who are going to be either candidates or the friends or canvassers of candidates. You must go and nurse your constituency, you must go abroad and tell them of your ideas. That is the only way in which popular education can be carried on in this country in the political sphere. Luckily, our new Constitution has given us a certain number of constituencies. I wish there were more, but there will be more soon. For the present, we have a well defined system of constituencies which have got to be schooled by the candidates. Now it may be that each constituency had only three candidates, and these three candidates saw their constituencies, say, five times or six times in the course of their campaign, and impelled by the necessity of instructing them, not merely asked for their votes in a brief formula but set out their plans, set out their ideal of taxation of Self-Government, or popular education. If they did that sedulously and faithfully, as a work of instruction for the people and as a work also of clearing up and systematising their ideas, nothing better could be imagined. That is the principal idea I have in my mind. Don't expect the five or ten people on the Committee you appointed a little while ago to do this work. We will do our best, but be sure you cannot have all this work done satisfactorily by us. The educated people have this responsibility

clearly resting on them. In other countries where the means of popular education are through their mother-tongue it may be possible for people other than the candidates to manage these things, but in this country every educated man must take it as his duty on himself to do something by way of training the electorates.

The training of the electorates is certainly the fundamental duty that we have, for I assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, in spite of the eagerness of some of my friends who want to snatch the things before their time and with ease, you never will get the English people or any people in the world to listen to you on a large matter hereafter unless you tell them that you speak not for yourself but for the constituencies who have been canvassed and educated on the subject (hear, hear). Your Government here will refuse to listen to you—they know us at all events, and well, they see through our politics even more and clearly than we do. And more and more you may be sure that the official answer to us will be, when we are making an effective demand: "Is that the wish of your constituencies?" Mind, the masters of this country now are the constituencies, and any Governor is free to turn round on his Executive Councillors and on his Ministers and say to them. "You ask a very big thing, it may be useful, it may be the right thing to do, but I want to know whether your people want it." We must be able to assure them that it is the case. Now we ask for Provincial Autonomy, for responsibility in the Central Government in all subjects except a few, *e g.*, military, foreign affairs, etc. These are the biggest things that you can ask for. You ask everything promised to you in the August declaration and in the preamble to the Act; very nearly the whole of it. If you are going to ask for that very big thing, do you seriously believe that a resolution passed by all our Legislatures unanimously will command the assent of any decent people in England? Never. They will say it is your desire. What has the constituency said about it? That is why I am strongly of opinion that no real momentum can be gathered for our next big effort in constitutional advance unless we are able to say to the people of England that the newly created electorates and our constituencies are fully behind us, heart and soul, mind and brain, in this attempt of ours. Unless we get our electorates behind us, we have no chance whatever hereafter, for I am of those who fully believe that our future advance is to be secured through this Constitution. Unfortunately I hear people say on all sides that we don't want this petty toy of the Councils, we want the real thing, and for the real thing you fellows won't go at all. You are not representatives of the people, you don't have a very large amount of opinion behind you, and there are so many people outside these Councils, so many people of wisdom, weight and authority, that what you say will not command assent but what they who are not in the Councils say, will. Now I emphatically and totally dissent from that proposition, and I hope no one will be weak enough in our Liberal ranks to give his assent to any such proposition. Our Parliaments, I am willing to grant, are small in number: but I am willing to say this that they are at present as fully representative of our wealth and intelligence and general enlightenment as any Parliament in the world is representative of its inhabitants. From any Parliament in the world, a few eminent individuals will always stand out; you cannot get all the talent of a large country like India into a small Parliament. A good deal of this talent will have to stand out and be auxiliary to the talent within the house. That a few people of great eminence, entitled to respect of every one of us, now stand out of these Councils is no ground at all for either condemning or minimising their importance. I will never lend the slightest countenance to that proposition. If anybody comes and tells me that before your Councils can command the respect of any sensible persons, they must be dissolved and new Councils consisting mostly of Non-Operators created, I shall say: "No. That does not appeal to me at all. If these people have stood out of the present Councils, it is to my mind proof conclusive that they are not of the greatest wisdom. (Laughter.) An Indian who after about five thousand years, subjection can, when he gets the beginnings of Responsible Government, stand out of it, can make up his mind to decry the Constitution and can go about seriously telling people don't care for that, don't go to the polling

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booths, neglect your justly won right—a man who could say that is to my mind for the time being very well out of the Council (Laughter). The Councils have not lost any thing by such persons standing aloof. And now if they drop their harsh doctrine, if they see things in a better perspective, and are willing to give their intelligence, enlightenment and patriotism to the service of the country, I shall be the first to welcome them with open arms (Cheers). Come into the Councils, fight the constituencies fairly and squarely, tell them what you are going to do to benefit the people, how you are going exactly to enlarge the Reforms we have obtained, and if the constituencies repose confidence in you, come by all means and take possession of the secular powers that our Councils possess. But if people say that they are going into the Councils for the purpose merely of destroying the thing, apart from the honesty and fairness of that transaction it seems to me that every voter should say at once to such a man: "I will not be represented by you." But as you, Ladies and Gentlemen, know, our electorates are still untrained. As I said in my address, even the electorates of England require continual education. Much more than are our people in that pliable condition when anybody with a smooth tongue and persuasive speech can draw them from the safe to the unsafe, from the prudent to the imprudent, from the wise to the unwise. I much fear that if we, the few Liberals in the country, did not do our duty but cast it upon paid agents, we should be guilty of having thrown our innocent rate-payers and the tax-payers and our constituencies into the hands of these immature politicians who seek to reconcile Co-operation and Non-Co-Operation, evolution and revolution, and who seek to attain the impossible by still more impossible means. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, permit me to say further that our work is very heavy, will occupy all our energy, and none of you can spare himself sufficiently for that task.

Now one word more. I have seriously in my mind one other consideration which I will, at the risk of being misunderstood, bring before your minds, and that is not for the purpose of merely hurting your feelings, that is not part of my plan. But I will bring to your notice one extraordinary defect that I have always observed amongst large masses of our people. I do not say that this defect is not to be observed elsewhere, but it is observed here in its most sinister manifestation, and I will take the liberty to tell you that is not an observation that I, alone, but many others, have made. The ordinary elector in Great Britain and elsewhere is supposed to be endowed with a certain modicum of good sense and practical judgment. You must not ask him to define it, he would not know it. You must not ask me to define it either. But it is shown in this way. When in a disturbed state of the intellectual world people go to ordinary men. Well, take the case of an ordinary man in England. Each in his turn tells him all sorts of fantastic and idealistic things; he will look, bewildered, from the one to the other and he will say: "How wonderful, how extra-ordinary, full of interest, and so on. It is the expression of his natural wonderment for the time being, but you will never win his assent to the doctrine. It would appear that he has something in him which says: "This is not the normal thing, what this man says seems to be far beyond the normal; I would not listen. It is very clever but it does not appeal to me." And so you will find that while at the general elections people talk of all sorts of things, practical and unpractical alike, nevertheless, the result of the general election gives you an idea of the commonsense of the practical Judgment of the Nation. You can see for instance, now that the Bonar Law Government is in power you might say that our imaginary average Britisher after listening to every thing gave his verdict very well. He must have said: "I shall want peace for some time, I want to be let alone." Now, in India, I believe it is not possible to be assured that without sufficient training and sufficient education, our people will be proof against the approach of all kinds of fantastic doctrines and theories. The man who talks the loudest and who abuses without relenting, who says we will abolish the Councils, for example, is apt to be believed, and therein lies the danger. But why do I say that of the ignorant alone? The honest truth is, I believe, that too many of our educated people share that feeling. Even they do not seem to be always aware of the

practicableness, of the necessity of bringing down the ideal to square with the practical. That we don't yet feel. We try to reason and when there is a good reason for the thing we think it ought to be obtained anyhow. We do not see that ordinarily a thing may be reasonable and perfectly logical but still be surrounded with so many practical difficulties, and that besides being not disappointed at not acquiring it, we must also circumscribe our immediate activities to the requirements of the situation. I have very often in the course of the Committee debates and in other places felt that even our educated men are too apt to run away with the ideal. Now let me give you one instance and then you will perhaps find out what is it that I am thinking of: Now in the first days of the Non-Co-Operation movement, Mahatma Gandhi had full faith in our educated classes. It was only afterwards that he dropped them one after the other. Now Mahatma Gandhi's doctrines, we were all sure, were most retrograde. He wanted not merely to obtain the results which we all have in view, but to the utter neglect of the obvious results, he desired clearly and indubitably to take us very far backward along the path of our evolution. There was no mistaking it, we all felt convinced about it. Nevertheless, too many of us felt attracted by the idealism of the doctrine, although we registered the same verdict in our hearts; this is long past, these are old things. Whether in Nagpur or in the large gatherings previous to that we had tens of thousands of our educated people assembling and listening to these things and being attracted to them by this love of idealism, while in practice, however, they never followed what they enthusiastically applauded at these great gatherings. They were quite willing to call themselves No-Co-Operators, although they never did anything in the way of Non-Co-Operation, and to denounce those who held views which they considered practicable; and for once we had the spectacle, which you would not ordinarily notice elsewhere, of towering genius after towering genius amongst our people, holding out for a time against the doctrine of Non-Co-Operation but finally succumbing and joining the general current. Now I will venture to mention a few of these great names. We had a gentleman from my own part of the country, Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar. No one combatted Non-Co-Operation so vigorously as he did and assumed the presidentship of the Congress session expressly for the purpose if possible of stemming the tide of what he considered at that time a most dangerous doctrine. Nevertheless after holding out for a time he fell in with the general current. Take Lala Lajpat Rai. We know how hard he fought against Non-Co-Operation for a time, but he too did the same thing. So also Mr. C. R. Das and many others. Far be it from me to blame these people. I am only trying to draw this lesson that in all these cases what prevailed with them was not love of popularity so much—I am not willing to ascribe a lower motive where a higher motive is discoverable—but their real desire was that it was safer on the whole to stick to the ideal although unattainable in preference to having a lower aim even if it was attainable. Now what I wish to point out to those who are practically engaged in politics is that it is not a wise or profitable doctrine. He who refuses to make a compromise at the right time and get something every day in advance to what he had before is not serving his community and his times. Our motto being "ordered progress," we of the Liberal Party ought not to despise to rise by compromises. Now it seems to me what distinguishes us from the people on the other side is that we are avowedly in favor of methods of compromise and accommodation, of mutual parley and mutual give and take. I know as a matter of fact, and I could establish the proposition, that no other method is possible, and that even the Non-Co-Operators while they are avowing a horror of compromise are every day compromising themselves (hear, hear and laughter). I am not finding fault with anybody; I am only trying to point out that this vague hankering after the ideal in preference to the practical is a drawback which is forever amongst us, not merely in the ranks which have not the benefit of education but even amongst those who are fairly well educated. I should like the Moderate or the Liberal Party to be clear about this, that we are practical politicians, not merely dreamers of ideal constitutions, not

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mere loud-mouthed denunciators and enforcers of national rights or birth-right. We are much more than that. Side by side with indulging in dreams and with resurrecting India's ancient dignity with all its literary, romantic, quixotic sides, we of the Liberal persuasion have a clear ideal before us: to try always to reach the ideal by compromises from day to-day. Don't say as the other may say give us the ideal or nothing else. That ideal will be yours in good time, but you must march towards it by steady steps and that is through the working of this Constitution, through continually trying to expand it and to add to it, instead of saying: "Let us destroy now these Councils and wish for Swaraj; we shall try to find out what Swaraj is when we have done this piece of business". That, it seems to me, is the doctrine that we have clearly to teach ourselves first and to spread it abroad amongst our countrymen. I do hope that when the working Committee starts work and visits various places, you will not say: "I have briefs and I have lands to look after," but you will come out and take us to your villages and to your constituencies; and that during the year that we have between now and the next election times we shall have put in so much educative work among the electorates that we shall at the election time reap the reward of it.

## APPENDIX I.

**List of Delegates.**

The total number of Delegates who attended this session was 181; from Bombay there were 44, from Madras 8, from Gwalior 1, United Provinces 12, from C. P. and Berar 116.

1. Mr. S. G. Somalwar.
2. Mr. Manawar Ali.
3. Mr. Hasan Ali Mahammed Ali.
4. Mr. B. K. Puranik, B. A.
5. Mr. Sharada Prasad Banerji, M. A.
6. Mr. A. V. Zingarde, B. A; LL. B.
7. Mr. Vishnu Gangadhar Gadgil.
8. Mr. Waman Balvant Gadgil.
9. Mr. Krishnarao Wamanrao Datar.
10. Mr. Husain Ali.
11. Mr. Hashim Ali.
12. Mr. Husain Ali Fakbruddin.
13. Mr. Ghulam Abbas.
14. Mr. Habib Bhai.
15. Mr. Hari Ramchandra Chakradev.
16. Mr. Panditrao Deshpande, c/o R. B. A. V. Kaptan.
17. Mr. Anandrao Pote, c/o Seth Kesharichand Johri.
18. Mr. Himatnal Bachawat.
19. Mr. Madhorao Narayan Upadhye,
20. Mr. Kanayalal Sundarsa, c/o Mr. Motilal Gulabsa.
21. Mr. Balaji Kalappa Komptee,
22. Mr. Narayan Rao Vighne.
23. Mr. V. G. Nazir.
24. Mr. R. H. Joshi.
25. R. B. Atma Ram Amrit Buty.
26. Mr. V. S. Chockalingam.
27. Mr. Multanchand Purohit.
28. Mr. Gujarmal Agarwala.
29. Mr. Bhujangrao Narayanrao Mane, Chatari, P. O. Umerkhed.
30. Mr. S. R. Kakirde, Servants of India Society, Bombay.
31. Mr. D. G. Kale, Social Service League, Bombay.
32. Mr. G. B. Garud, Seva Sadan, Poona City.
33. Mr. Prabhakar Raoji Jayavant, Nagpur.
34. Mr. Ramchandra Trimbak Deshmukh, Nagpur.
35. Mr. Prabhakar, Gopal Bapat.
36. Mr. Krishnaji Ganesh Limaye, Pandharpur.
37. Mr. Dattatraya Hari Bhat, Poona City.
38. Mr. Laxminarayan Sahu, B. A; Cuttack.
39. Lady M. B. Dadabhoy, Nagpur.
40. „ B. K. Bose, Nagpur.
41. Mrs. S. R. Pandit, Nagpur.
42. „ V. R. Pandit, Nagpur.
43. „ M. B. Kinkhede, Nagpur.
44. „ R. T. Deshmukh, Nagpur.
45. „ V. N. Herlekar, Nagpur.

46. „ Laxmibai Gadgil, Nagpur.
47. „ R. R. Jayavant, Nagpur.
48. „ M. V. Joshi.
49. „ P. B. Kale
50. „ Mathurabai Dravid
51. „ Anandibai Dhavale, Poona.
52. „ V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras.
53. „ Padmavatibai Joshi, Nagpur.
54. Mr. Chunnilal Dayaram Metha, M.A., LL.B., Bombay.
55. „ Anant Vinayak Patwardhan, B.A., Poona.
56. „ Chintaman Sakbaram Deole, B. A., Bombay.
57. „ Amritlalbai V. Thakkar, L. C. E., Bombay.
58. „ Yeshwant Ganesh Pradhan, Nagpur.
59. „ Dattatraya Sadasheo Sulay, Nagpur.
60. „ Y. R. Pradhan. Nagpur.
61. Mrs. Dwarkabai Pradhan, Nagpur. c/o Y. G. Pradhan, Craddock Town
62. Miss Sonubai Sulay, Craddock Town.
63. „ Sundrabai Pradhan
64. Mr. V. V. Chitale, Pleader, „ Nagpur.
65. „ A. Rangaswami Aiyanger, Vakil, Sivagunga.
66. „ M. G. Mukundaraja, Vakil, Sivagunga.
67. „ W. G. Puranik, Poona.
68. „ M. Parmeshwaram, Bombay.
69. „ S. K. Naigne, Bombay.
70. „ V. R. Bhende, Bombay.
71. „ K. R. Kanitkar, Principal, Ferguson College, Poona City.
72. „ Dr. K. K. Joshi, M. A., Ph. D., Poona City.
73. „ Prof. V. K. Joag, M. A., Poona City.
74. Mrs. S. M. Chitnavis, Nagpur,
75. Mr. R. K. Karandikar, Ratnagiri.
76. „ B. S. Mudkavi, Belgaon.
77. Mrs. Deshpande.
78. Mr. N. M. Joshi, Bombay.
79. „ Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Lucknow
80. „ Shriram Bajpai, Allahabad.
81. „ Manohar Nath Sapru, Allahabad.
82. „ Narayan Prasad Asthana, Allahabad.
83. „ Haradatta Sharma, Allahabad.
84. „ Krishna Ram Mehta, Allahabad.
85. „ Surendranath Verma, Allahabad.
86. „ Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Lucknow.
87. „ V. N. Barve, Bombay.
88. „ T. A. Kulkarni, Bombay.
89. „ Seroy Kotval
90. „ Burjorji Bezanji.
91. „ Sorabji Kursetji.
92. „ J. S. Prentice.
93. „ Sualal Bridichand.
94. „ Rahdakishen Dulichand.
95. „ B. N. Gadre.
96. „ M. K. Saklatvala.
97. „ Phulchand Hirachand.



98. ,, Ratanlal Nanhulal.
99. ,, Harinarain Lakbni.
100. ,, Mangalchand.
101. ,, Premchand.
102. ,, Chotmalji.
103. ,, Balchand.
104. Dr. N. M. Lakdavala.
105. Mr. A. C. Lal.
106. ,, Mathuradas Rahti
107. ,, Motilal (Munim of the firm of Sheolal Motilal).
108. ,, W. N. Date.
109. ,, Ramdin
110. ,, Gokul
111. ,, Kanhaiyalal
112. ,, Jodilal.
113. ,, Shrinivasa Waman Lakhker.
114. ,, Motilal Shermal.
115. ,, G. V. Shrikande, Saugor.
116. ,, Lataria, Coach builder of Nagpur.
117. ,, A. P. Sen, Bar-at-law, Lucknow,
118. ,, Absan Hussen Abdul Ali Bohra, Nagpur.
119. ,, S. B. Dhumal L. L. B. Nasik
120. ,, Balkrishna Hari Dikshit, Gwalior.
121. ,, J. S. Hoyland.
122. ,, Hareshwar M. Pandit Rajgaon, J. P. Bambay.
123. ,, Kashinath Rao Pade
124. ,, H. N. Kunzru, Allahabad.
125. ,, V. N. Tiwari.
126. ,, Chintaman Rao Marathe, Nagpur.
127. ,, R. B. G. K. Chitale, Ahmednagar
128. ,, G. N. Sahasrabudhe Parel, Bombay.
129. ,, Anant Vinayak Chatre Parel, Bombay.
130. ,, P. G. Raste, Nagpur.
131. ,, Narayan Madho Samarth L. L. B., Bombay
132. ,, Ramchandra Ganesh Pradhan, Nasik.
133. ,, Prayag Datt Sukul Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
134. ,, R. Subramhanya Ram, Madras.
135. ,, G. G. Thakkar Pleader, Poona.
136. ,, Vasant Rao S. Rawt, Bombay.
137. ,, D. G. Dalvi.
138. ,, B. S. Kamath, M. L. A., Poona.
139. ,, V. G. Chatre Pleader, Nagpur.
140. ,, R. N. Iyengar, Madras.
141. ,, G. K. Deodhar, M. A., Poona.
142. ,, V. H. Barve, Poona.
143. ,, M. D. Altekhar, M. A., Bombay.
144. ,, M. S. Madho Rao, Calicut.
145. ,, J. R. Gharpure.
146. ,, Patwardhan Bar-at-law, Poona.
147. ,, The Hon'ble Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, Bombay.
148. ,, A. N. Chorghade Pleader. Nagpur.
149. ,, Narayan Ganesh Virkar, Poona.
150. ,, G. R. Bapat L. L. B. Pleader, Bhandara.

151. ,, K. G. Shivaswami, Madras.
152. ,, Narayan Rao Bhat L. L. B. Pleader, Bhandara.
153. ,, B. G. Sapre, Sangli.
154. ,, G. K. Gadgil Barrister at Law, Poona.
155. ,, P. Vasudeo Naidu, Drug.
156. ,, Durgaparsad Rao Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
157. ,, D. R. Patel Pleader, Bhusawal.
158. ,, Dadabhoy H. Billimoria, Bombay.
159. ,, Sham Rao Ambadas Pande L. L. B., Pleader, Akola.
160. ,, R. K. Thombre, Akola.
161. ,, T. R. Gadre. ,,
162. ,, R. A. Deshpande, Amraoti.
163. ,, K. G. Jankhindkar, ,,
164. ,, M. V. Kale Merchant, ,,
165. ,, Lakshman Balkrishna Phanshikar, Nagpur.
166. ,, A. P. Chaturbedi, Mandla.
167. ,, N. G. Sarkar Pleader, Nagpur.
168. ,, M. K. Chitale, Nagpur.
169. ,, W. C. Bhave, Nagpur.
170. ,, G. G. Setlur. Hitavada office, Nagpur.
171. ,, V. N. Moharir.
172. ,, H. N. Nivasarkar, Manager, Anjni Road Press, Nagpur.
173. ,, K. F. Bansode, Nagpur.
174. ,, S. Urkanda, Nagpur.
175. ,, V. D. Makesar.
176. ,, D. Nagarare.
177. ,, G. A. Gavai
178. ,, P. N. Bhalkar, Nagpur.
179. ,, V. S. Venkatraman, Editor Hitavada, Nagpur.
180. ,, D. V. Ambekar, Nagpur.
181. ,, Kodand Rao, Madras.

## APPENDIX II.

**Members of the Reception Committee.**

1. The Hon'ble Sir Maneckji B. Dadabhoy (Chairman), Nagpur.
2. Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, Bar-at-Law, Nagpur.
3. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, Bar-at-Law, Nagpur.
4. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, B. A., LL. B. Advocate, Nagpur.
5. Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar, Nagpur.
6. The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao M. Chitnavis, Nagpur.
7. Mr. D. T. Mangalmurti, B. A., LL. M., High Court Pleader, Nagpur.
8. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., (Hons. in Law) Bombay.
9. Mr. R. R. Jayawant, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Nagpur.
10. Rao Saheb R. V. Mahajani, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Akola.
11. Rao Saheb V. G. Kulkarni, M. L. C., Gaigaon, Akola.
12. The Hon'ble Mr. M. V. Joshi, B. A., LL. B., Nagpur.
13. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambawale, B. A., LL. B., Nagpur.
14. Mr. Atmaram Narayan Pandit, Jumma Talao, Nagpur.
15. Mr. G. K. Somalwar,
16. Mr. Chogalal, of the Firm of Kaluram Bachraj.
17. Mr. Shridhar Anna Deshmukh.
18. Mr. A. V. Wazalwar, LL. M.,
19. Rao Bahadur Daji Ramchandra.
20. Mr. S. D. Deshmukh.
21. Seth Sivanarayan Rathi.
22. Mr. Pandurang Govind Phate.
23. Mr. Pandurang Jayaram Sao Chandekar.
24. Mr. Mahant Ramkrihsna-puri.
25. Mr. Sheoshankarpuri.
26. Mr. Mohanlal S. Kothari.
27. Mr. Samsher Ali.
28. Mr. S. G. Subbedar, Bhandara.
29. Mr. Sadashiv Balkrishna Joshi.
30. Seth Karnidan Chogmal.
31. Mr. Akbar Ali.
32. Mr W. R. Puranik. B. A. LL. B.
33. Khan Bahadur J. K. R. Cama. Baratpur
34. Mr. Sakharampant Phatak.
35. Mr. Vinayak Anant Pardhi. B. A.
36. Mr. Tukarampant Janephalkar.
37. Mr. Venkatrao Naik Mapari.
38. Mr. B. R. Bakhale.
39. Rao Bahadur Anandarao Vinayak Kaptan.
40. Khan Bahadur S. B. Mehta. C. I. E.
41. Mr. Kesari Chand.
42. Mr. Panmal Kesari Chand.
43. Mr. Indarchand Kesarichand.
44. Mr. Motilal Gulabsa.
45. Mr. Pandit Rambhan.
46. Mr. Chimnisao Malasao.
47. Mr. Badrudin.
48. Shrimant Kuar Lakhman Raosaheb Bhonsle.
49. Rao Saheb Narayanrao Vyas.

50. Rao Bahadur Madhorao Govind Deshpande, M. L. C.
51. Mr. Meghraj Gocha.
52. Mr. Balkrishen Das Gopi Kishen of Pulgaon.
53. Shrimant Kesheo Rao Gopal Rao Buty.
54. „ Purnachandra. Gopal Rao Buty.
55. „ Ganpat Rao Gopal Rao.
56. Seth Jamna Das. Potdar
57. Seth Jiwrāj Potdar.
58. „ Nagarmal Jitmal Potdar.
59. „ Chauthmal Jiwrāj Potdar.
60. „ Amolakchand Mohanlal Potdar.
61. „ Motilal Agyaram Kothari.
62. R. S. G. J. Purushe.
63. Mr. Tukaram Patel of Parseoni.
64. Mr. Govind Rao Bapu Rao Deshmukh of Kelod.
65. Mr. Parashram Balaji Deshmukh of Badegaon.
66. Mr. Wasudeo Ganesh Naik Asarkar.
67. R. B. Madho Rao Kinkhede
68. Mr. S. R. Pandit
69. R. B. W. R. Dhobley
70. Mr. Narain Sao
71. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis
72. Mr. Jambuwantarao Nagoji Mane, Chatari, P. O. Umerkhed.
73. R. B. Dr. Bhat, Amraoti.
74. R. B. Brahma, Amraoti.
75. Mr. M. D. Deshmukh, Yeotmal.
76. Seth Ramgopal Hardeo, Yeotmal.
77. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal
78. Mr. S. N. Bhalchandra, Yeotmal.
79. Mr. Darashah M. Dongaji, Esquire.
80. Mr. P. B. Kale, Cinema Proprietor, Nagpur
81. Mr. Krishna Rao Madhaji Naik, Esq.
82. Mr. Haji Siddick Haji Fazal, Esq.
83. Mr. Nur Mahomed.
84. Mr. Haji Rahimtulla.
85. Mr. N. P. Talathi
86. „ P. S. Gimi
87. „ S. M. Guzder
88. „ C. B. Parakh
89. „ D. K. Kamdin
90. „ K. M. Saklatwala.
91. „ Naoroji Pawri
92. „ Phulkuar Potdar
93. „ Nagoba Ramanna Gandli
94. „ Gendalal of the firm of Motilal Sheolal
95. „ J. M. Velloz
96. „ Jamshetji Billimoria.
97. „ Limji Billimoria
98. „ Dr Baretto
99. Khan Bahadur B. P. Byramji (Nargolwala).
100. Mr. Mahomed Ibrahim Reza Malak
101. R. B. R. G. Mundle LL. B. Yeotmal.
102. R. B. NarayanRao Kelker.

103. Mr. Pherozesha D. Bhagwagar.
104. Dr. D. T. Bharucha
105. Mr. Ardesher Dinsha
106. „ N. R. Dastur
107. Seth Mojilal of Khandwa.
108. Mr.G. R. Deshpande
109. R. B. G. R. Kotbari of Khamgaon.
110. Mr. H. R. Deshpande of Anjangaon
111. R. B. R. R. Kale, LL. B. of Satara
112. R. B. K. G. Damle, LL. B. Akola.
113. R. B. Balwant Ramchandra Angal LL. B. Amraoti
114. R. B. R. R. Dole, Amraoti
115. R. S. R. M. Khare LL. B. Amaraoti.
116. Mr. Ganpat Rao Nayudu, Nagpur.
117. „ Nrita Gopal Bose M. A., B. L. Nagpur.
118. „ M. R. Mehta
119. Sir Bisesirdas Daga
120. Mr. JageshwarRao Buti.
121. Mulla Sheraf Ali.
122. Mr. M. R. Dixit, Bar - at - law, Nagpur.