

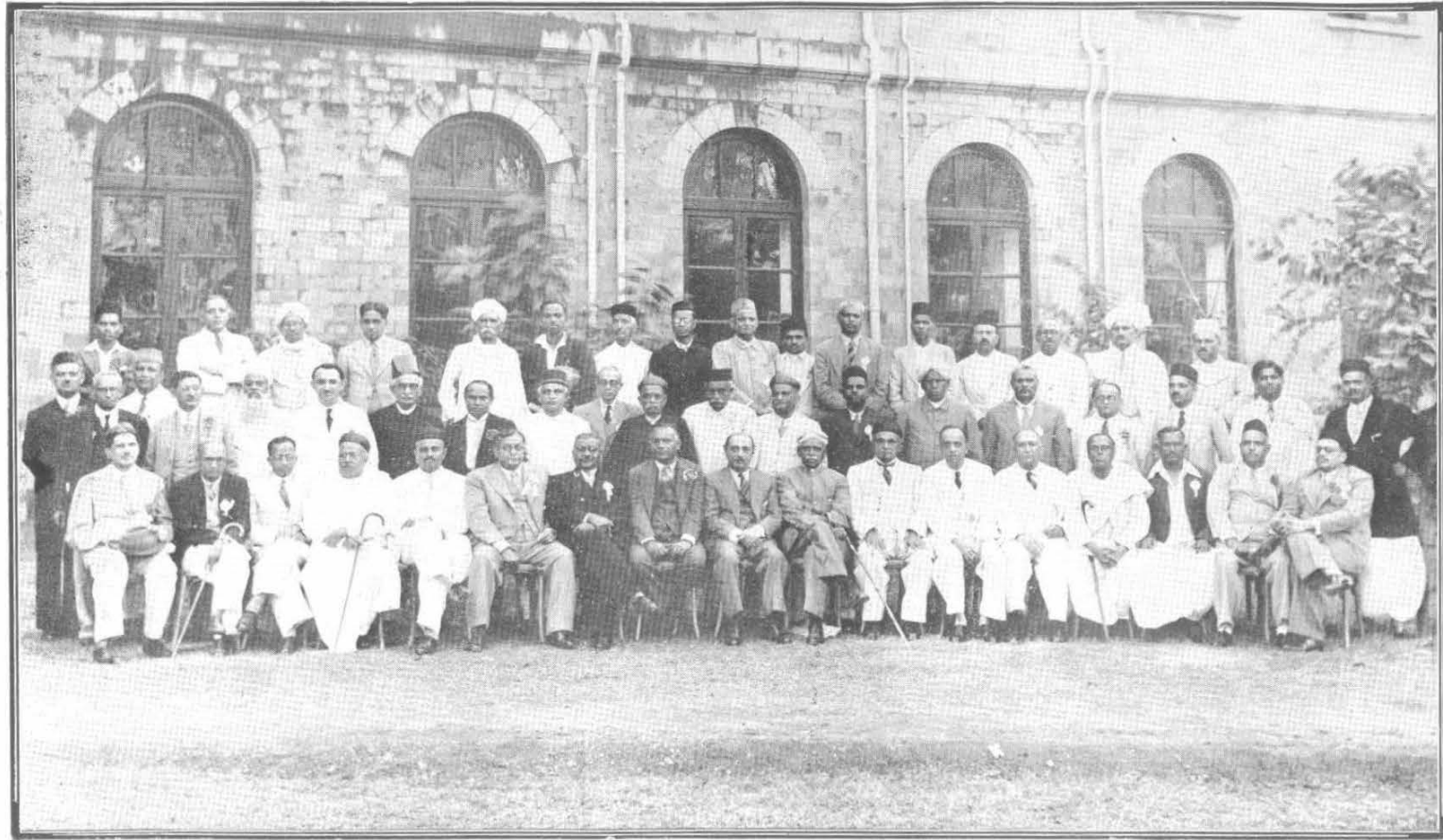
REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTIETH SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India
HELD AT BOMBAY

On December 29 and 30, 1938

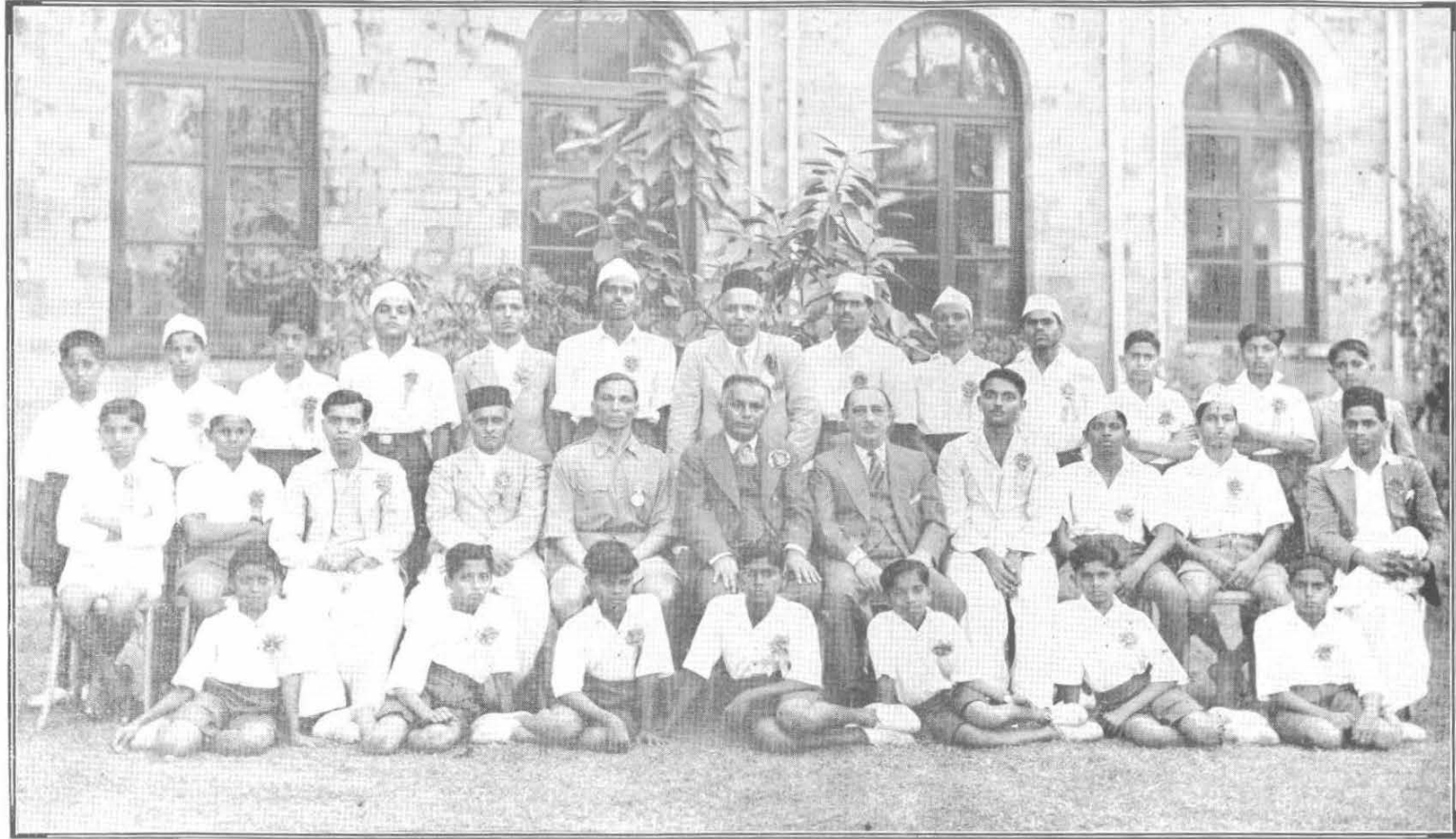


ALLAHABAD:

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COMMITTEE, BOMBAY.



A few of the Delegates with the P resident in the centre.



Volunteers with the President in the centre.

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The National Liberal Federation of India

TWENTIETH ANNUAL SESSION

Bombay, December 29 and 30, 1938

First Day's Proceedings

The twentieth session of the National Liberal Federation of India assembled at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, at 5-15 p. m. on Friday December 29, 1938. There was a large gathering of delegates, members and visitors, prominent among those present being Lady Jehangir, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan, Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Maharaj Singh, the hon. Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Sir Sitaram Patkar, Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Principal J. R. Gharpure, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Mr. K. Natarajan, Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Principal V. K. Joag, Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Mr. K. S. Jatar, Rao Bahadur M. B. Mutha, Mr. Byram N. Karanjia, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. A. D. Shroff and Mr. D. G. Dalvi.

Chairman's Speech

After a musical prayer sung by a group of girls from the Maharashtra Sangit Vidyalyaya, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings by welcoming the delegates. He said :

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the National Liberal Federation of India, I have the honour to offer you a most cordial welcome to our city of Bombay.

During the year we have lost two distinguished Liberals in the persons of the hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna and Pandit Jagat Narain of Lucknow. Sir Phiroze was a past president of our Federation and took a most active part in the political, industrial and social life of the country. He was known throughout India as an indefatigable worker. Sincere and honest in the principles he believed in, and which he fearlessly advocated through the press, from the platform and in the Council of State, where he served from its inception to the end, he died in harness. Pandit Jagat Narain, the well known lawyer of Lucknow, was a colleague as a Minister of our distinguished friend, Mr. Chintamani. They both resigned their Ministerships on a question of principle, and thus set an example of independence and courage.

Founders of Liberal Federation

We last met in this city seven years ago when I had also the privilege of acting in the same capacity. Again it was in this city in 1918, that is exactly 20 years ago, that our first conference took place under the presidentship of one of our most distinguished countrymen, the late Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, when the late Sir Dinshaw Wachha was the chairman of the Reception Committee. The event is now past history but it might be useful to recall the reasons that actuated a large number of our countrymen, amongst whom were several, who may well be called the

founders of the Indian National Congress, to secede from the old political organisation, working for which they had spent the best part of their lives, and to establish a separate political organisation to carry on political work, guided by the same principles as they had maintained and preached for years past. They were convinced that their past political work, governed by those principles, had yielded rich fruit in the shape of the epoch making pronouncement by his Majesty's Government in 1917, followed by the reforms which came into force in 1921. Many of those who took part in our proceedings are, alas, no more with us, but we are thankful to Providence that we still retain the services of men like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir P. S. Shivswamy Iyer, and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Looking over the list of the reception committee of those days, I notice the names of two of our most distinguished and active politicians of to-day—Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai and the hon. Mr. A. B. Latthe.

Liberal Principles

The reason for the split in the Congress organisation 20 years ago is well known to most of you. After the lapse of these years we may well examine the principles we stand for, and the reasons for our existence as a separate entity to-day. Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee in his address in 1918 laid down that :

Our creed is co-operation with the Government whenever practicable, and opposition to its policy and measures when the supreme interests of the motherland require it. Our guiding principle is co-operation when we can ; criticise when we must. It is not criticise when we must ; can co-operate when we must. We deprecate opposition for the sake of opposition. Opposition must always produce excitement and unrest and is justified only by the ample reward of all legitimate opposition, which is the redress of national grievances and the enlargement of popular rights.

Liberal Policy Vindicated

It has been asserted by many that strict constitutionalism has characterised the administration of the Congress provinces and that the Congress has vindicated the Liberal policy to seek political salvation on constitutional lines. We were convinced, that the only way, by which India could advance towards the goal of her ambition, was for the majority parties in the Legislature to take office and work the constitution with only one object in view—service to the country. At first the Congress considered the constitution "unworthy to be offered by England or to be accepted by India." But they ultimately came round to our point of view, with the results we are now well aware of. But after all, is the line of demarcation between the Liberals and the Congress grown so faint in practice as not to justify the separate existence of a distinct political party ? I assert that it would be a superficial diagnosis, which reveals in the present constitutionalism of the Congress a disappearance of those fundamental differences which go to the root of our respective political philosophies.

Fundamental Differences with Congress

The mere fact that Congress Ministries act on most occasions to-day as Liberal Cabinets would have done, or do what secures the approval of the Liberal Party, is no argument in favour of not enunciating the principles on which the two political parties differ fundamentally. We may be one on numerous problems, but so are most political parties in the other parts of

the world. We may approve of some legislative or administrative measures of the Congress Ministries, whilst disagreeing with others; yet in their concept of India's ultimate political goal and her status in the comity of nations, in their concept of the methods of attaining that goal, and in the concept of evolution of political thought and progress, we, Liberals, continue to differ from the Congress on fundamentals.

Dominion Status

Our ultimate political goal is "the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj, that is to say, responsible self-government and dominion status for India at the earliest possible date." The Congress creed is of 'complete independence,' whatever that nebulous phrase may mean but which must imply, among other matters, that India must be left to her own resources to fight against external aggression without hope of reinforcement from Britain or the empire. Leaving aside sentimental reasons, which may weigh with many for the adherence to this principle, we, Liberals, realise that ever since the Statute of Westminster there is no practical distinction between dominion status and complete independence, and that our creed will entitle us to a measure of protection from foreign aggression which otherwise will not be available to us.

Differences in Methods

The recent developments in international politics has served to bring home to many of our countrymen, who glibly talked of independence, that the Liberal concept of India's ultimate political goal is fuller, richer, and more practicable than this cry of 'complete independence,' which, if ever attained in the near future, might result in unprovoked aggression, as has been the fate of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and probably China. Examine another vital difference between the Congress and our party. Constitutional though to-day, even to the extent of being indistinguishable from the Liberal Party, Congress has not abandoned its policy of 'direct action.' The Liberals differ from the Congress in their methods of attaining their political goal. During this very month there have been uttered threats by prominent Congressmen to postpone the advent of Federation, if need be, by a resort to civil disobedience and the Working Committee of the Congress itself is threatening the Princes, that if political progress within the States does not come up to the expectations of the Congress high command, the Congress would resort to direct action. This is clear evidence to the Liberals that there has been no change either mentally or officially in Congress methods, which were once put into operation to the great detriment of the peace and progress of our country. This is a fundamental difference on which there can be no compromise and was precisely the issue on which the great schism occurred within the Congress in 1918.

Evil Results of Direct Action

We may have been called cowards and the most uncomplimentary language may again be the order of the day, but we shall continue to warn our countrymen that direct action will not lead us to the goal of our ambitions while suffering, hardship, and disorganisation will follow in its wake. I assert that the necessity to abandon these methods, even if temporarily, by Congress is a triumph of Liberal foresight. The Liberals cannot abandon lightheartedly, for securing of a veneer of temporary

political unity, a principle for which they have fought these twenty years. The Liberals from conviction believe in ordered progress. They think and feel in terms of evolution. All attempts at a temporary advance by the method of direct action is regarded by them as definitely dangerous to ultimate political progress.

No Communal Basis for Liberal Party

We believe that if the Congress abandoned its present method of constitutional Government, and resorted to civil disobedience as threatened by its President, large numbers of thinking people in India, who, while approving of the present constitutional Congress policy, would be most unwilling to subject this country to a fresh spell of political confusion. Such people will then naturally turn to a political party which has no communal basis and which can afford a common rallying centre for the bulk of political opinion, which does not belong to the 'direct action' school. There are again a large number of politically-minded persons who, though they do not label themselves as Liberals, approve of and follow liberal principles, and there are others who, although believing in and practising the principle of Swadeshi, refuse to bow down to the fetish of Khaddar and be forced to spin five thousand yards of yarn a year as a franchise for a political party.

It will thus be observed that distinct in its outlook on political thought, distinct in its political goal, distinct in its method of attaining political salvation and charged with distinct purposes, the Liberal Party must continue its separate political career, may be, overshadowed at times by the spectacular strides of other political parties, but always capable of fulfilling the tasks expected of it and for which it took birth.

Defects of Federation

The most important question for consideration just now before the country is the impending Federation. The Liberal Party has never been enamoured of the scheme. It has criticised it and pointed out its defects. We have realised that it is unlike any other federation that exists in the world, and it may even be called illogical to have a Federation, some of the component parts of which are based on democracy, whilst the others are based on autocracy. Moreover the position in India is changing from day-to-day. New factors have arisen which require careful consideration and analysis. All parties agree that the unity of India is an essential factor for its happiness, progress and prosperity; that without unity it cannot take its proper place in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in the world.

Demand of Congress

The Congress demands certain changes before they commit themselves to give a helping hand to the Federation. Their main demand at present appears to be with regard to the Indian states. They believe that the introduction of the elective principle in the Indian states is essential. One can understand their point of view. Without this they see no hope of getting a clear majority in the Federal chambers. Such a majority can only be obtained firstly, if they win nearly every seat they contest in the general constituencies in British India, and, secondly, if they succeed in getting a large number of Muslims to stand and win on the Congress ticket in Muslim constituencies, or, thirdly, if they get the representatives of Indian states to join the Congress. While they may succeed in winning most of the

seats in the general constituencies in British India, they are not at all hopeful of direct support from the other two sources. They can therefore never be in an absolute majority. And hence their demand for the elective principle in Indian states, whereby Congress candidates could stand and would most probably succeed in a very large majority of the constituencies.

Muslim League's objection

On the other hand, the Muslim League has declared in unequivocal terms that it is not prepared to allow any change with regard to the system of representation of the Indian states. No political party that believes in democracy can possibly oppose the elective principle but still one can understand the Muslim League point of view. If the Indian states return Congress candidates in large numbers as they are likely to do, the weightage given to the Muslim community in the Central Legislatures would be reduced and would further tend to make the Muslim block a more ineffective minority.

A coalition of different parties

We must face realities. We cannot continue for long with an irresponsible Central Government with the provinces under Ministries responsible to their Legislatures. We cannot expect the administration of the Indian states to come into line with British Indian provinces within the next couple of years, specially with regard to their representation in the Central Legislatures. His Majesty's Government have already declared that while they will not oppose, they will not bring any direct or indirect pressure upon the states to make such radical changes as will meet with the approval of the Congress. On the other hand, the Muslim League would strongly oppose if his Majesty's Government suggested any other method of treatment. Therefore as matters stand at present, it appears that the only chance of forming a government under the Federation, which can hope to command a majority, is by a coalition between the Congress, the Muslim League, and other groups.

Only Alternative

There are some other objections to the Federation which have been pointed out on numerous occasions by all parties. Several of them also apply to the constitution under which the provinces are administered to-day. Experience has shown, as was pointed out by many Liberals, that although the objections seem formidable on paper, they would not be so in practice. It was pointed out that if any of the safeguards were used by the Governors in an unreasonable and provocative manner the Ministries always had the remedy of resignation with few chances of the Governor being able to form another Ministry. In practice this has turned out to be correct for there has not been any such interference. The same applies though perhaps in a lesser degree to the centre. (I do not think it is possible to demand that the administration of the defence of the country should be handed over immediately to the Federal Government, but there is no reason why the Federal Government through its Finance Minister should not exercise considerable influence on the policy and administration of the department. Conventions will rapidly grow up, whereby the Defence department will be forced to take the Federal Government more and more into their confidence.) In the same way there is no reason to believe that the influence of the Federal Government will not be felt on the administration of the

railways, and the same will apply to the exchange policy of Government. At the same time it must never be forgotten that if the Federal Government has behind it a substantial majority in the Legislatures, it will be very difficult for any Governor-General to oppose the Government on any fundamental issue. The Government can always resign, and if the issue on which they resign appeals to the Legislatures and to the country at large, the Viceroy will find himself confronted with a very embarrassing situation which he will make every effort to avoid. After the experience that has been gained in the provinces I do not think any political party would be justified in refusing to work the constitution. It shortly therefore boils down to this, that either the Indian states agree to the introduction of elective principle which they are not likely to do, or there must be a coalition government.

Mistaken claim

I am perfectly aware of the views of the extreme left wing in the Indian political life. They do not desire that any constitution should work. They would object even to complete independence if they felt that the Indian government would be run on democratic lines and that Marxist principles would be unacceptable. But I am sure that the large majority realise the advantage to our country of taking possession of the Central Government and working in the best interests of the Motherland. The Congress, however, has taken up the position that it is the only political party in India that counts. ✓ They contend that theirs is the only school of thought throughout India and that they have a monopoly of patriotism and political wisdom. They profess to speak for all classes and all creeds and that all Hindus, all Muslims, all depressed classes, and all other minorities rolled into one compose the Congress. In this we are certain they are mistaken. The very fact that they cannot capture a majority of the Muslim seats even in British India is clear evidence that the claim of the Congress to be the sole representative of Indian people is untenable. They must win over the minorities by such concessions as are demanded of them and they must be prepared to work with other political parties for the common good of the Motherland.

The cult of communism

I am now compelled to touch upon an aspect of political life in India which is causing anxiety to a large number of our countrymen holding high positions in all political parties. The school of thought, which condemns "imperialism" and misinterprets its meaning as domination of one country over another, does so because it objects to any form of government constituted under the present social order.

During the past twelve months there has been an increase in the communist activities throughout the country. Encouraged by the removal of the ban on various left wing organisations by the Congress Governments, communist propaganda has increased by leaps and bounds. The usual demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat after the Soviet model is frequently heard. Everyone is aware that in Russia the communist theories were put into practice 21 years ago. Communism has had its course for full twenty years and more. With what results? The answer to this is given by Eugene Lyons, United Press correspondent in Moscow for six years, in his book "Assignment in Utopia", recently published. He had gone to the U. S. S. R. in search of equality, freedom and justice. He left with "the sense of leaving behind me

✓ a nation trapped. Trapped physically, with blood hounds and machine guns and death sentences guarding the frontiers to prevent people escaping."

The main principle that is followed in Russia to-day is 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' When communism started in Russia the slogan was "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This is the slogan that is being raised in India to-day, notwithstanding the fact that Russia has given a go-by to this principle.

In Russia there is as much disparity in the wages of the workers as in any capitalist country. The communist bosses receive salaries 40 or 50 times that of the ordinary worker. Among the workers themselves each industry has got its own categories, about 8 in number, with a marked difference in the wages for the different categories. There is very little difference between communism as it obtains in Russia to-day and capitalism. The death-knell of communism in Russia is not confined to wages alone.

Instead of building up a classless society as was claimed by the high-priests of communism, Russia has built up a society with new classes more in number than existed before. According to reports of visitors to Russia published in books or in the European press there are at least six different classes, each separated from the other by clear lines of demarcation.

The right of inheritance has been restored. People are encouraged to invest money in state loans or deposit in savings banks. Private incomes derived from work and savings are specifically protected by the new constitution.

Breakdown in Industry.

There has been a serious break-down in every branch of industry, and planned production exists on paper alone. The worker is ill-fed and ill-clothed, lives in a miserable room with at least six others and drags on a miserable existence without grumbling loudly, lest he should be sent to Siberia or shot forthwith. Sabotage and silent destruction of the machinery are the only courses left open to him to register his protest. The only satisfaction or compensation for all his sufferings the worker gets is to be called 'comrade' by his bosses. The dissatisfaction against the regime has spread so widely that since May 1937 the Russian execution squad is kept busy. Since May 1937 the Soviet Government have executed 1,200 people. Since the same date 30 of the 68 candidates for the central committee of the communist party, 9 out of the 13 commissaries of the Russian Federal Republic, the presidents of the 9 out of the 11 Soviet republics, the Prime Ministers of the 9 of the 11 republics, the heads of 12 industrial trusts, 4 trade unions, and 4 newspapers, 8 of the general staff of the red army, and 1200 communist party members have been either shot or sent to concentration camps. It is indeed a matter for thought that with the growth of communism in Russia the number of prisoners in the slave camps also show a rapid increase. The strength of the concentration camps which in 1927 was 1,40,000 rose to 70 lacs in 1937. And among these seventy lacs were one million women. And this is happening in the land which is a model of liberty which the communists would have us copy. We are told that such sacrifice is inevitable especially when the change over from one system to another has to be made and that all these are events of the past and that with the inauguration of the new constitution in Russia the people there enjoy such freedom and liberty as could not be found in the most democratic form of government.

True it is that the constitution exists on paper. But in actual working Stalin's will is the constitution. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press do find a place in the constitution. But if one talks or writes anything against the regime he will be charged as a traitor and shot. The new constitution guarantees employment to every worker in the state. This is being made much of by the Indian communists. No doubt, unemployment has been abolished by a decree. But the worker is deprived of all elementary freedom relating to his occupation. What is in force in Russia is industrial conscription. The worker has to accept the job that is provided for him in such place, at such wage, and under such condition as determined by the bosses. He can either accept the job or starve to death. He cannot choose the place of his occupation, or cannot bargain with his employer for better conditions and higher wages. Since the state is the employer and since the state is always right the worker has to accept what is offered to him.

M. Kleber Legay, a prominent French Socialist, secretary of the French National Federation of Miners, after a visit to Russia last year stated :

“ It is absolutely untrue that the lot of the Russian miners is to be envied by those in our countries. The Russian miners, all things considered, are more than fifty years behind our own. I willingly acknowledge the difficulties which face the leaders of the Russian revolution and those which still exist to-day. But I cannot understand why and with what object people have so grossly deceived us about conditions of life and work in Russia.”

Do the majority in the Congress desire this state of affairs in India ? If they do not, they must take strong measures to see that the uneducated and poverty-stricken masses of our country are not misled by self-seeking individuals, who seeing no prospects of climbing the political ladder, take to causing, whatever may be the government in power, as much harassment, obstruction and worry as is possible. This propaganda constitutes one of the greatest dangers to our progress both socially, financially and industrially. We realise that our tradition, culture, and our great faith in religion may make it difficult for such propaganda to succeed, but that is no reason why severe and immediate steps should not be taken against a school of thought, which desires to upset the whole social order of our country.

I have concluded my remarks. It is only left for me now to wish you all a very happy and prosperous New Year. We hope your visit to our city will be a pleasant one and you will return to your homes with happy memories.

Messages of Sympathy

On the conclusion of his speech, the chairman called upon Mr. P. S. Bakhale, one of the secretaries, to read the messages of sympathy which had been received by him.

Mr. Bakhale said: Mr. Chairman, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen:

The Reception Committee of the Conference have received several letters and telegrams wishing the Conference a successful session.

The rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri wires :—Greatly regret my health prevents attendance. Wish Federation success.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar wires :—Greatly regret my health prevents attendance. Wish success Federation session.

Dr. C. Y. Chintamani wires :—Sorry unavoidably absent. Wish complete success.

Sir Moropant Joshi wires :—Regret unable attend Liberal Federation. Wish success.

Mr. J. N. Basu, Calcutta, writes :—I regret in the present state of my health it will not be possible for me to go to Bombay. I wish the next session every success. We find that those who laughed at our policy and methods are gradually adopting and working them. We have the satisfaction of finding that the system which was declared untouchable by influential political groups is being attempted to be loyally and strenuously worked by those groups. We welcome their return to steadiness and wish them success.

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Cawnpore), wires :—Extremely regret inability to attend. I wish every success to the session.

Rao Saheb S. P. Sanyal (Benares), wires :—Regret absence. Pray that Liberalism should pervade, prevail and prosper for ever.

Sardar Panditrao (Satara), wires :—Regret inability to attend. Wish success.

Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan of Coimbatore writes :—Owing to private affairs, I have to be absent from the annual meeting of the Federation. I beg to convey my hearty greetings to fellow-Liberals and to wish a successful session under the leadership of a young Liberal, the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru.

Mr. Surendra Nath Varma of Allahabad writes :—I extremely regret that due to a bereavement in the family I am unable to attend this session of the Federation. I am confident in the circumstances you will excuse my unavoidable absence. My regret is greater as I shall be missing a session presided over by so close a friend of mine as Mr. Sapru. I have no doubt that with him as president, you will have a successful session.

Mr. E. Vinayak Row, Madras, writes in the course of his letter :—I deferred replying to you till now in the hope that I may be able to proceed to Bombay. I now find it impossible to go to Bombay on account of other unavoidable work requiring my presence here, which I very much regret. I wish the 20th session every success.

Mr. Shyam Lal Tandon, Mirzapur, in the course of his letter writes :—Realizing the importance of the Federation of this year and being anxious to take part in its deliberations, I had already made up my mind to attend the session, as I thought I would be doing my duty as a staunch liberal.... But now it appears, I would not be able to stir out of this place on account of some important professional work for which I would like to be excused. I wish I could attend the Federation and take part in its deliberations at this critical juncture and to do my humble duty. I hope you and the members of the Committee would kindly excuse my inability to attend. I wish the Federation every success under the guidance of the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru who is, no doubt, the best person at this important juncture to steer the helm.

Mr. G. M. Gupte, Bandra, writes :—I am sorry I shall not be able to attend the session of the National Liberal Federation of India on account

of my state of health. I trust steps will be taken to organize the Liberal Party and the deliberations will be helpful for furthering the political progress and advancement of the Indian nation.

Mr. V. W. Rale, Poona, writes:—Owing to indifferent health, I am afraid, it is not possible for me to move outside Poona. I, however, wish the session a grand success under the presidentship of Mr. Sapru.

Election of President

The House then proceeded to elect the President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said: Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing that the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru be asked to take the chair on this occasion. Mr. Sapru has been a staunch Liberal for many years. He has silently worked for the party in every way. You all know that he is a member of the Council of State. In that capacity he has rendered very valuable services to the country.

Exactly 11 years ago we called his father, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, to the chair of this Federation in this very hall. He is a worthy son of a worthy father.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh:—Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a great honour and a privilege to second the proposal which has been moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. In the first place, I am only a recent recruit to the Liberal Party and am unworthy of the honour which has been conferred on me. I may add, however, that I have been a Liberal for the greater part of my life, and it was only the exigencies of public service that prevented me from formally signing the creed till recently. Secondly, Mr. Sapru and his distinguished father are highly valued friends. They come from the province to which I have the honour to belong and I look upon them as friends of long-standing.

Somebody said to me the other day that Mr. Sapru could not be a very great man for his name did not figure in the Indian Who's Who! I said to him: 'The answer is very easy. Mr. Sapru has not yet three qualifications by which he can be made eligible for the Indian Who's Who. The first is that he has not so far attained the reasonably considerable dimensions in his waist; then he has not yet got an adequate number of grey hairs; while thirdly, his hair has not begun to fall. When he has attained these three qualifications I have no doubt that he will find a place in the Indian Who's Who. I can assure you from my knowledge of him that he has a very wise head; his sturdy independence; his devoted patriotism and his effectiveness in debate are well known in the sleepy atmosphere of the Council of State where he has done great work.

I know that you are waiting impatiently to hear him. He will, no doubt, dwell, as our worthy Chairman has dwelt, on certain burning topics of the day, such as Federation, the rights of people belonging to Indian states, the Indianization of the army and so forth. I know that he will give us a message and a lead in these matters. I sincerely trust, however, that he will give us also a message of hope, for sometimes one finds among Liberal circles a feeling of despair. Personally, although I am old in years, I am still an incurable optimist, for I believe that, although we are few in numbers, as I said to Mr. Sapru only this morning, that almost every educated Indian who does not believe in mass civil disobedience is a

Liberal at heart and if only he had the courage of his convictions, would belong to the Liberal Party. I am sure that liberalism which has played a great part in the past will play an even greater part in the future self-governing India, which is much nearer than many of us believe, and will be realized, I humbly believe, in the lifetime of not a few present this morning. I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, (Madras), said:—With great pleasure, I beg to support this resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded. It does not require many words from me to say that the Liberals of South India wholeheartedly endorse everything that has been said by the proposer and the seconder. Mr. Sapru, as it has already been said, comes not only with up-to-date political knowledge from his conduct in Allahabad. He has also vigour and youth in addition and so we can look forward to other vigorous young men coming forward from the Liberal Party at the present critical juncture. I have therefore very great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Nagpur), said:—I have great pleasure, indeed, in supporting the proposition that has been placed before you. The hon. Mr. Sapru really needs no introduction. I welcome him as President of the Liberal Federation, and for the simple reason that he is a young man. It is said that the Liberal Party has played its part and is bound to disappear. Yes, I say that there are some among us who believe in that, but I am proud to say that though I am old, I have a young heart and I believe that the days of the Liberals are not past. Others may be holding the field today. But it does not mean that the Liberal Party will not have its day again. Believe with me in the signs of the times, and you will see that in less than ten years even the Congress will acknowledge that they are the Liberals of the day. The people of this party who have the reins of Government in their hands follow in the footsteps of the Liberal leaders. See to the working of the Congress Ministries in the provinces and you will be satisfied that they do not differ from the Ministries that preceded them.

I have no hesitation in saying that we have made the best selection in asking Mr. Sapru to guide our deliberations this year. His name is a guarantee that he possesses the qualities of head and heart necessary to guide the destinies of a party like ours. As I have already said what we really want is the wisdom of age and the enthusiasm of youth and these qualities the hon. Mr. Sapru combines in him. It is for this reason that I welcome him as President of our party, for the session and for the year.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir :—I put this proposition to vote.

It was declared carried amidst applause.

President's Address

The hon. Mr. Sapru then delivered his presidential address. The following is the text:—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, SISTER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I thank you very sincerely for the high honour—the highest that is in your gift, fellow-Liberals—that you have conferred on me by electing me as president of this Conference. The Liberal Federation has had as its presidents some of the worthiest sons of India. They were men who had distinguished services to the country to their credit. I am not presumptuous enough to

think that I can bear comparison with them. I take my election as a recognition, by the elders of our party, of unswerving loyalty, on the part of one who belongs to the younger generation, to the principles for which Liberalism stands.

Our Losses

Death is no sparer of persons, and we have had to pay our toll to it. The greatest of those whose loss we mourn this year was Sir Phiroze Sethna. He was one of the founders of the party and an ex-president of the Federation. God had gifted him with a fine intellect which he had developed assiduously and he was a tower of strength to us all. Industrialist, financier, statesman, social reformer, Phiroze Sethna was truly a man of remarkable energy. He was devotedly loyal to the Liberal creed. Often he would get up in the chilly atmosphere of the Upper Chamber and fight as he alone knew how to, for causes which we Liberals justly regard as righteous. In his death the Liberal party and the country have lost an elder statesman of outstanding ability and force of character and, if I may be allowed a personal reference, I mourn in him the loss of a leader who, in the later years of his life, honoured me with his friendship and confidence and from whom I had my first lessons in parliamentary work.

We have to also record with sorrow the death of another distinguished Liberal, Pandit Jagat Narayan. He was a man of high character, considerable ability and great legal experience. With the exception of my revered leader, Mr. Chintamani, he was easily the most successful Minister that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms threw up in our province. His work on the Hunter Committee will be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. As Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, he rendered distinguished services to education. He has died full of years and full of honour and left behind him a tradition of high personal rectitude and courage.

Another prominent Liberal whose loss we deeply mourn is Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava. He was one of the foundation members of the party and his interest in its fortunes did not abate with his elevation to the bench. He was wise in counsel, moderate in speech and firm in action. He was one of the most prominent Liberals in our province and death has cut short a career of great usefulness not only to the court of which he was the head and the profession of which he was an ornament, but to the public life of the province of which he was one of the distinguished sons.

Other losses we mourn are those of Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji and Pandit Bishwanath Tholal. They were staunch Liberals, greatly respected in my province and did much useful work in their respective spheres.

Outside the Liberal ranks, we have to record with regret the deaths of Mahatma Hansraj, Sir Brojendra Nath Seal and Maulana Shaukat Ali. Mahatma Hansraj's chief passion in life was education. He led a selfless life of exemplary purity and exercised a deep influence over generations of young men. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal was one of the greatest thinkers, scholars and educationists that India has ever had. Maulana Shaukat Ali was a force to reckon with in the Islamic world. Less intellectual than his talented brother, he was greater as an organizer. He had infinite courage and was a great fighter for causes he believed in. The country is the poorer by the death of these distinguished sons.

World Situation

We are living in one of the most perilous periods in the history of mankind. The war which was to end wars has left bitter memories behind and today men and women live in fear of impending war, the consequences of which on civilization as we have known it, no one can foresee. The great nations of the world are drifting into disastrous conflict with one another and science which has enabled us to conquer the physical forces of nature to an amazing degree, threatens to become a demon of destruction. There is no doubt that since 1931 there has been an incredible deterioration in international relations, in respect for international law, morality and the sanctity of human life. We live in an atmosphere of war, though we pay lip homage to peace. The League of Nations which, if it had been effective, would have symbolized a great revolution in history, finds itself powerless to prevent the success of an aggressor in war or promote peaceful settlement of international disputes. On all critical occasions its existence is ignored and the so-called "rejuvenated" nations with assertive nationalisms which seek to dominate the world, have discovered that, if heavily armed, they can coerce, by show of force, the powers who had come out victorious in the last war, who had imposed on the world a peace which all thoughtful men could foresee was certain to lead to future complications and who seem to have lost, in a world of conflicting ideologies, the mind and the will to stand for clean and just methods of settling international disputes. The fact is that these nations who have accepted the Nazi and Fascist ideology are thinking entirely in terms of an exclusive nationalism indistinguishable from racialism in its worst form, new territories, and new markets for their goods. The selfish possessive instinct continues to dominate all their activities. Morality, as the Christian world has known it, has no place in their scheme of life, Christians as they are. They glorify the nation-state, deify it, and subordinate the individual entirely to it. They go on piling up armaments, they increase the barriers to trade among nations, they covet the powers that have command over the larger part of the world's raw materials, they dream of reviving the glories of old Rome or the holy Roman Empire and they have discovered that foreign relations with peoples who possess the good things of life, who are the guarantors of the adjustments made by the Treaty of Versailles, can be conducted, in the picturesque language of Mr. Eden, on the basis of "stand and deliver". I cannot help feeling that a great part of the responsibility for the present world situation rests with Britain and France who have followed policies, which have weakened definitely the forces of Liberal and social democracy and strengthened those of fascist reaction. The situation in which the British and the French Governments found themselves at Munich was largely of their own creation. They were reluctant to make to a democratic Germany concessions of which we hear so much. They allowed Japan to defy the League and conquer a part of China in 1931. They were prepared to see Germany occupy the Rhineland by force without any effective action on their part. They would not agree to parity of armaments with Germany at the Disarmament Conference and the Conference naturally failed. They were not prepared to take effective steps including oil sanctions to prevent Mussolini from swallowing up Abyssinia. They denied belligerent rights to the legitimate government of Spain and would not even strictly enforce the so-called policy of non-intervention. They stood by and saw Germany intervene and annex Austria

by methods which could not be regarded as just. And finally, when at the behest of the German dictator Henlein and Kundt had promoted civil strife in Czecho-slovakia and the German dictator threatened a world conflagration, France and England were not prepared to stand for the principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful methods and allowed Czecho-slovakia whose territory France had undertaken to respect and preserve under the Franco-Soviet Pact and England under the Covenant of the League of Nations, to be dismembered at his command. They were, and continue to be, quiet spectators of Japanese aggression in China.

If this is the situation in Europe and the Far East, that in the middle East is not less unsatisfactory. Britain has now discovered that she has given mutually contradictory pledges to Jews and the Arab populations in Palestine. The Arab population continues to be stirred up by Italian and German propaganda and is not unreasonably apprehensive of its future in a land which, whatever the past history might be, the Arabs quite justly claim as theirs. The world was on the brink of war in September last and while we are thankful that, thanks to the spirit of sacrifice shown by a brave small country and its then respected head, that truly great man, Dr. Benes, war was averted, we cannot share the optimism of those eulogists of Mr. Neville Chamberlain who think that the Munich Pact is the harbinger of lasting or permanent peace. We cannot overlook the fact that the Pact has dismembered the one country which had made a success of democracy in Europe, made Germany the virtual master of eastern Europe, enormously increased her prestige and military strength, broken up for all practical purposes the popular front in France and the system of alliances which France had built for herself, weakened the forces of Liberal and social democracy all the world over, strengthened the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis and dealt a death blow to the League of Nations which was the one solid achievement of the statesmen responsible for the Peace of Versailles. It is difficult for us to believe that the German and Italian dictators will be content with what they have achieved. Indeed there are ominous signs that they are not. It is permissible to hold that if Britain and France had been loyal to the League, had stood by the principle of collective security and gathered round them the smaller states of Europe who were prepared to follow their lead, and had collaborated with Russia, who, whatever her other faults might be, has been loyal to the League and the international ideals it stands for, the world would not have witnessed the disheartening spectacle of the betrayal of a small country whose only fault was that she was loyal to her obligations to them and was not prepared to accept in her internal arrangements, the totalitarian conceptions for which Nazism and Fascism stand.

The broad fact that stares us in the face is that France and Britain yielded to force what they were not prepared to concede to argument. "That is the really fatal precedent," as rightly pointed out by Viscount Cecil, "established by this transaction". Whatever subtle differences there may be between the Godesburgh plan and the Munich Pact, there can be no denying the fact that democracy and the processes and the purposes for which democracy stands have received a blow from which it will take time for it to recover. Even the apologists of the Munich Pact and Government spokesmen like Earl de la Warr recognize now that it has not improved the European situation to the extent it was expected to. Consider the situation for a moment. In

spite of the no-war pact, England and France find it necessary to rearm with even greater determination than they have been doing so far. The Anglo-Italian pact notwithstanding, Italian volunteers continue to fight for Franco's Spain and the Italian Government connives at anti-British propaganda among the Arabs. The German press, forgetting its obligations under the Munich Pact to Britain and France, blesses the manufactured propaganda for the return of Tunis and Corsica by France, propaganda which is not calculated to smooth relations between France and Italy. The question of the return of the colonies remains unsettled. Germany is certain to press for their return and they cannot be returned easily by mandatory powers to a totalitarian state without the consent of the populations of those territories. Britain has lost a great part of her trade with Eastern Europe and both Britain and the United States find themselves in danger of losing their South American trade to Germany. Eastern European powers continue to come more and more under the sway of the German dictator. Franco's victory in Spain is almost certain and who will deny that it will give Britain an insecure base in Gibraltar? The Jews in Germany and Italy continue to be persecuted with even greater ruthlessness than before and that persecution is creating difficult problems for the democratic states. With Japan fighting in China and Russia excluded, disarmament is not possible and Germany and Italy are not likely to agree to a reduction of armaments now or in the immediate future. The situation in Memel is becoming grave and it remains to be seen what the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's declaration of British policy in case of hostilities between Italy and France will be upon Franco-British relations. Japan's victory in China and her nearness to the Indian border have created new problems for Britain and necessitated a re-orientation of the defence policy. Can any one who impartially reviews the international situation deny that we find ourselves after the Munich Pact, faced with a situation in which the menace to peace and democratic civilization is greater and not less than before? I have been driven to make these observations as I would like the country squarely to face the dangers which the new ideologies have created for us. For it is no longer possible for us to lead an isolated existence. India is realizing that she is part of a larger world.

It is therefore a matter for genuine regret that the suggestion of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues that external affairs should be transferred to the control of the legislature was not accepted by the framers of the new Government of India Act. The present position in regard to external affairs is that, though we are original members of the League of Nations, we cannot even discuss or offer criticisms in the legislature on foreign policy. Surely this is something which is indefensible. Of what use is membership of the League to India if her sons and her government cannot express themselves, in a constitutional manner, on the vital questions of life and death for nations, nations in whom a large section of our population is interested in the middle East.

Dominion Status

Viewing the world situation in its proper setting, bearing in mind what these new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind, I think we were wise in fixing as our objective Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. No one disputes that a country has a right to aspire to be independent. It is equally true that the British Common-

wealth is not an achievement of the Indian race and that the Indian people cannot take pride in it as Britishers and those who are of British stock can. But Dominion Status which is a dynamic conception is hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose from virtual independence. It is a free association of free peoples in no way subordinate to one another. In a world full of menace to the democratic states, we have in the British Commonwealth of Nations, an organization which can provide the base for a system of collective security. And surely democratic states must pull together. In a world full of menace to the Asiatic and African races, it would give to India a sense of security which an entirely independent existence cannot. But if forgetting the dark chapters in our relationship it is wise for us to accept it loyally and unreservedly as our objective, it is equally the duty of those who control British policy to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status, for Indian thought is running in channels which threaten to make an Indo-British Commonwealth an unacceptable ideal. The lesson drawn from the recent happenings in Europe by a prominent Congress leader was that India must seek her salvation outside the Commonwealth as she is entirely opposed to the foreign policy of Britain which is pro-fascist. Emphatically I am no supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy. I have subjected it to such rapid criticism as I could in this address and I dislike fascism as intensely as any living man. But the present British Government is not eternal. No government is eternal. Indeed important sections of British opinion are opposed to its foreign policy. To base on this ground one's objection to the objective that we have set before ourselves is to misread the nature of the British constitution and misunderstand the character of Dominion Status which gives to the Dominions the right to determine for themselves the extent, if any, to which they will participate in any war in which England might find itself involved. We have no reason to apologize for the objective that we have set before ourselves. We are as determined as any other political party in the country that our country shall be free, but we feel that this full freedom which we seek is reconcilable with loyalty to the objection of an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations to which we may have something distinctive of our own to contribute when we have reached our political maturity.

Defence

I strongly hold that the problem of Indian defence requires to be viewed in its international setting. The interests of India, England and the democratic world require that India should be made as speedily as possible self-sufficient in the matter of defence. The fundamental difficulty that we have to face is that Government have done all that they could in the past to make the average Indian believe that the defence forces exist not only for the purpose of defending India from external aggression and internal disorder but for maintaining and perpetuating an alien government responsible to the people of another country. No strengthening of the Criminal Law Amendment Act can or will change this feeling. What is needed is a change in the British outlook on the problem of Indian defence. What is wanted is action which would change the attitude of the Indian people towards defence and convince them that it is their most vital concern.

The working out of this principle requires that it should be made clear beyond any possibility of doubt that it is not intended to treat India

differently from the Dominions in the matter of defence, and that defence shall at no distant date be her responsibility in the same way and to the same degree as it is that of the Dominions. It is regrettable that the new Government of India Act does not provide for the automatic transfer of control of Defence to the Indian people with a defined period specified in the Statute itself. The formula "increasing concern of the Indian people and not the British people alone" is vague, indefinite and unsatisfactory. If it means that the final development in regard to defence will be some sort of a dyarchic arrangement whereby both Britain and India will share control over it with India as junior partner, then we owe it to ourselves to state in the plainest terms possible that we can never reconcile ourselves to it. We can never accept a position in regard to defence control lower than that of the Dominions. We are not and have never been opposed to a period of mutual adjustment and indeed the proposals which were made at the Round Table Conferences by Liberal and other progressive Indian politicians proceeded on this basis.

In its constitutional aspects, the problem requires not only a clear enunciation of the objective but also, during the period of transition, some visible steps which would increase the influence of the legislature over it, which would make the executive responsive, if not technically responsible, to opinion voiced in the legislature. It is, therefore, necessary to insist that in any reconstituted central or federal government, the member or councillor in-charge of the army shall be an Indian drawn preferably from the legislature. It is further necessary to insist upon a standing committee of the legislature preponderatingly non-official in character, the function of which should be to advise the authorities on defence policy, defence expenditure, and employment of Indian troops abroad, if and when necessary. The decisions of the committee should, in my judgment, be treated as binding upon the question of the employment of Indian troops abroad. Our position in this respect should be neither higher nor lower than that of the Dominions. The policy regarding Indianization should during the period of transition be under the control of the Indian Legislature. I would also urge that we should press that the army budget should be settled on a contract basis for fixed periods after a thorough enquiry on which the legislature should be directly represented through elected representatives. This agreed sum should be open to discussion but not subject to the vote of the legislature. Any excess over the agreed amount should be subject to the vote of the legislature. Till such time as full responsibility has been achieved, it will, perhaps from a constitutional point of view, be necessary to give to the Governor-General power to incur fresh expenditure in excess of the amount contracted for in cases of emergency, the legislature subsequently having the right to discuss but not vote this amount. It may be said that some of these proposals would involve a change in the Government of India Act, but we have never agreed to that Act and we cannot accept the validity of that argument.

Only the other day we were told by Earl Baldwin that the rearmament programme necessitates that Government should mobilize industry. Success in war in the modern world depends upon a comprehensive military organization which utilizes to the fullest extent possible, the man-power and the industrial and agricultural resources of a country. Here unfortunately owing to the mutiny complex from which our military experts suffer, the problem

has never been viewed in this perspective. Recruitment to the standing army is confined to certain classes and creeds. Apart from the fact that the present policy has created a virtual monopoly in favour of one particular province and has perpetuated the present caste distinctions, it is open to the grave objection that it is unjust to the other provinces which contribute equally with the Punjab to the federal revenues and which also have glorious military traditions, as any student of Indian history and even Anglo-Indian history will be able to testify. It is urged in defence of the present policy that the standing army is not large in numbers and that consequently the military authorities find it convenient to recruit it from classes which have a particular aptitude for a military career. No one denies that having regard to the size of the country, the standing army is not too large. But it is conveniently forgotten by the apologists and upholders of the present arrangement that a substantial part of this army consists of British troops which can and ought to be reduced consistently with the safety of the country, substantially. Even Government, by transferring three British battalions from India to Palestine, have admitted that there is at least partial truth in our criticism. Our view is and has all along been that a substantial reduction leading eventually to the elimination of British troops is possible in the country, that this reduction would lessen the cost of the army and that if British troops are so reduced, provinces and classes that get no chance of recruitment in the army would get it in the future. It is the height of unwisdom to make the democracies of the future dependent for their safety and the integrity of their country—in which all of us have an equal interest—upon a professional army drawn largely from particular areas and classes. Experience has shown that the Indian officers recruited from the so-called non-martial races have proved to be as highly efficient as the officers drawn from the martial races and the British officers. Why cannot, then, the men from the areas and classes which are not adequately represented be expected to give as good an account of themselves? It is all a question of opportunity, training, creation of right environment. Surely, it is not right to emasculate entire populations. Surely it is not righteous to deny to those who wish to serve their country as soldiers the opportunity to do so. Surely the men who come from the other provinces have a greater interest in the fortunes of this land than men drawn from the independent kingdom of Nepal.

Connected with this question is that of a proper army reserve available in time of national emergency. In building up her reserve, England has not resorted to compulsion and it will be agreed generally that, apart from any objection that we may have to it on principle, and I confess I am opposed to it in principle, compulsion in military service is not a practicable proposition. The Indian army has a strength of 1,55,000. The reserve is only about 35,000 only. In England, according to the figures available for 1937, the total number of regular troops was 2,10,000 and the strength of the army reserve amounted to 1,33,000. Modern countries have discovered that an efficient army system requires that men should, after receiving proper training in the regular army, be absorbed in the reserve available for emergencies. You will agree with me that the reserve should be strengthened. Not only have we no adequate reserve but we have hardly any territorial army worth mentioning. Very little effort has been made in the past to

develop it, and there are no adequate opportunities for military training for our young men.

With a more careful husbanding of our resources, with greater Indianization and the reduction of British troops and a more reasonable contribution by Britain towards our defence than she is making at present, it should have been possible for us to attach some importance to our air and naval forces. As it is, a very large portion of our revenue is absorbed in maintaining the land forces and our Defence department has paid so far very little attention to strengthening the Indian air and naval forces. The case for speedy Indianization of the officer ranks has been stated over and over again by us in our resolutions and the resolutions of other public bodies and the legislature. I would not like to tire you by repeating those arguments here. At the present rate it will take centuries for the Indian army to be Indianized. The rate of recruitment to the Royal Indian Navy too is grossly inadequate. A committee will shortly be sitting to consider the question of Indianization. I hope that the composition of this committee will be such as to give public satisfaction. It should be preponderatingly non-official in character. I may also express the hope that its recommendations, if they should turn out to be progressive, will not meet with the same fate as those of the Skeen Committee. What we are entitled to insist upon is a scheme which will Indianize, within a reasonably short period, the officer ranks of the army. Mere tinkering with the problem will satisfy no one. Into the question raised by certain announcements made for increasing the pay and other conditions of service, to the British army in India, I do not propose to enter. I am sure you thoroughly disapprove of the policy which imposes, without any consideration for the Indian tax-payer, fresh burdens on India. We have a committee at present going into the question of army reorganization and the financial contribution that Britain ought to make towards India. It is to be deeply regretted that Indians have been excluded from serving on that committee. I am sure that you will agree, therefore, with the view that was expressed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad that Indian self-respect requires that Indians invited to appear before the Chatfield Committee should decline to do so.

The constitution

I shall now pass on to the constitutional issue. When Lord Irwin declared that Dominion Status was implicit in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 and that a conference would be held at which an effort would be made to arrive at precise agreements with Indian representatives, and that the Indian states would also be represented at this conference, we welcomed the announcement as a definite commitment on the part of Britain to Dominion Status for India and the conference method in which we believed as a necessary sequel to an exclusively British commission. But as years went on, we found that the differences between us and the British statesmen in power were vital, and when the report of the Joint Select Committee was published, we found that our dearest wishes had been ignored and that we were being given a constitution which had many retrograde features and which we felt would retard India's progress towards full responsibility and nationhood. We felt that the price which we were asked to pay for greater freedom in the provinces was not worth paying and we had, Liberals as we were, no option but to take the line that the constitution was

utterly unacceptable and that indeed we were better without it. It was not that we were opposed to federation. There is a mystic unity underlying India and for our part we have always believed—and believed earnestly—that a federation which would unify India is the only right objective for us. Realists as we are, we were not opposed to a defined period of transition and we were even agreeable to reasonable safeguards demonstrably in the interest of India. But a careful study of the constitution as it was proposed by the Joint Select Committee convinced us that it was likely to create blocks in the way of our future progress, and that in recommending it, the committee had not only ignored the memoranda submitted by the Indian delegation, the excellent draft report of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues but also the Prime Minister's declaration at the first conference that the reserve powers shall be so framed as not to prejudice the advance of India to full responsibility. What determined our attitude was the implication of some of the more serious features of the scheme, such for example as (a) the provision that relations of Indian states outside the federal sphere should continue for ever to be with his Majesty's Government, (b) the virtual veto which the scheme gave to rulers of Indian states over constitutional development, (c) the heavy weightage given to the states in representation in the federal legislature, (d) the commercial discrimination clauses which have been so framed as to make it virtually impossible for the Indian Government to give subsidies or bounties to Indian industries, and which are calculated to create new vested interests round them, (e) indirect election to the Federal Assembly which is calculated to split up British India representation and prevent national issues coming up before a national electorate, (f) almost co-equal financial powers of the two Houses and the provisions for immediate joint session to settle disputes, (g) the provisions in regard to the relative strength and power of the two Houses, (h) the communal award which is calculated to make a nationalist solution at some future date more difficult, (i) the financial safeguards and the reservation of monetary policy in the hands of the Governor-General, (j) the provisions in regard to the Federal Railway Authority which would take the railways virtually out of the control of the Federal Government, (k) the provision that Indian states' representatives will be appointed by rulers of states and the voice given to them in matters of purely British-India concern, (l) the absence of any provision in the Act for further constitutional development, (m) finally and most important of all, the absence of any machinery in the Act for the automatic achievement of Dominion Status within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster. These, we felt, were features which would place obstacles to progress on democratic and nationalist lines.

You will thus see that our objection was to certain vital features of the scheme taken as a whole and not to any particular part of it only. The Government of India Act is an accomplished fact and we gladly admit that it has been working in the provinces better than we apprehended. The blocks against which we fought have been created and the only important provisions of the Act which remain to come into operation are those relating to the Federal Executive and the Federal Legislature. Whatever our dissatisfaction with the constitution—and I have not concealed my utter dislike of it—the position at the centre today is intolerable. An irremovable executive has to take its orders from the Secretary of State and regulate its relations with an elected legislature. Often we find that Indian interests have to go to the wall.

With democratic governments in the provinces, friction between the executive and the legislature is likely, if the central constitution is allowed to remain as it is, to grow more and not less. The central constitution cannot and must not be allowed to remain as it is. We feel that the rulers of the Indian states have it within their power to make a contribution to the solution of the problem of a central government by agreeing to send only elected representatives to the legislature. Such action on their part would be deeply appreciated in India, give them immunity from attacks which no Princes' Protection Act can give for party affiliations in the legislature, protect them from being dragged into the vortex of British India controversies and British India party politics, free them as nothing else can, in the federal sphere at all events from interference by the Political department, strengthen their hold over their own subjects and make a real party system at the centre possible. That even in the conditions in which they find themselves, some of their men should on certain occasions have sided with British India representatives is cheering and heartening for those who realize that a great many of the questions with which we have to deal at the centre are of an Indo-British character. We cannot forget that the late Sir Sultan Ahmad Khan was a signatory of the minority report of the Hunter Committee, that General Rajwade threw his weight on the side of progress in the Chetwode Committee and was a co-signatory of the minute associated with the honoured name of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, and that his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner was critical of the monetary policy of the Indian Government at the Round Table Conference. But a nominated block is inherently incompatible with responsible government and the question has perforce to be looked at from the point of view of principle.

No one knows whether federation will materialize and when. No party seems to want it in its present form. As a party we are averse to indulging in threats but we have repeatedly made it clear that we stand for agreed solutions and not imposed ones. We do not believe in imposed solutions. They do not work or work only creakily. They do not settle questions, they merely accentuate them. We have pointed out the directions in which the scheme of federation *must be revised* in the numerous resolutions that we have passed on it. The more important modifications *essential for its successful working* have been set forth in the memoranda of the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference and the draft report of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues. We have pressed for those modifications before and we shall go on pressing for them in future. We have no faith in the method of a constituent assembly. A real constituent assembly, as the experience of history teaches us, can come only as the result of a successful revolution. We do not stand for revolution. We stand for the democratic process, for ordered progress, if you prefer this phrase. We do not profess to know what the advocates of a constituent assembly have in mind. But if what they mean by a constituent assembly is nothing more than a convention or conventions such as those which settled the constitution of Australia, we are prepared to say that that is an aspiration which we share with them. But we dare not blind ourselves to the present communal situation, and with dissensions in our ranks and our experience of the Round Table Conferences, we cannot put it forward as an immediately practicable proposition. We do not know what the ultimate decision in regard to federation will be. Mr. Bose has been saying that if it is imposed, the Congress will resort to mass civil disobedience. That way lies disaster.

We owe it to ourselves and to the country which we love as dearly as Mr. Bose, to utter a warning, in the present tense communal atmosphere, against the dangers of such a course. Fortunately, the wiser heads of the Congress have been keeping discreetly silent. It would, in my humble judgment, be a grievous blunder on the part of democratic provinces to give up in pursuit of a weapon which experience has demonstrated to be a double-edged one, the position of advantage they enjoy at present, the opportunity they possess, within their limited resources, to do constructive work for social and economic uplift and establish correct conventions of responsible government and traditions of democracy, to abandon the lever they possess, to control the tendencies of a centre which, it is apprehended, will be unduly conservative. That is not the way to combat the new constitution. Politics is the art of method and results. Wise statesmanship consists in sizing up situations and devising effective weapons to meet them. Not by refusing to handle the machinery set up at the centre but by utilizing it in an independent, courageous and constructive manner for the removal of those obstacles which the Act has, unfortunately, placed in our way, shall we be able to build up a mighty force which even this extraordinarily rigid constitution will not be able to resist. There is no inconsistency in condemning the framework of the Act and then bending it for the promotion of those ends we believe in. We should despair of the future if we did not believe in the capacity of Indian (including Indian states) and British statesmanship to profit by the experience gained of the Government of India Act in operation. Let us, therefore, take care to see that in an attempt at wrecking the federation, we do not wreck ourselves.

Indian States

I shall with your permission now offer a few observations on the question of the Indian states and the democratization and modernization of their administrations. The developments in British India, the possibility of Federation materializing and the time-spirit have had their inevitable reactions on the Indian states, and the subjects of the Indian states naturally desire that they should have the institutions which we enjoy and which we wish to see developed and expanded. As Liberals who believe in the democratic principle and the British system of jurisprudence it is impossible for us to withhold our sympathy with what is reasonable and legitimate in their demands. We cannot stand for one system in British India and quite another in Indian states. That is quite impossible. It is to be deeply regretted that progress in the two Indias has been unequal. It is a fact which we may and do deeply deplore, but cannot ignore. We are, for our part, quite prepared to recognize that the states are in varying stages of political and educational development, and that what is possible in British India may not perhaps in its entirety be immediately possible in all the Indian states. But neither British nor Indian opinion can be expected to uphold systems of government which are too ante-deluvian for the requirements of the times. We have no desire to dictate to their Highnesses, but as patriotic men who are (we would ask them to believe) not unfriendly to them, we deem it our duty to say that it is imperative in the mutual interests of both the Indias and the smooth working of federation, that the two Indias should have approximately the same standard of government. We would, therefore, urge their Highnesses to declare responsible government as their objective, an objective for the

realization of which they will work as speedily as the circumstances in their respective states will permit, by conceding instalments of responsible or representative government, establishing independent judiciaries, granting fundamental rights including those of free speech and association, limiting their civil lists and establishing the rule of law and the equality of all citizens before the law. It must, in fairness to the more enlightened rulers, be recognized that they have latterly shown an appreciation of the new forces that are at work and in consequence of that, taken steps to modernize their administrations. Constitutional government would strengthen and not weaken their hold over their subjects, as the example of the House of Windsor shows. It would give them a security which personal rule, however benevolent, cannot and a freedom from that paramountcy which is often so irksome to them. We hold it to be imperatively necessary that genuine representative government as a prelude to responsible government should be established in all the states, in some of a more advanced type than in others, but no state should be without it. In some of the states the most advanced type of representative government is possible. In the more advanced states it is possible and desirable to go further and their subjects would be justified in pressing for and the rulers would be wise in conceding to them a substantial instalment of responsible government. What makes an administration worthy of respect is adherence to those canons of good government which were so well emphasized by Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) in a memorandum which was communicated by him to the rulers and which was published by the *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of December 3. We should have been happy if we could with truth say that these canons are adhered to by all state administrations. Subversive activities—activities which sap the foundations of a state—cannot be fought by a denial of freedom of speech, press or association. They can be fought effectively only by bold and comprehensive measures of reform, by recognizing the right of the subject to agitate, in a constitutional manner, for the enlargement of his rights and the redress of his grievances. It may not be possible to have responsible government in its most developed form—we have not got it yet in British India—all at once, but it is possible to have executives which are responsible in spirit if not in strict legal theory, to the feelings and wishes of elected representatives of the people. While it is essential that there should be representative government and the rule of law, we are not among those who desire to see the Indian states eliminated. We could have wished to see them, Indian as they are in origin, excel even British India. But it is the duty of a true friend to be frank, and it is in that spirit that I have ventured to make some observations on state administration. But if it is the duty of the states to be progressive in spirit and their methods of administration, it is equally the duty of the subjects not to resort to violent or heroic methods. We are constitutionalists. We have limited ourselves to certain methods in which we believe. We cannot be expected to stand for one method in British India, and quite another in the Indian states, and particularly those states which offer no obstacles in the way of real, genuine constitutional agitation. Restraint is not a sign of weakness. It is a mark of strength.

Provincial Autonomy

I propose now to invite your attention to the working of provincial autonomy. In estimating its working we must bear in mind (a) that the

constitution being worked is one to which Indian political parties have not agreed, (b) that it is being worked in eight provinces by a party which found itself engaged in direct action at the time when the constitution was being evolved, (c) that the party in power in these provinces had made promises of a new heaven and earth at a time when it had not made up its mind to assume responsibility and was not certain of doing so, (d) that the federal issue is not regarded as being settled, (e) that owing to the system of electorates and the friction between the Congress and the Muslim League, the communal situation has deteriorated, (f) that the country has not recovered from the effects of the economic depression and even in normal times it is extraordinarily poor, (g) that the Congress has an extreme left which has often given trouble to it, (h) that the limited resources and the fixed charges which they have to respect do not make a rapid development of social service possible, and (i) that totalitarian conceptions dominate the world today. If you bear in mind these considerations, you will probably agree with me that it is a matter for satisfaction that the provincial governments, and in them I include the Congress governments also, should have acquitted themselves, generally speaking, as well as they have. The Congress governments are learning what we have always emphasized that liberty has to be reconciled with order, that administration is an art which requires not mere talk but wisdom, sympathy, tact and firmness. Generally speaking, the ministries have approached their talk in a spirit of commendable energy. But while recognizing the success which has attended provincial autonomy—and we must not omit our tribute to the Governors and services also for their admirable spirit of cooperation—it is no part of our duty as independent critics to ignore certain disquieting tendencies. There is a tendency on the part of the leading spokesmen of the Congress to identify it with the nation. Undoubtedly the Congress is a powerful organization and it is the government in eight provinces. But we are thinking in democratic and not totalitarian terms. A constitutional opposition is as essential for the successful operation of democracy as a clean and honest government. There are bodies of men who do not belong to that organization and they have a right to insist that their existence shall not be ignored. Perhaps a reason for this tendency where it exists is that the average man feels that united action under well-directed leadership is necessary in the circumstances in which India, which has not achieved her freedom, finds herself. But that is a line of development which is, in my judgment, no longer open to us. Social and economic questions are coming to the forefront and the introduction of responsible government has made it essential that the country should be able to provide alternative governments to the governments in power. It is to be regretted that the oppositions are weak and often communal in composition. That perhaps is a penalty that we have to pay for our system of electorates.

Further, there is a tendency to rush through legislation without a thorough consideration of its reactions on the social and economic life of the community. Often the procedure of a select committee is dispensed with. You have had an example of this in the Trade Disputes Bill recently before the Bombay legislature. Instances have occurred where the highest courts have had to comment on interference by individual Congressmen with the civil and judicial administrations of their districts. There have been cases of interference even on the part of Congress ministries with judicial process

and with judicial findings. Some Congressmen have sometimes behaved as if they individually had power over district or judicial authorities and complaints have been heard—complaints of which even Congress Governments have had to take notice—of attempting to influence administration otherwise than by means of open discussions in the legislature and other formal procedure. The Criminal Law Amendment Act to which we objected and they objected, has been used to stifle anti-Hindi agitation in Madras. There is too much intolerance in the party and even its leaders are not free from it. A refusal to see the other side of the picture and a belief that wisdom and patriotism are to be found exclusively in their ranks only is characteristic of it.

'High Command'

I shall now come to the institution of the so-called High Command. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you and I are not accustomed to semi-military language, and I confess it is hard for me to understand the reasons which have been used to justify its existence. I can understand the case for national parties; national governments, national coalitions and united fronts. We ourselves are a national party and we have always been opposed to exclusive provincialism. I can understand ministries of different provinces consulting each other and even consulting their party outside the legislatures and keeping in touch with their party machines. But I cannot understand this institution. What is our objective? Is it democracy or is it some abnormal form of democracy unknown to countries in which the liberal state flourishes? That is the vital question raised by the Khare controversy. We are not interested in the personal quarrels between Dr. Khare and his colleagues. But there is a public aspect of the incident which we cannot ignore. That a body of men, however eminent, who are outside the legislature should dictate to the Premier, and his colleagues and that the Prime Minister and his colleagues should, forgetting their responsibility to the legislature, be controlled by them, is something which is quite inconsistent with democracy as we understand it. Healthy conventions of collective responsibility cannot grow if ministers and legislatures are made to take orders from a body outside the legislatures. Just consider what the High Command is. Colleagues can appeal to it against their chief, chiefs can be censured and expelled for asserting their authority, cases in which ministers have taken, rightly or wrongly, certain decisions can be submitted to it for revision, legislation pending before the legislature can be referred to it for settlement. We cannot approve of all this. Even parties which have a revolutionary background, have never developed a machine like the High Command. Parties preserve their integrity and control their extreme elements by other means and the Congress, if it wishes to preserve its integrity and control its heterogenous elements, must devise some other methods of doing so.

Congress Policy

I propose to make some observations on Congress policy in general. I have this to say on their financial policy, that it appears to be a curious mixture of sacrifice of revenue and imposition of new taxes, of ill-judged economies and lavish expenditure on hastily considered schemes.

I have to invite your attention to another feature of Congress policy. One of our complaints against the old bureaucratic government used to be

that it was unwilling or at all events reluctant to separate the judicial from the executive functions. Congressmen too were equally vehement in their non-official days in their condemnation of this combination of functions. But today we find that the attitude of the Congress has undergone a change. Some of their spokesmen have spoken as if they were in love with the present system of combination of functions. The scheme which has been devised in the United Provinces of judicial magistrates is a mere eye-wash. In Bombay too the attitude of the ministry towards this question has, I believe, been equally unsatisfactory. The need for a separation of functions is greater and not less under a system of party and responsible government. Pure justice is the greatest blessing that a civilized state can confer upon its citizens. It is not enough that there should be justice. It is further essential that the public and the parties concerned should have confidence that justice is being done. A scheme which will separate the functions is not impossible of being put into operation immediately. The fact is that the will to separate them is lacking. The desire to control the judiciary has become perhaps as keen with the Congress government as it was with the old bureaucracy.

You will perhaps allow me to offer a few remarks on Congress educational policy. I am not wrong in saying that so far they have evolved no policy. I think you will agree with me in holding that the Wardha scheme is educationally unsound. It is wrong to give to education a severely utilitarian character from the very start. You and I do not want our children and our neighbour's children to be turned into factory workers without even the restrictions which the Factory Act imposes on employers. It has been left to this country to discover that education can be made self-supporting. I should have thought that a party which claims to represent the masses would realize that educational opportunity is fundamental to economic opportunity, that higher education cannot be measured in terms of rupees, annas and pies. In western Australia I found that university education was free. Here it is being urged by responsible spokesmen that universities should be made self-supporting, that they should be turned into mere examining bodies, that cultural education is of no use, and that the *charkha* and the spinning wheel can suffice to make our children grow into intelligent, efficient leaders and workers in an age of machinery and fierce international competition, for world markets. I am—and I think you too—are unrepentant believers in higher education, in well-planned education, which is neither too exclusively literary nor too exclusively vocational. Pressure is needed to keep the Congress governments straight in this matter of education. Expansion of education in all directions—primary, secondary and university—is necessary if this country is to take its proper place among the nations of the world.

The Economic Problem

Gentlemen, the economic issue is, I should say, the gravest of all the issues that face us. There is poverty and hunger and misery in this land. The vast mass of our people have to live in unhealthy conditions and go through life without opportunity to develop their faculties. The purchasing power of millions of our people is almost *nil* and their standard of life consequently too low. No one who has a heart can fail to sympathize with human misery and as Liberals, it has been our endeavour in the past and will continue to be so in the future, to find a solution of the problem of Indian.

poverty which increasing population, the economic depression and the unfair policy of the governments in the past have accentuated. I think you will agree with me that the new provincial governments have yet to evolve a constructive policy of economic development which will be both practical and fair to all the interests involved. I also think that you will agree with me in welcoming the initiative taken in this direction by the recent conference of Congress ministers and other prominent Congressmen. I think you will further agree with me that Government and people should aim at a well-balanced economy and that that requires that agriculture should receive equal attention with industry. A well-directed policy is not possible without the help of the Central Government, but the policy of that Government in recent years has, I think, not been such as to inspire confidence. We should, *inter alia*, press for (a) a reconsideration of the monetary policy and the rupee ratio, (b) a more liberal fiscal policy, (c) bilateral commercial agreements which would expand our export trade, (d) a policy of more active encouragement for our industries and (e) a more active policy of capital expenditure by borrowing on public works. I also hold it essential that there should be more co-operation between capital and labour than there unfortunately is at present if we are to achieve big results. We have always endeavoured to hold the scales between capital and labour even. As men who believe in and stand for social justice, we have always been particularly solicitous for the weaker side. We have always supported whatever has satisfied us is reasonable in the demands of labour and have always pleaded for the human touch in industry. Personally, I have always held fast to the motto of that truly ethical statesman, President Roosevelt, 'humanity before profits'. Healthy trade unionism has always had our full support. We have always supported beneficent labour legislation and indeed, have always pleaded for better conditions for both our industrial and agricultural labourers. But we feel that the present industrial strife is not likely to lead us anywhere. Our principal problems are under-production and under-consumption. We cannot solve the economic problem merely by a better distribution of what we now produce. The crying need is increased production. It is essential that there should be peace and harmony in industry if we are to achieve rapid industrialization. Too many strikes, revolutionary slogans, threats of overthrowing the present social order, the many injustices of which we recognize and seek to redress, by violence or semi-violence, defeat their own object. They do not weaken, they strengthen the forces of reaction. Perhaps you will allow a personal reference. I claim to a friend of labour. I have taken such interest as I could in labour legislation and the work of the International Labour Organization at Geneva and have drawn my inspiration from Geneva. As a friend of labour, I consider it my duty to advise moderation on the part of labour. I hope that responsible labour leaders, some of whom have honoured me with their friendship, will not misunderstand the spirit in which these observations have been made. I am sure they are as keenly alive as I am to the dangers that I have pointed out. I regret to note that provincial governments have taken no steps to constitute consultative and advisory industrial councils which would bring government, employers and employees into closer touch with each other, on the lines suggested by the Whitley Commission.

I should like to make one or two remarks on our attitude towards tenants and landlords. That our sympathies should be with the tenants is

not only understandable but natural and inevitable when you remember that we are Liberals and not Tories. It is not our lack of sympathy with the tenants, or any desire to maintain the *status quo*, (we do not wish it to be maintained as our resolutions show) that has compelled us to criticize certain parts of the Tenancy Bill now before the United Provinces legislature. It is the sense of justice which is the key-stone of Liberalism, that has forced us to point out that it is not proper to impose obligations upon a class and then deny to it adequate facilities to fulfil them. Congress has yet to learn that vote-catching devices are no substitutes for the well-thought-out legislation.

Indians Overseas

With the exception of Zanzibar where an agreement has been reached in regard to the trade in clove the condition of Indians overseas continues to be a source of anxiety.

The position of Indian settlers in South Africa has at no time been satisfactory. It continues to deteriorate and I note with regret that at the Transvaal United Party, which is supposed to be less unsympathetic than the other parties, resolutions were passed suggesting a more stringent application of immigration laws in respect of Asiatics and the formulation of a scheme to prevent "encroachment" by Asiatics in European areas. At the present moment there is sitting in the Transvaal a commission to inquire into the evasions of the Indian community of the laws restricting them from acquiring ownership of land. In our view, the Indian problem in South Africa cannot be solved by making existing laws more stringent but only by granting Indians the elementary right of citizenship now denied to them.

In Kenya the Indian community is perturbed over the proposed Order in Council regarding the reservation of the highland areas to Europeans. Any such statutory recognition would perpetuate a condition of affairs which is not only unjust to Indian settlers but inconsistent with that claim for equality of citizenship which we can never give up.

The question of land tenure and the proposal to tighten existing immigration restrictions in Fiji should also receive our attention.

It is unfortunate that the Royal Commission on the West Indies which has started work in Jamaica has no Indian on it. The report of the Commission will be awaited with interest as we have a considerable Indian population in British Guiana and Trinidad.

An event of major importance is the publication of Sir Edward Jackson's report on Indian emigration to Ceylon. He has expressed the opinion that Indian immigrants have contributed greatly to the development of Ceylon and recommended continuance of import of Indian labour. We can not allow Indian emigration until the policy of the Ceylon Government changes. It is a matter for regret that the Village Communities Ordinance has not been amended on the lines desired by Indian opinion.

In view of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy, it is imperatively obligatory, in my opinion, to make it clear that India is interested in Tanganyika and that she will resent any step which transfers this mandated territory to a totalitarian state which has treated her minorities in the manner Germany has. It is to be hoped that the League of Nations will not be ignored in settling this question. We must insist upon freedom of vote for our

delegates on this question and insist that on this issue they should be bound by the opinions of the Indian legislature.

Liberalism

Ladies and gentlemen, we sometimes feel apprehensive of the future of Liberalism in the modern world and in our own country. In my opinion there is no reason for despair. The truths enshrined in Liberalism are eternal and they cannot die. We, Indian Liberals, realize that our aims and objectives cannot be different from those of our fellow-Liberals in other parts of the world. We find ourselves in a world of conflicting social philosophies and the average man is entitled to know what our particular creed is. You will, therefore, pardon me if I endeavour to re-state the fundamental tenets of Liberalism. Liberalism, which is a child of the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolutionary era and the nineteenth century nationalist movements, stresses the worth of the individual and his capacity for, as well as his right to unfettered development and self-expression. It visualizes a social order, a political and economic system which will provide every individual with a decent standard of life. It stands for the reign of law as against the reign of discretion and proclaims that freedom of thought, speech and association are vital for the growth of the individual. Its conception of liberty is not a merely negative but a positive one. It asserts with enthusiasm and intensity of conviction that only in the democratic state can men and women find real security for good government and the antagonism between the individual and the state be reconciled. It rejects the materialistic conception of history and the doctrines of class war, proletariat dictatorship, world revolution and the labour theory of value. It emphasizes humanity and social solidarity. It affirms the right of all nations, big or small, to work out their destiny without interference by alien imperialism. It works for social justice by diminishing through state action—such for example as the development of social services and the method of taxation—those grosser inequalities of fortune which constitute a blot on modern civilization and make a harmonious growth of human personality impossible. It believes in placing the burden of taxation on those who are best able to bear it, but not so as to be unfair or oppressive. It opposes privilege and monopoly wherever they may be found to exist. It asserts that poverty and all that goes with it—slums, dirt, vice, disease, misery, ignorance and superstition—is revolting to the social conscience and that it is the imperative duty of the community to eradicate it. It stands for equality of opportunity, for a social system in which it shall be possible for all to start life without avoidable handicaps. It endeavours to break down the rigidity of class barriers and maintains that it is the duty of government to be fair to all sections of the community. Unlike a mechanical socialism, it refuses to be bound by the hide-bound dogma of the nationalization of the means of production and distribution as a panacea for all the ills to which society is heir. But it is not opposed to nationalization where and when necessary. It favours, where necessary and desirable,—witness, for example, the American experiment—state intervention in and state regulation and control of the economic life of the community. But it is opposed to regimentation of life. It stands for a dynamic conception of life, for progress, for reform, and not stagnation. Experience has taught it that in human affairs men cannot dispense with gradualness, but gradualness for it implies action and is not,

as Professor Pigou would say, a name for standing still. It believes in a wider and juster diffusion of economic power, and in "the joy of possession." It maintains that only in and through service can the individual achieve perfection and that the power incentive and the possessive instinct must be subordinated to the spirit of service. It aims at the social service state, the ethical state as I prefer to call it. It works for international solidarity, for collective security, for freer trade among nations, for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, for fellowship and brotherhood. And it asserts that the function of law and society and the state is to assist man, to use the words of one of the greatest of liberal thinkers, T. H. Green. "to realize his reason, that is to say, his idea of self-perfection by acting as a member of a social organization in which each contributes to the better being of all the rest", and that, as a recent commentator has pointed out, "the ethical value of the institutions of civil life lies in their operation", as "giving reality to the capacities of will and reason and enabling them to be really exercised." Surely a creed like this can never die. It can die with life itself.

Our Programme

I have endeavoured to state our objectives as I feel that an idealistic background is necessary for a political party. Ideals must have, however, some relation to realities and as men who understand the limitations we have to work under we have advocated only such as I believe them to be practicable and yet not visionary measures as will relieve the distressing poverty of our people. They are based upon a recognition of the legitimate rights of all classes and I am sure, are within the range of practical politics. It has not been our practice to make promises which we cannot fulfil. A perusal of our resolutions will show that we have always urged, *inter alia* (a) a reform of agrarian laws which will be fair to all classes and secure the tenantry in their legitimate rights, principally fixity of tenure and fair rents, (b) embodiment in legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not yet been done, (c) relief of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards, land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement, (d) the adoption of measures to check further fragmentations and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings, (e) substantial aid in the development of industries big and small alike, (f) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of India, (g) legislation for the more adequate protection of labouring classes both in urban and rural areas, (h) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls, (i) a reform of the educational system which, without prejudice to the wider diffusion of higher education, the need for which we recognize, I venture to think more than any other party in the country, would enable our young men by its diverse nature to be diverted to be wealth-producing occupations, (j) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health, particularly in rural areas, and (k) an active policy of temperance reform which will always subordinate considerations of revenue to the welfare of the people. When it is recognized how woefully limited our resources are, every thinking mind will agree with me that even no five-year plan could be more comprehensive than the one put forward by us. We have never considered it honest to put forward programmes which we know we cannot carry through. Would it be incorrect to say that the Congress is finding it difficult.

to redeem its promises now that it is in office ? I will leave it to all impartial men to answer that question.

Civitas Dei

Reflecting over the problems of the modern world, I often feel that the trouble with our civilization is that both in our individual and our collective life, we continue to be guided by the selfish instinct. In modern society individuals like to dominate individuals and nations desire to dominate nations. Great nations have accepted philosophies which teach them that their interests are distinct and separate from those of their neighbours and that indeed they cannot as nations fulfil their mission unless they control and guide for their own ends the lives of other races and peoples. They discover ethical justifications for meddling with the affairs of those who happen to be weaker than themselves and are not prepared to share the privileged positions they enjoy with those who happen to be less fortunately situated. The causes of war are thus rooted deep in the materialistic structure of modern society. They are to be found in the Mephistophelian ideologies which emphasize the national to the exclusion of the international ideal, in the mal-distribution of the world's resources and the unwillingness of those who have the lion's share to agree to a more equitable distribution of them, in the fight for world markets, in systems of national economies, in the worship of force as the supreme manifestation of the state and in utter disbelief in anything beyond and above the material world in which we live. The wars of our period are not, as a thoughtful writer has pointed out, local wars. The maladies from which the world suffers cannot be remedied completely by revision, under pressure, of this treaty or that frontier. They can be cured only by a change in the human spirit and what we need to learn is that what unites men together is what our sages would have called "Dharma" and what we should probably translate as "Duty"—though I think Dharma is more than duty. It is, as I conceive it, the mission of Liberalism, in a world which is suffering from this psychosis of exclusive nationalism and power worship, to emphasize the eternal truth that the human spirit is free, that only in a free atmosphere can the human spirit express the uniqueness of its personality, that it is the business of the community to provide the right environment for this internal growth of the human spirit and that brotherhood and fellowship are needed to enable us to lead the rich and full life which science has made possible for us all. Only a more vigorous Liberalism which emphasizes the solidarity of the human race can lead us to that *civitas dei* of which the Prophets of all religions saw the vision.

After the presidential address Mr. B. N. Gokhale said:—There are certain announcements which the President has asked me to make. The open session is now over and it will meet to-morrow at 12 noon. All members of the Federation; including delegates and members of the Reception Committee will, as is our custom, go into the subjects committee, which will meet at 8-15 p. m. in this hall to consider the draft resolutions to be placed before them by the Reception Committee.

As asked by the President I specially appeal to the delegates from outside and members of the Reception Committee to attend the meeting of the subjects committee and take part in its deliberations.

The Federation then adjourned till 12 noon, on Saturday.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

Saturday, December 30, 1938.

The hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú, President, said: Shall we move up? I think it will be better for the speakers if we move up. I am told that the acoustic properties of this hall are not good. Therefore, it will be more convenient to all concerned if we were a more compact body.

The first resolution, gentlemen, is about our losses.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of the hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna, an ex-President of the Federation, and one of the most distinguished leader of the party, who rendered meritorious services to the cause of the country in diverse ways for nearly 40 years.

I hope, gentlemen, you will pass this resolution standing.

All the delegates stood in their seats and the resolution was declared carried.

President: We have other losses also.

The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pandit Jagat Narayan, Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukerji, Pandit Biswanath Tholal, Pandit Ramchandra Goshain and Mr. G. V. Ganu, who were connected with the Liberal party for a long time. All these Liberals rendered meritorious services to the country in their own way and the Federation offers sympathies to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

We shall pass the resolution standing.

All the delegates stood and the resolution was declared carried.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

President: The next resolution is about the constitution and it is in charge of our distinguished friend, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh of Lucknow. I will ask him to move that resolution.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh: Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows:—

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the constitution, especially as regards the centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde. While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act especially in the direction of (a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of states the right of election of states' representatives, (b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination, (c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the provinces, and (d) making the constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position when there is an irresponsible government in the centre coupled with responsible governments in the provinces is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential for the successful working of the Federal constitution.

Brother-delegates, yesterday when the subjects committee was in session I asked that this resolution should be entrusted to worthier hands. But the subjects committee differed from me and consequently I had to bow to their decision. I am not going to speak at length because as I have often said to my fellow-members of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly I dislike

long speeches intensely and the more so in the warm weather of Bombay. I am not going to refer at any length to the unsatisfactory provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. You, ladies and gentlemen, know just as well as I do the objections that have been raised. Some of them are stated in the resolution. Sometimes I have heard objections, I remember hearing them recently in England, from persons who have taken an interest in the Government of India Act to the effect that it is quite impossible for Parliament to change the Act in view of the great divergence of opinion on various provisions between the different political bodies of India—the Congress, the Muslim League, the Liberal Conference, the All-India Christian Association and so forth. But my reply has been and is that there are many provisions in that Act to which objection is general and shared by all political associations in India. Who is there, for instance, who has a word to say in favour of the general policy of mistrust so far as defence is concerned, so far as foreign relations go and so far as the control over imperial services is concerned.

Let me take one or two other matters about which we are all aware. There is the unnecessary provision which enables the Governor-General to have a Financial Adviser; then there is the Statutory Railway Authority; then there are various other safeguards which many in India thought and still think are unsatisfactory. Therefore, there is, I am sure that you will agree with me, a consensus of opinion that there are many provisions in the Act which can be changed with the full approval of the various political associations in India.

Then it is said: "Oh, it is premature to ask Parliament to come into session again and change the Act". But ladies and gentlemen, Parliament has changed British relations with other countries during the last few years. Have we not heard of the change of British relations *vis-a-vis* Egypt? They are quite different in 1938 from what they were five or six years ago. Then I daresay, you have seen in the papers quite recently that the whole question of the Ceylon constitution is under re-consideration. There is a considerable chance of Ceylon's constitution being changed and more power given to the Cabinet and to the elected representatives of the people than in the case under the present constitution. Therefore, Sir, I stoutly challenge the notion that it is impossible for Parliament to be brought together again to make changes in the Government of India Act of 1935.

Now, Sir, you will notice that—I refer in particular to the second portion of the resolution when I say that of one thing, we all are convinced, *viz.*, that the present position is intolerable and it is as anomalous as it is undesirable. You have at present a number of provincial autonomous or semi-autonomous governments working in subordination to an irresponsible executive at the centre. Further that irresponsible executive is faced by a legislature which has perforce to be irresponsible because the legislature knows that nothing that it can do is able to remove the irresponsible executive and to substitute it by popular representatives. That is a vital objection from our point of view. Therefore, anything is better than a continuation of the existing state of affairs which I repeat is both unsatisfactory and anomalous.

I come to the last part of the resolution, which urges that the modifications to which reference is made are essential to the successful working of the Federal constitution. There is not a single party in India which would not subscribe to this resolution. We are all agreed that a change is necessary.

I do not think it necessary for us to commit ourselves to any final opinion as regards the action that we should take if Federation is forced upon us. So far as I am aware the largest political party in this country, the Congress, have not made up their mind on the subject. Nor has the Muslim League—although the latest resolution of the League is somewhat different from the most intransigent language in which the resolution of last year was couched. It is certain that Federation is not likely to come at the earliest before 1940. Much more water will have flown before that date. Events in Europe are moving rapidly. The international situation changes daily. Who can tell what will be the world situation by March 1940? The internal situation in India is undergoing modification and important questions such as the rights of subjects of Indian states, the treatment of minorities by the Congress and other important questions are cropping up. One thing of course is certain. We, as Liberals, are fundamentally opposed to anything in the nature of mass civil disobedience. That is diametrically opposed to the very basis of our creed which is progress by constitutional means.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am of opinion that if we look back to the past we can be satisfied that some important changes have come about in the government of India and in British rule in India by constitutional agitation. The civil disobedience movement was not started, if my memory serves me right, till 1920 or 1921, whereas the important declaration of the British Government regarding the grant of responsible Government to India was made as early as 1917 or 1918, that is to say, before civil disobedience was started or even known in this country. I do not despair of constitutional agitation succeeding. I am convinced that the British Government whether they wish it or not, whether there is or is not mass civil disobedience with its great toll of suffering will in the lifetime of many of us grant responsible government to this country, because they know that from their own point of view an unsatisfied India is a source of weakness, especially at a time when Great Britain itself is faced with considerable difficulties in Europe.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have very little more to say except that as regards the working of the provincial constitution the anticipations of the Liberal party have proved correct. They have consistently urged that the Provincial Constitution, unsatisfactory though it was and is, should be worked. Who accepted the views of the Liberal Party? No less a body than the Indian National Congress. I say, speaking only for the United Provinces, and I say it gladly, that on the whole and subject to certain qualifications, the Congress Government have worked well. Only this summer Lord Zetland, with whom I was talking for a few minutes, put this question to me. 'In your opinion how have the Congress government in the United Provinces done?' I replied that on the whole (I used that qualification) the Congress Ministry had done well. Its legislation has been almost entirely of a nature which is bound to commend itself to the Liberal Party. Even the Tenancy Bill, in spite of certain important defects, is on the whole a beneficial measure, inasmuch as it promotes the interests of the tenantry in the United Provinces.

There are difficulties before the Congress Governments. As our worthy president said in the admirable address which he delivered yesterday afternoon, they have been sometimes stampeded into legislation, and, I am:

sorry to say, that communal feelings are worse in the U. P. than at any time. I have known in my experience of 30 years. That is a serious situation and I think that it shows the great necessity for the Congress to deal in a liberal spirit with the minorities. For unless there is some sort of agreement between the Muslims and the Hindus and the other minority communities there is bound to be trouble in store for India even after a Federal constitution has been evolved.

I am sure that you will give your unanimous support to the resolution, which I have had the honour to move.

President: We have to go through a number of resolutions and therefore I am forced to put a time limit of 15 minutes for the proposer and 10 minutes for the seconders and supporters. This of course will not be strictly enforced in the case of speakers who are interesting or whom the audience would like to hear.

Dr. G. S. Mahajani (Poona), in seconding the resolution, said: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, In seconding the resolution so ably proposed by Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh I need only make a running commentary on its several parts. The first sentence only reiterates that our party as such is dissatisfied with the whole of the Government of India Act. That is understandable because the whole Act derives its power from Parliament and not from the people. Let us, however, leave aside that academic objection.

Coming to the second sentence, the Government of India Act proposes three things: first provincial autonomy, next the idea of Federation and thirdly, the scheme of the Federation. We welcome the idea of Federation but we are opposed to the scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act. That is the second part.

Now what is our specific complaint? Our demands were set forth fully and clearly in the joint memorandum that was submitted by the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference. Those demands were rejected. The question that one might legitimately ask at this stage is this: If those demands were rejected at that stage, what is the use of our passing this resolution now? And I am going to answer that in a few minutes. Considerable changes have taken place since that time, namely, a tremendous sanction has been created in the country because of the fact that in as many as 8 provinces the strongest party in the country has formed governments and that sanction together with the international situation and other circumstances with which the British Government is faced, has rendered this opportunity a particularly favourable one to emphasize our demands. We are told that many of the changes will have to be incorporated only by an amendment of the Government of India Act. But there are many changes which can be effected by a mere issue of Orders-in-Council. And even if an amending Act is required, a Parliament which could pass the necessary legislation at the time of the abdication of King Edward VIII, can, if it has the will, make the amendments required in no time.

The last part of the resolution states our irreducible minimum requirements before Federation can at all be made a working proposition. Otherwise it will not be workable as a scheme. Now let us turn to the four alterations suggested. The first is clearing up the position of the Princes and

securing for the state subjects the right of election. That roughly describes the attitude of our party to the question of the states. When the resolution on Federation came up for discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council I remarked in the Council that the Liberal party would be satisfied if a condition precedent to the entry of the states to the Federation was made that every ruler should make a declaration similar to the declaration of 1917 that responsible Government is the goal of the states' policy and that our immediate demand was that some sort of sanction should be secured for the representatives of the states to the Federal Legislature. This is what I understand by "clearing of the position of the Princes" and securing the right of election to the states' representatives. The second alteration suggested is doing away with safeguards regarding the monetary policy and commercial discrimination. We were told that these commercial safeguards were introduced because of the wild talk of the Congress members themselves. Now we are in a position to fight this contention of the British Government. They themselves, *i. e.*, the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and several British statesmen are now vying with each other in paying compliments to the sense of responsibility with which the Congress governments are functioning in several provinces. "Are you really afraid" we can ask, "that the powers that would be conferred and that we ask to be conferred will be misused? You have yourselves seen how provincial autonomy is being worked; how a sense of responsibility is being shown and therefore, is there really any need for the retention of these commercial safeguards which you introduced, on your own showing, because of the wild talk of Congressmen"? The fact is that whereas under the former constitution we had the fiscal autonomy convention, under which if the India Government and the Legislature agreed on a fiscal question the Secretary of State did not interfere, under the present constitution that has been taken away by the introduction of these commercial safeguards. And to that extent the present Act is retrograde. Therefore, our irreducible minimum demand is: Let us at least have the fiscal autonomy convention.

Next we come to the third suggestion mentioned in the resolution, namely, the question of introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the provinces. We are often told that the communal award and communal electorates are direct results of our own dissensions. The hollowness of this pretext is exposed when we come to consider the attitude of Government on the question of direct elections. The Montagu-Chelmsford report observes "We consider that the system of indirect election should be stopped. It is one main cause of the unreality that characterises the existing councils because it prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the voter." On this point we can say that there has been and is complete unanimity of all parties in this country. No one ever wanted the principle of indirect election. Why has it been thrust upon us? We can easily understand their motive, in taking away the principle of direct election, which is a salutary corrective to the growth of provincial jealousies consequent upon the working of the Provincial Autonomy. The motive is to weaken our fight with the British Government. Let me now go to the fourth point mentioned in this resolution, namely, making the constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time. In the whole of the Government

of India Act, Sir, the words "dominion status" have been studiously avoided. In the old constitution a provision existed that after a lapse of every ten years there would be a commission of inquiry to determine the further stage of political advance. No such thing has been provided for here. It is for that reason that we insist that there must be some provision for the automatic growth of the Federal structure into a full Dominion Status.

The other day when Lord Lothian was in Poona he asked "Why not wait for two or three years, work the Federal constitution and then let people who work it make suggestions and ask for modifications?" The answer to that is: "The constitution is so rigid that when once it is brought into being even the slightest change cannot be effected without the consent of the Princes and not a comma can be altered without going through that combrous procedure". Why should we willingly accept such a position? We have, Sir, defined our attitude in a constructive way. That is, whatever our other demands may be these four demands are our irreducible minimum. That is a running commentary on this resolution.

With these words, Sir, I second the resolution.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, in supporting the resolution, said: Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been very ably proposed and seconded shows the defects of Federation which the British Parliament wishes to establish in India. We are not opposed to the idea of the Federation itself, but we are opposed to the particular form of Federation because it is based upon the distrust of the Indian people. The British Parliament in framing this constitution of the Federation has shown very clearly that they place no reliance upon any section of the Indian people including the Princes, and the wealthy classes and of course the poor people. If they had confidence in the Princes with the Princes wishing to come into Federation they would have given power to the Federal Government in regard to defence and foreign affairs. But in spite of the fact that the Princes are to come into Federation defence, foreign affairs and political matters are kept out of the scope of the authority of the Federal Legislature and Federal Government. The British Parliament also distrusts the ordinary people in India. In order that the power to be transferred to Indians should not pass into the hands of the ordinary people they have created very strange devices. Dr. Mahajani has told you that they have introduced indirect election to the Lower House of the Federal Legislature. It is an unheard of thing in the whole world that the Lower House should be elected by indirect election while the Upper House should be elected by direct election. This device was created in order that the ordinary people should not exercise their due weight in the Federal constitution. We naturally do not like this Federation.

There is another reason why we do not approve of this Federation. It has been pointed out to you that the Indian states have been given special powers and special favours in this Federation. It is true that the British Parliament has no confidence in any section of the Indian people, but between the different sections of the Indian people they have more faith, more confidence in the Princes, in spite of the fact that generally speaking people do not trust the words of Kings. In the first place the Princes have been given power over British Indian administration while the representatives of British India will not have power over subjects administered in Indian states.

Secondly, there is no guarantee that the representatives of Indian states will be elected. We therefore insist by this resolution that the representatives of Indian states will be elected. Moreover there are negotiations going on today between the Governor-General and the rulers of Indian states as to the subjects regarding which there will be a Federal administration between the Indian states and British India. The Indian Princes are free to federate with British India as regards certain subjects. They are free to make certain reservations. As regards these subjects on which there is to be Federation and as regards reservations negotiations are going on between the Governor-General and the rulers of Indian states and as citizens of British India, we protest that these negotiations are being carried on behind our backs. In this Federation it is not that the Governor-General and the Princes are alone interested. As a matter of fact the larger section of the population interested in the Federation is the people of British India. It is therefore natural that we should feel aggrieved that the terms upon which the Indian Princes are to join the Federation should be negotiated and settled behind the backs of the Indian people. I therefore hope that the people of British India will insist that the Governor-General will take the people into confidence and before he accepts the terms upon which the rulers of Indian states will be allowed to federate with British India, these terms will be placed before the British Indian public and their approval will be secured to these terms.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federation as it has been proposed has several defects. It is therefore our duty to see that these defects are removed and I have no doubt in my mind that if people in India agitate and make vigorous efforts to secure changes which we desire it is quite possible that these changes will be made. But let us remember the habit and character of the British people. The British people do not understand an appeal or even a request. They understand agitation. If you agitate and make it hot for them they will take our appeals and requests into consideration. I therefore suggest to the people in India, especially to the Liberals, that if we want certain changes to be made in the constitution in order that the constitution should be acceptable to us let us carry on our agitation ceaselessly and vigorously. If you carry on the agitation it is possible that our requests and appeals will be heard. Let us therefore not remain content with the constitution as it is and let us hope that the agitation will succeed.

Mr. B. N. Gokhale : Brother and sister delegates, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. There are one or two aspects in regard to this resolution which deserve some notice. Ours is a middle party and owing to the position of our party in politics our pronouncements are liable to be misrepresented by people on both sides. I will give you a very curious instance of this. At Satara in April last we passed a resolution regarding certain amendments with respect to powers of local boards in connection with the Primary Education Act, and you will be surprised to learn that the very next day our resolution was quoted in the local Legislative Assembly both by the Government and the Opposition. That is the position which our party occupies and therefore we have to be very careful as regards the framing of our resolutions. If you look to the second paragraph of the resolution it clears one misconception. Last year the Under Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that the Liberal Party was a party which had actually urged the expedition of the introduction of the Federal part of the Govern-

ment of India Act. Now, it is not true to say that we are anxious to have Federation at the centre because we are in love with the provisions of the Government of India Act. We have condemned it as retrograde, and because it contains features which are most obnoxious to nationalist opinion. But we want responsibility to be introduced in the centre for the simple reason that that is the understanding arrived at the Round Table Conference. You will remember, ladies and gentlemen, that when the Round Table Conference was proceeding, our leaders refused to look at any scheme of provincial autonomy unless it was accompanied by responsibility, and substantial responsibility at that, at the centre. That was the very basis of the discussions at the Round Table Conference. When we therefore say that the Federal structures should be put into operation we do not do it on the ground that we are in love with the provisions of the Government of India Act, but because the continuance of an irresponsible executive at the centre is intolerable when provincial autonomy is working in the provinces. That is the basic idea of the second paragraph of this resolution.

The second thing that I would like to bring to your notice is this. The attitude of the Liberal Party has been misrepresented as a standing invitation to the Princes and all the reactionary forces in the country to stiffen their demands. It has been misrepresented as an actual invitation to the Princes to get something more from the British Government. If you look to Clause (a) of the resolution, if you will look to the fourth resolution, which will be placed before you, it is a complete repudiation of the charge that has been levelled against us. We are not, we cannot, by our very principles be the supporters of retrograde demands that are likely to be made by the Princes. We have always consistently said that we do not want any further concessions to be made to the Princes and by passing this resolution we will be making it quite clear that unless the irreducible demands are satisfied it will not be possible for the country to work the Act. These are the two points which I have to emphasise because they will help to dispel serious misconceptions about the attitude of the Liberal Party. With these words I support the resolution.

Mr. L. G. Sabnis (Dharwar.) In further supporting the resolution and commending it to your acceptance I wish just to say a few words. This resolution is on a very important subject which concerns the destinies of India. It is impossible within the limited time allotted to me to expose the various defects inherent in the constitution of 1935. I cannot, however, do better than refer you once again to the very masterly address which our worthy President has delivered. He has marshalled in it all the various defects of the constitution at pages 16 and 17. The previous speakers, too, have elaborated the defects which call for our imperative consideration and that of the British people as also for rectification. In England there was a peculiar political atmosphere when the scheme was being hammered out. With what was considered as wild talk implying the virtual repudiation of debts, indulged in by Congressmen at the time, it was natural that London City interests should take fright and get panicky. We, therefore, find the whole Constitution Act charged with a spirit of distrust and suspicion. It is not an Act which has been framed with the free assent of the two partners. The senior partner has treated the junior partner with a great deal of distrust, but now since the provincial Part of the constitution is

functioning and the provincial governments are worked by Congress parties which, though distrusted years ago, are now winning golden opinions all round there is no reason why the British Government should not change their views, revise their opinions and make the scheme acceptable. I do not wish to inflict on you any further remarks on this subject. I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

President:—The resolution has been moved, seconded and supported. Is it your pleasure that it should be carried.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye:—The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows:—

(I) The National Liberal Federation of India notes with satisfaction that in all the provinces, provincial autonomy as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference so far from the Governors, and trusts that this atmosphere will continue and soon lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces. (II) the Federation strongly deprecates the manner in which the Working Committee of the Congress Party has tried to impose its will and decisions on the provincial ministries in provinces where the party has formed ministries. Such interference is calculated very seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government in the country.

The experience that we have obtained for over a year and a half now has shown that the Liberal Party has been wise in its time and that the advice that it has been giving to Indian political opinion to work the new Government of India Act in the provinces has borne good fruit. I know that in the provinces where the Congress Party was in a majority they hesitated for a certain amount of time and perhaps to show their difference from others they tried to negotiate with the Governors about the way in which they would exercise their powers. But even though they did not get anything tangible in the form of an undertaking not to interfere with the ministries the Congress majorities did form ministries and the last 20 months have shown that the ministries have been working smoothly and that the Governors have not been interfering with their work. In fact, nobody expected that Governors would interfere with their work. Even in olden days under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms we found that when public opinion was behind the Ministers Governors generally did not interfere with the Ministers although of course in those days they had much greater power of delaying matters and putting in various kinds of obstructions. But ultimately Governors generally yielded to the declared wishes of their Ministers when they knew that the Ministers were fully supported by the Legislative Councils. During the last 20 months in the Congress provinces, the Congress ministries, as is generally admitted, on the whole have done well and the only reflection that one can make upon their work is that they appear like young men who are too much in a hurry. They want to do all things all at once and consequently many of their measures are dictated by this feeling of too great a hurry by their desiring to show results immediately without taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case.

Now, administration and legislation are comparatively difficult matters. They require a considerable amount of study, deep consideration of all relevant matters and with all the strenuous energy which the Congress

ministries have been putting into their work it is not possible for any human agency to do effectively in a very short time what the Congress are promising to do. If the Congress ministries had undertaken to tackle a comparatively smaller number of subjects, but thoroughly and efficiently and after taking into consideration all the attendant circumstances they might have shown better results. I give the ministries fullest credit for their intentions and I do not wish to make their task more difficult because I know that the more extreme left wing of their own party are a hindrance in their way. It is really creditable that they have tackled the various subjects as satisfactorily as they have done. All that we say is that they were making too many promises when they never expected to have responsibility in their own hands and several of those promises have come home to roost and they are often driven to explaining away their own advocacy of various matters. But I am sure they will learn in future that absurd promises should not be given because they may not be able to carry them out when they have responsibility. They talked a lot about immediate repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and one expected that as soon as they came into power the first thing that they would do was to repeal the Act. But what do we find? Not only have they not done so but they have been making use of this very Act, which they previously condemned. In Madras they have been using its various provisions for stopping the anti-Hindi agitation. I do not desire to go into the merits or demerits of the Hindi question, but I certainly take leave to say that the way of stopping that agitation is not to make use of these extra powers, of these "lawless laws" as they used to be called, but the way to stop that agitation or to take the wind off their sails was to argue with the opponents and to convince the people that what they were doing was really good for the province. All that I say is that their methods of dealing with it have not been consistent with their own advocacy in times gone by.

One can talk about many other matters. In this province for instance you have had the use of these powers in stopping meetings at Sholapur and other places. I suppose actual administrators have to do some of these things and talking in an irresponsible position is quite different from acting when responsibility is thrust upon you. All that I say is that when they had not words strong enough to abuse us when we were in power, I think we are entitled to throw those same words back in their faces and say: 'Now you see what your own experiences have been.'

Now, ladies and gentlemen, on the whole, however, I do give the Congress ministries credit for their good intentions and also for a good part of the work they have done. Some people like myself who might be termed left wing liberals might feel that on some points they have been too mild. As regards the provisions of the Tenancy Bill itself, as it is proposed in this province, I think it is too mild and I would have gone further than what the Congress ministries have proposed. I have no fear of the word 'socialism.' If any measures appeal to my reason as being in the best interests of the people I have no hesitation in advocating them even if they are called communistic or socialistic. I only look at a measure from the point of view of usefulness to the people and the way in which it is conducive to the well being of the mass of people. Some of these things appear to have been done in too much hurry and many of them are apparently not well thought out.

The second part of the resolution I am proposing is very important and shows the great danger that lies before our Congress ministries. In particular, their supposed advocacy of a democratic form of government is going to land them ultimately into a form of dictatorship. We have now Congress ministries in several provinces. One would have thought that according to ordinary canons of democratic government ministries are supposed to be responsible to the members in the legislature and through them to the electors in the country. But what do we find? Every time any question arises, everybody takes a train to Wardha to find out what the High Command thinks. The elected members and the voters who have elected them are left in the background entirely. It is only the High Command—two or three or four people who are to dictate to them how to manage affairs. In fact, they decide even the personnel of the ministries. I think this is an entire negation of real democracy and responsible government. It is a shortcut to the kind of dictatorship which they have in Germany or Italy or even in Russia. There we have one or two men who manage all the affairs and in this country also we are going in the same direction. Here, for instance, one gentleman, estimable though he may be, is supposed to keep in leading strings the Congress ministries, in Bombay, Central Provinces and one or two other provinces. Another gentleman, honourable and estimable, is supposed to keep other ministries in leading strings. Now do you think this is really responsible government, responsible to the elected members of the legislatures? I think that it is the shortest road to autocracy or dictatorship. I do not desire that our country should have any form of dictatorship. We want an elected democratic government in the country and therefore we do not desire that this High Command should interfere with the administrations of the provinces in the way we have seen it being done in the last 20 months. I quite understand that a political party which is spread all over the country should ensure that the general line of policy should be fairly uniform all over the country. They should meet once or twice a year and lay down the general lines of policy. No one could object to that. We would welcome it. But in each province the questions are different. The tenancy problem, for instance, in Bombay is quite different from the tenancy problem in the United Provinces and still more different from that in Bihar or Bengal. Similarly on other questions, we think that the Congress Working Committee is quite justified in having meetings twice or thrice during the year and laying down general lines of policy so that the various provinces should not differ from each other too widely but they should leave them the fullest liberty of action, and this we feel is not being done at present. We have a state of things in this country when even a fly sneezes you have to run to Wardha to find out what remedy could be had for such a case. And then you have got Mr. Gandhi; however great a man he may be, he is supposed to be an authority on every subject under the sun. We do not agree that one man, however great he may be, is capable of giving a solution to all questions, if it is a matter dealing with education we have the Wardha scheme; if it is medicine there is Mr. Gandhi telling us all about it; if it is about industries there is Mr. Gandhi again; prohibition—still Mr. Gandhi, everywhere the same thing and I really get tired of one man doing all these things, and laying down the law in every single matter. I do not think any human being is qualified to do this, and I think

the ministry should be entitled to deal with these matters themselves, to study these questions from their own points of view and from the point of the conditions in the provinces and then lay down and map out their own line of action. On some matters apparently they are going much too fast. They have laid down lines of policy which on the one hand involve large amount of expenditure and on the other hand they are equally giving away money and the resources of the provinces. On the question of prohibition for instance. I am as keen on the question of prohibition as any Congressman can be—but I would like to go slow. To do away with an income of two or three crores out of a total income of 12 crores and at the same time lay down policies which will involve a further expenditure of three or four crores upon various schemes of national uplift appears to my practical mind to be very difficult. I think therefore they should look carefully before undertaking any particular measures and then and then alone will those measures really succeed. As I have said, on the whole, I agree that the Congress ministries have done well. But I protest against the quite obvious tendency of a growing system of dictatorship—this growing power of the High Command—which is ultimately going to lead India into a position which I do not welcome at all and against which I protest from the bottom of my heart. I hope therefore you will pass this resolution unanimously.

Diwan Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Nagpur), in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. President, Brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—At a meeting of a party like this it is first necessary for me to tell you the necessity of a resolution like this at our hands. If a Congressman were to say that it is no business of ours to pass a resolution of approbation on what they are doing what answer shall we give. I suppose we can very well say that we are glad that they have seen the wisdom of what we were saying before, and that time and circumstances have justified that, even they, with their flamboyancy are compelled to act in the way we said men must act if they have the good of the country at heart. After all the present Congressmen are as cousins to us and we have every right in telling them what we think of them. They used to shower epithets on us but we refuse to follow them in this respect and tell them frankly, but without abuse that they are working well on the whole. We do not hide from them that they are not working as well as we should expect them but that they are working well in many respects and we are glad on that account. I have no doubt in my mind that if they were to follow in our footsteps they will be doing more good to the country than they in their ways. That they are retracing their steps gradually is evident to any one who cares to mark carefully. For instance when the Congress party decided to accept office they said they were going to do so to wreck the constitution, but what is the actuality now. They are working the constitution and if we read the signs correctly they will stick to office more than others did. The Congress ministries will realize as time goes on that the good of the country lies in wise and concerted action and not in high sounding speeches and catch phrases. Now how do we judge that the Congress ministries in the provinces are working well. The test is to see from the point of view of the man in the street. A man in the street comes in contact with government in three or four respects, in the matter of income and expenditure and in respect of protection of property and person. Let us see how the Congress ministries are faring in these vital respects. In the matter of income and expenditure though one might say they are working well on

the whole they seem to throw away money by one hand and try to catch it by another. My friend, Dr. Paranjape, has told you that they have thrown away about three crores in what they call the prohibition campaign. In my province they are also about to throw away a good bit and the ministry is at pains to make up the deficiency in other ways. While everyone agrees that prohibition of drink is a laudable act it does not follow that the money gained by taxing people who drink is necessarily tainted money. It is a tax on luxury and if other luxuries can be taxed why not this luxury. But our friends in the Congress dislike taking a thing on its own merit. It must glitter, carry popular fancy or imagination with otherwise it is not worth having. Shall we not be right if we say that they are throwing money by one hand and try to catch it by the other hand? I am sure they will not be able to raise the required amount by other taxes. The ministries do not see the wisdom of taking other people into their confidence. They are in the habit of saying, nay they even go to the length of preaching that they stand for "government of the people, by the people and for the people". One may concede that, since Congress is in the majority in the provincial assemblies, that it is a government of the people and by the people but one can certainly assert that it is not *for* the people,—certainly not *for all* the people at any rate. Things will get on much better if the ministries were to take other people into confidence rather than run to Wardha or to the so-called High Command for everything whether suitable or unsuitable from the point of view of the general public—I mean the public consisting of the Congress people and the non-Congress people. I happen to be nearer to Wardha and I am able to see how trains run quicker in that direction. As Dr. Paranjape said and I vouch for it as I am on "Wardha Road" at Nagpur and so get the dust of travellers' cars on me, what actually happens is that when a difficult problem arises no solution is found at Nagpur. A trip to Wardha is planned and wisdom is imported, but the danger of a charge of files missing is there. (Laughter). Surely this is not the way to govern a province with any prestige and may I humbly ask Congress itself, how can it expect the ministries to function in a democratic spirit if their actions and even decisions are to be guided by one man or a body of men who are not responsible to the electors. If the Congress has no trust in their own people that they would follow its policy, why boast of a united and a strong party and boast of Government by the people and for the people? Why not own that we prefer autocracy to democracy? What I always feel is that the Congress people have a dictionary of their own and that their own words have meanings different from what we ordinary men are taught they have. When they say they are in for wrecking the Constitution we must understand them to mean they are for working the Constitution. When they say they are for democracy we must take it that they are for a one-man rule. When they were not in power they started a no-payment of taxes campaign. Their followers tried this trick on them when they took office and I heard a Prime Minister say to his people that he knew they had money and that they could pay, and that if they did not pay he would not give them notoriety by coercive processes, but, as a servant of the people, he would be obliged to close down schools, and dispensaries, roads and things of that kind. I used to listen to speeches like this from the brown bearocrats, but in authority brown or black is the same.

Things in the provinces will be better if the ministries are allowed a free hand, if they are trusted more by the Congress cotery or High Command. The Congress must unlearn the method of governing through the medium of an esoteric circle. The evil effects of governing in this fashion were patent to us in our province at the time of the Khare episode to which the President has alluded in his address. This episode demonstrates what the latter half of the resolution says. Now what was that episode? It was this. Dr. Khare was the trusted leader of the Congress Party up to the time of the elections. He was unanimously elected the leader of the party and thus by the unanimous consent of his own partymen he became the Prime Minister. Some difference arose between him and his colleagues and he thought it was impossible for him to get on with some of his colleagues. He and his friends in the ministry resigned. Some of his colleagues would not go out and the Governor, on the assurance of the leader of the majority party, terminated the offices of the rest. Dr. Khare formed a new ministry and that was the inexpiable sin he committed. Now instead of the C. P. Assembly Congress Party finding fault with him and dismissing him from the party, he was hounded out at Wardha. India was shocked because this was not the democratic way of doing things. But as I said before, Congress has different meanings for the words they use. They persist in saying that there was a danger to the whole nation, that Dr. Khare became a traitor to the cause and that even the Governor was to blame in the matter. We at Nagpur were not at difficulty in understanding all this language because we could see that within the Congress there is one-man rule. The inner circle of the Congress imagined that Dr. Khare was a party to dangerous conspiracy to undermine the prestige and power of the Congress and that the Governor of the province was not free from blame in this respect. Facts were, however, different. But we are not concerned with this episode that it demonstrates how far the Congress ideals of government are from the true principles of democracy as we understand it. The episode is of importance to us only because we do not wish the Congress to drift into facism. As I said before, Congress people say one thing and mean another. This reminds me of a story of a priest who went to another man and put him a question and told him that he had the fullest freedom to answer. The priest asked; "Are you a believer in God" and told the man that he had the liberty of his conscience but reminded him of the fact that he shot down a man who told him that he did not believe in God. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I support the resolution that is put before you by Dr. Paranjape.

Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad) in a Hindi speech said that the fact that the Congress was working the constitution was a triumph of the Liberal Party. He believed that it would have been possible for any other party in office to achieve the results that had been achieved by the Congress. He regretted that the Congress ministries were not working in accordance with the mandate of the people but at the dictation of the High Command. He supported the resolution.

Dr. P. N. Daruvala (Bombay).—The resolution which I have the honour to support has been read out by the proposer and he has said that in spite of the various difference that existed between this party and the political party which is now in power the trend of legislation has gone to show that they are working for the uplift of the masses and they have a very ambitious programme before them. But we must not forget that in

the realization of this great and lofty object there is bound to be some inconsistency. We must give credit where credit is due to those who have government in their charge. The very aim and object with which the Congress was started was to bring India on the lines of the colonies and now is an opportunity for us to show that having obtained the reins of office in our own hands we are capable of achieving that object. Constructive measures with a constructive genius to guide will lead us to our cherished aim. Here during the last 20 months that the present Government has come into power they have shown that they have got a constructive policy, that they have got a sense of responsibility and they have done well for the betterment and the upliftment of the people. They have been working ceaselessly and conscientiously. But in doing so they are committing a mistake and it is our bounden duty to see that they are not perpetuating the tyranny of autocracy, namely, having an outside agency which is not responsible to the electorate and outside the legislature to dictate. All along the constitutional principle of government is that these ministers should take their oath of allegiance and bind themselves to carry the work of legislation and they are responsible to the legislature. They cannot do away with the responsibility which they have undertaken towards all those who have chosen to return them. Unless and until that principle is dinned into the ears of the ministers who have accepted office democracy will be in danger, and they cannot be said to have carried out the autonomy for which this Act has been drafted. This provincial autonomy for which we have been working for so long has no doubt some limitations but whilst working it we must see that it does not become an instrument of tyranny and dictation by influences which are not within the four corners of the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council. After all it is the elector and the representative whom he has chosen between whom the real responsibility should exist. This principle must be thoroughly grasped.

The resolution was put to vote and unanimously carried.

Economic Development

President :—The next resolution is on the Indian states, but with your permission I am going to take the resolution on economic development for this reason that Sir Govindrao Pradhan is not well. Mr. A. D. Shroff, who was to have moved the resolution originally has written to say that he has suddenly taken ill, and Sir Govindrao who is moving it in his place is also not feeling quite well. I suppose Prof. Kelkar will have no objection.

Sir Govindrao Pradhan (Thana).—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen: You have just now heard from the President that the original mover of this resolution is ill and the man who is asked to step in his place is getting ill. So naturally you cannot expect that elucidation of the resolution which I shall presently read to you. Some of you must have played Kho Kho. When Kho is said you have got to get up and run whether you like it or not. I am now trying to run in whatever way I may be able to do. In the first place I will read the resolution as it is on the agenda :

The Federation advocates legislation intended to secure

- (a) a reform of agrarian laws which while fair to all classes will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights and in particular security of tenure and fair rents ;

- (b) the embodiment in Legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not been done;
- (c) the relief of agricultural indebtedness and adoption of measures to check further fragmentation and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings.
- (d) substantial aid in the development of industries, big and small alike;
- (e) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country;
- (f) legislation for the more adequate protection of labouring classes both in urban and rural areas;
- (g) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls;
- (h) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas.

You will find that this is a many-sided resolution and it touches the social and economic life of everybody. So far we have discussed politics, and we have got to discuss two or three more resolutions which also touch politics. But this resolution touches the every day life of everybody. At the outset let me repeat what my friend Dr. Paranjpye has just now said that we do not want any hasty legislation; we do not think that government are such omniscient men that they do not want any other point of view. However enlightened a man may be he has got to take the advice of others. That is exactly the reason why portfolios are divided between so many men. There is a cabinet and members of the cabinet put their heads together and bring forth legislation. We want legislation no doubt but not hasty legislation. We want legislation which will treat all classes equally. Now I will take parts (a) and (b) of the resolution together. Many of you must have read the Land Revenue Code of Bombay. The Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1919 laid down that the way in which land assessment should be levied should be embodied in an enactment. That has not been done during all these years. The executive do not think that their acts should be open to revision by the judiciary. That is why Government do not wish that the manner of land assessment should be embodied by way of legislation. They do not want to risk that legislation being interpreted by different courts in different ways. So this Federation desires that the principles upon which land assessment should be levied should be embodied in a legislative enactment so that it will not depend on the caprices and whims of different revenue authorities. Further this resolution also demands a reform of agrarian laws which, while being fair to all classes, will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights. My friend, Dr. Paranjpye, was not satisfied with the legislation which is going to be brought forward in regard to the tenants' rights. What that form of legislation should be is left to the persons in authority. But I would submit to them that you cannot do away with the class of landlords in every case. The tenants are so poor that they have not got the capital to invest for the improvement of the lands, so let us have a fair distribution of the yield between the Government,

landlord and the tenant. There should be fixity of tenure, fixity of land revenue but no arbitrary legislation. The tenant should get a proper return for the improvements effected by him on the land.

Now I come to parts (c) and (d) of the resolution. As regards relief of agricultural indebtedness there are usury laws and interest laws, but when you make a law you have got to consider that agriculturists oftentimes require money for their cultivation. The co-operative credit societies and other bodies are not able to supply that capital which the cultivator needs. The moneylender often comes to the rescue of the cultivator and in framing the laws care should be taken to see that no hardship is caused to the agriculturists. This clause also refers to fragmentation. In 1928 Sir Chunilal Mehta prepared a bill to which he devoted very great labour for preventing fragmentation. But then he being a member of the bureaucracy, he and his colleagues of the executive council were considered to be fools. It was thought that he was taking away lands of tenants and making legislation which would ruin them. But now wisdom has dawned. Then a procession went from Poona city to the Council hall to oppose Sir Chunilal's Fragmentation Bill. I was a Minister in charge of P. W. D. then and I had to lock the doors of the Council hall gardens to prevent the processionists from getting in. All persons in office then were considered to be persons who could never do anything proper. All that labour which my friend then devoted was thrown away. He withdrew the bill and now not only we but even the Congress Government are clamouring to prevent further fragmentation. They know there are uneconomic holdings and the cultivators are not able to hold their own.

Then I turn to part (d) which refers to the giving of substantial aid in the development of industries, big and small alike and part (e) which refers to a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country. I will take both these parts together. Necessarily the policy of every country is to develop industries in the country itself. But as we know if a child has to walk even though with crutches it has to have legs. If it has no legs then it can't stand even with crutches. So in giving protection to industries we must bear in mind only those industries which are likely to take root in this land. In pursuing such a policy you must see that the consumer is not saddled with high prices. What we say is that in laying down the monetary and fiscal policies we should support only such industries which will be capable of standing upon their own legs. The fiscal policy can only be regulated by persons in power at the centre. There was a dispute about the ratio. The Government of India turned down the whole thing. When all the people say that a particular ratio is in the interests of the country, that a sympathetic Government must consider the pros and cons of the question and not say that because a particular thing had been done it cannot be undone. I believe that until this question is solved any legislation intended to ameliorate the condition of the agriculturists will be of no avail.

Now as regards part (f), in bringing any legislation for the protection of the labour classes by way of reducing the number of hours of work or increasing wages you have got to consider the state of the industry and adopt measures which will not come in the way of the indigenous industries competing with the imports. If your industries cannot compete with incoming products, then it means that there is something wrong with it. All these

factors have got to be taken into consideration and this can be done only by representatives of capital and labour putting their heads together. At present there are strikes, which cause losses both to labour and capital. That state of affairs must be prevented, and there must be legislation which will satisfy both labour and capital. A committee is now in session and I hope that its efforts will have good results.

Then I turn to parts (g) and (h), namely, the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for boys and girls and adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas. On the question of free and compulsory education I do not agree that it should be made free for all children. I have always been contending against the principle which will give free education to Sir Cowasji Jehangir's son as well as to the cultivator's son. There is no reason why the sons and daughters of rich men should be educated free along with the sons and daughters of poor people. That is my personal view.

Now as regards (h) there is a good deal of discussion now going on. I myself am a great believer in Ayurveda and homeopathy. I have found that allopathy is not everything. Of course it is a progressive science, but it does not provide remedies for every disease. We will of course keep in touch with the progress made by allopathy but at the same time we must not neglect the Ayurvedic, Unani and the Homeopathic systems of medicine. In the last there are several medicines which are not only cheap but which are also effective. By medical relief I do not think that the idea of Government to send doctors to 10 or 15 or 20 villages will be of any good. But even now more than 90 per cent. of the people are being treated by indigenous medicines. This resolution means that room must be found to encourage Ayurvedic and Homeopathic along with allopathy. The medicines must be cheap and the villages must be able to pay for them.

These are the different items on which the Liberal party expects Government to pass legislation. With these remarks I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

President : We have got a very heavy programme and I hope the delegates will co-operate with us.

Prof. M. R. Dhekne (Poona) : I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been so ably moved by Sir Govindrao Pradhan. I do not want to cover the whole ground which he has covered, but I will confine myself to item (e) namely, that the Federation advocates legislation in India to secure a fiscal and monetary policy only in the interests of the country. Now if all that is advocated in the resolution, namely, legislation for the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the provinces, free education, and medical facilities, if all this kind of reform is to be achieved in every province, then each province is likely to have an embarrassing situation, because their revenues are dwindling while there is a growing need for expenditure. Nobody is so keenly interested in the revenues or monetary policy of a province and the recent move that was made by Mr. Bose in regard to the revision of the monetary policy was ably supported by the Congress provinces. I for one feel that there is an immediate need to revise the exchange policy of the Government of India. The present ratio was effected in the year 1927. More than a decade has passed. Since then, and as a result of the exchange policy

of the Government of India the peasant class has been affected. The incidence of indebtedness has increased, the purchasing power has gone down and even industries have been affected. From recent reports we find that imports have increased and exports have dwindled down and the balance of trade is against India. Besides as a result of the ratio, unemployment has increased. Unfortunately we do not have statistics of unemployment in this country especially in regard to agriculture. The Central Government have a balanced budget, but we have an unbalanced budget of the whole country. The Central Government has effected equilibrium in the budget at the cost of the poor people of the country. There are certain implications behind the exchange policy of the Government of India. The Central Government is directly interested in sterling values on account of the salaries of British officers.

Now let us see what other countries are doing. You will find that during the last five or six years other countries have utilized exchange policy as a weapon to combat depression. All the western countries have utilized the exchange policy to keep up the volume of employment and the purchasing power of the agriculturists. But the Government of India in spite of repeated demands for revision have flouted public opinion. If we have to improve the lot of the peasants and if the provincial governments must balance their budgets a revision of the exchange policy is necessary. Agricultural credit and a reduction in the foreign imports—these are necessary if the purchasing power and balance of trade are to be maintained. The time is quite opportune for the revision, revaluation and reconstruction of the exchange policy. All the legislation which the provincial government want to effect in regard to indebtedness, medical facilities, etc., will be impossible if the provinces are going to have dwindled revenues. I gladly support this resolution.

Mr. P. G. Mehendarge (Ahmednagar) in further supporting the resolution said :—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates and ladies and gentlemen,—You have heard the speeches of two eminent speakers on this resolution. I stand here to support the resolution. The resolution as it is placed before us seems to my mind to be rather cumbrous. I shall say a few words about the proposed tenancy legislation which is shortly to become law, defining the relations of tenants and landlords in the mofussil. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Congress party, which is the party in power in a great number of provinces, has promised the voters that they would do their best to relieve the labouring classes, urban as well as rural, of the several disabilities under which they are labouring for the present.

For the labourer in the urban area, they have promised to give him employment, with minimum working hours per day, a decent standard of wages, with provision for accident and sickness.

They have also another measure, the Moneylenders' Bill to relieve him from the harassment of the moneylender.

They then turn their attention to the rural area. They propose to relieve the rural labourer, who is a labourer on agricultural land, by proposing to make him a permanent tenant of the land which he is cultivating as a tenant, with certain restrictions. They have also a scheme of appointing Conciliation Boards to deal with the indebtedness of the agriculturist class. We admit that the Congress party is actuated with good motives; but in

their zeal to satisfy the voters they are likely to forget the evil tendency of the human mind. It is not on the strength of laws that a nation becomes great. We have to educate the people, raise their standard of morality, teach them to respect the rights of others, and make them honest, hard-working and industrious, and teach them to respect law and order. It is thus that we can make our nation great. Laws should only be as guides.

The ways of the Congress party seem to me to be fantastic, they seem to believe that by certain general programmes of legislation they can make the people happy.

Human institutions should be based on human principles taking into consideration the evil as well as the good tendencies of the human mind.

As regards the Liberal Party, I cannot but say, that it is high time for us to leave our easy chairs and try to understand the people, and explain to them as to why our ways are more sound, our ideals more human, and also more practicable.

As regards the tenancy legislation, I have to say only one thing, namely, that an honest tenant should not be evicted without a reasonable ground and an honest landlord should be in a position to evict a mischievous tenant.

With these words I commend the resolution for your approval.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Reform in the Indian States

Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Poona):—The resolution which I am asked to move reads as follows :

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India welcomes the proclamations by the rulers of several Indian states to grant to their subjects an increasingly greater association with their administrations, developing into responsible government as their goal.
- (b) The Federation re-affirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.
- (c) The Federation trusts that the rulers of all states will realize in their own interests that, with the working of autonomous responsible government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing basis. The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects without any further delay the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, an independent judiciary, and to initiate measures for the establishment of responsible government.

With your permission I shall try to deal with the various points not exactly in the order in which they are placed herewith according to my own convenience. I shall deal with the second point. We extend our sympathies to the subjects of the Indian states in their struggle for self-government, firstly because we are Liberals and as such it is our bounden duty to side always with the underdog. But that is not my only point. We must sympathize with them because if we do not do so it will not be in our own interests. It will be detrimental to our own safety. It is in the higher interests of our country that I sympathize with their claims.

You know that the President has ably dealt with the coming danger of a major war in Europe. and perhaps economic troubles are going to follow. When these things are looming ahead it is absolutely necessary to insist that British India and Indian India should stand together. This is possible if we have a common idea and a common political organ for developing our strength. Now this is possible only if Federation is entered into. That does not mean that I support any kind of Federation. We have already made it clear that we want a much better kind of Federation than the one proposed to be imposed on us and the best foundation for such a federation is the contentment of all the people whether they are subjects of British India or they are the subjects of Indian states.

Since we sympathize with their aspirations it follows that it is our duty to welcome everything being done to fulfil those aspirations. A certain number of states—Cochin, Sangli and Aundh—have issued proclamations and they have given certain rights to their subjects, but we cannot forget the fact that such Princes are very few, perhaps not more than half a dozen. Now there are a very large number of states, I think they are about 650 in number. Even the rights given to these states are not very extensive. They have the diarchical systems of government, the benefit of which we enjoyed some 20 years ago. That shows how far behind the states are. But we cannot quarrel with this situation because there have been historical circumstances which were too powerful for us. You will also see from the map of India that Indian states are placed far away from the centres of commerce and culture. They are out of the way altogether. It is quite in the nature of things, therefore, that they have lagged behind a great deal in political reforms when compared with the subjects of British India and a certain amount of time must be allowed to them. At the same time we must warn the Princes to remember one or two things that have recently taken place. The Viceroy—Lord Irwin, Lord Willingdon and Lord Linlithgow—have continuously at the annual meetings of the Chamber of Princes advised the Princes in most earnest terms to improve their administrations and to make them more sympathetic towards the people. One ingenious gentleman, the Dewan of an Indian state, stated that the treaties stood in the way of the Princes granting to their subjects certain rights. Immediately Lord Winterton explained that that was not the position. In fact things have gone further. I am just quoting to you a small incident which happened in my own state, the state of Kurundwad (Senior) in the Southern Maratha country. The ruler of the state is a minor and the Regency Government issued a proclamation very recently with the consent of the Political Agent to the Government of India. I am not a lawyer and I am not going into the niceties of law. It may be or may not be for minority government to sign away the rights of a minor when he is to come of age within two or three years. But what I am concerned with is the consent of the Political Agent. Those who have some knowledge, even the slightest acquaintance, of how affairs are managed in these Indian states, particularly as between the Political Agents and the Chiefs, they know that consent means something quite different. Consent means practically compulsion on the part of the imperial agent. The fact that the Agent to the Governor General has given this consent to the issue of the proclamation shows that even the Imperial Government have lost patience with the slow march of these states. The Congress dictator, the last friend of

the Princes, has issued a recent warning in no uncertain terms that unless the Princes improve there are dark days before them. The Princes must bear in mind that they have moved hitherto too slowly. I am not uttering any threats. It is not in my nature to do that. It has never been the custom of the Liberal Party to do so. But it is our duty to warn the Princes of the coming danger.

Let me now turn to the third part of the resolution which deals with a certain number of reforms. I may sum up those reforms by using one single word that the reforms suggested here are only a submission. The Princes are asked to give to their subjects only fundamental rights. I would go a little further and suggest that they should limit their privy purse and they should set an example in regard to economy. I may go a little further and say that these Indian states are an illustration of political fragmentation as we see it in agricultural holdings. They make things uneconomic and inefficient and bring several other evils in their train. They should form small federations of their own, but that is not a point with which I am concerned at the present moment. My concern is only that they must so arrange matters that the immediate promises are that self-government would be the ultimate goal of the Indian states and that it would be reached by the people of the Indian states in the near future. If they promise that let them follow their own methods and their own time table, provided the words 'too late' are not attendant on all reforms.

Mr. K. D. Acharya (Bombay):—I am before you today to speak on a resolution which affects me very much, the reason being that I am a born subject of an Indian state. I know a great deal about Indian states. I know what the sufferings, trials and tribulations of the Indian states' subjects are. Gentlemen, you have got to look at this problem not merely from a state point of view but from your own, the British Indian point of view, if you want an all-India Federation. Therefore you must have a Federation which is homogeneous and which is of a harmonious character. Gentlemen, if you get a paralytic limb to carry, the whole body will suffer, and suffer politically very much. That is one reason why I tell you, gentlemen of British India, that it is essential that the Indian states should come to the level of your political advancement before they are considered fit to federate with you. We are all constitutionalists, we are all democrats and democracy is a principle which we cannot deny to the state subjects. It has often been emphasized that there are different degrees of progressive states. Whose fault is that? Why have not those states progressed properly. It has been the result of the sins of omission and commission of their rulers in the past. Do you mean to say, gentlemen, that a party that has committed these laches and who does not come before the bar of equity with clean hands has got the right of presenting any excuse? States have not got clean hands in the matter. They have hindered the progress of their subjects by not looking after the nation-building departments. Therefore, it does not lie in their mouth to say that the progress of democratization can be only slow. I say therefore that if in British India you are to have responsible government within a very short time the same type of responsible government should be given to the states and the states' subjects equally soon. I will not detain you by recounting to you the various disabilities under which we suffer. If Pax Britannica has done

any great evil, that evil has been done mainly to the subjects of the Indian states. The Indian states used to look in the past before Pax Britannica, for their very existence to the strength of their cadets and their clansmen on the financial stability of their merchants and their money-lenders and to the contentment of the people placed in their care in order that their crown of thorns could be secure. At that time they were fearing either a likely invader from without or a usurper from within. All these safeguards have disappeared, because they have the power of the British bayonet behind them. They can indent for a military force, just as a man indents for grocery from a shopkeeper. By analysing the various troubles that have taken place in the different states, I find that the instrument of oppression in these states today is the retired Government official of India, whether brown, black, yellow or pink. That raises another question: whether it is permissible for the Government of India to permit their retired officers to shield states in their shortcomings. Some states are making progress but the pace of progress is so slow that one despairs. We must place all the emphasis that we can on this resolution in an unanimous way in order that the poor struggling subjects of the states' could be freed from their many disabilities and their lot could be improved and bettered. I had a great deal to say but the time is short, so I will complete by supporting the resolution very heartily. I could have given you instances of tyranny and oppression which would have simply made you shudder.

Mr. K. R. Pradhan (Jalgaon): It is past three and I will try to be as short as possible. I support the proposition so ably moved. The proposition to my mind assumes many things. Some rights have been given to the subjects of some states. I for myself do not think that any rights have been given. The proposition assumes that the people are capable of exercising the rights as they are given to them. I do not think that the people are capable of exercising those rights. Surely, I submit political rights are never given; they have to be taken; they have to be deserved first and then they have to be taken. While agreeing with the proposition I would say that nobody would ever part with power unless compelled to do so. That is against human nature. Of course with our usual spirit we have worded the proposition, but unless the subjects of the native states try to be fit to exercise the powers and unless they assert their claims they will not get anything at all. I remember the days when people of Indian states used to ridicule us, now that they see the fruits of agitation in British India they are stirring themselves. However, I will not detain you now any further. I very very strongly support the proposition and commend the same to you for your acceptance.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

President: It is now 3-10 p. m. and I am told that the Reception Committee has provided something for us which we shall all appreciate. Members of the Reception Committee and the delegates are invited to tea and we shall meet again at 3-45 p. m. I hope you will all assemble in large numbers after tea and not disappear. Tea is provided only on that condition.

The Federation then adjourned for tea.

Defence.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye: The resolution which I have the honour to move reads as follows :—

1. The National Liberal Federation of India records its protest that the Government of India Act of 1935 does not provide for a close association of the responsible part of the Federal Government with the defence of the country.

2. The Federation strongly deprecates the exclusion of Indians from membership of the Chatfield Committee.

3. In spite of the huge and intolerable burden of military expenditure borne by the country since the inception of the British rule, the Government have utterly failed in their duty to equip the country adequately for defensive purposes. The Federation re-iterates its demand for (a) the rapid nationalization of the defence forces of India involving the replacement of British Troops and the Royal Air Force by Indian Land and Air Forces and the substitution of the Indian for European officers in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the country; (b) the redistribution of the existing defence expenditure so as to provide more money for the rapid development of the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army; (c) the removal of Provincial and Communal restrictions regarding recruitment to the Army; (d) a wider expansion of the University Training Corps and the selection of cadets from that Corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy; (e) the introduction of military drill and the establishment of a cadet corps in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee; and (f) taking all necessary steps to make the people of this country more self-reliant in the matter of defence.

4. In view of the tense international situation suggesting possibilities of a European War, which may render Indian ports and coastal towns liable to air raids by hostile sea-borne aircraft, involving use of explosive, incendiary and gas-bombs against civil population of this country, this Federation urges upon the Government the need to undertake a more systematic organization of Air Raid Precaution measures, including anti-gas training, protection against incendiary and gas bombs, organization of fire-fighting squads and other allied Air Raid Precaution services.

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen,

The resolution covers such a wide ground that it is impossible to speak on more than one or two points contained in that resolution. If we look at the international situation as you, Sir, did very clearly yesterday, we find that the position of India so far as its defence is concerned has become quite different from what it was a few years ago and especially before the great war. Many years before the great war the military policy of the country was dominated by the fear of Russia, but the Russian bogey having been practically laid after the Russo-Japanese war India had only to consider her frontiers so far as her defence requirements were concerned. During the great war India did not experience the horrors of war, except for one or two incidents like that of the Emden at Madras and a few shipwrecks on the west coast of India. The position now, however, has completely altered during the last two or three years. On the one hand, the British naval strength is not at all overwhelming as it used to be before the war. If, therefore, any danger arises to India of a major kind which cannot be met by the Indian military forces by themselves it will not be possible for Great Britain to send reinforcements immediately for the defence of the country because first of all their navy will be required for their home defence and the naval routes are no longer safe on account of the recent Abyssinian trouble and the consolidation of the Italian naval supremacy in the Red Sea and to a certain extent in the Arabian Sea. On account of this India will have at least to depend for several months upon her own resources. The

defence problem has thus assumed quite a different character from what it did a few years ago. Unfortunately, our Government has been in this matter exceedingly shortsighted. Its policy since the time of the mutiny has been based upon a policy of distrust of the general Indian population and its military recruitment has been practically confined to a few races in the north, in the Punjab, and the independent state of Nepal. The basis of Indian recruitment being thus small, the vast man power of India instead of being a strength to the country has almost become its weakness and therefore if India is to be self-sufficient in the matter of defence a change and a vital change has got to be made in the military policy of the country. Instead of confining military recruitment to the few parts of the country and to a few communities supposed to be martial, Indian recruitment has got to be broadbased and people from all parts of the country have to be taken into the ranks of the army. Of course, we saw a couple of days ago a strong protest on the part of the Prime Minister of the Punjab who wanted the monopoly of the Punjab so far as military service was concerned to be continued and he made a strong protest that any change in the military policy will be very strongly resented by the Punjabis. What we intend, however, is not to reduce the recruitment from the Punjab but to increase the recruitment from other provinces. 100 years ago there was no such distinction as martial and non-martial races. People from Madras, from these parts and even from Bengal and other parts were freely recruited into the ranks of the army and several of them were also officers. That policy has now been entirely changed on account of the distrust felt by the British after the mutiny and the recruitment has been confined to a very small part of the country.

Now the last war showed that wars of the future are not going to be wars between a few regular divisions of the army. They will be wars covering the whole population of every country. Other countries are giving military training to every single man in their country and women are also being trained to do certain work which would be useful during times of war. In India no such thing has been done. I have explained to you that on account of the change in the naval position it would not be possible for India to get help from abroad within a very short time. Further, owing to the development of the air arm in very recent years it is not only on account of the naval forces of other countries that India is in danger but development of aeroplanes has brought India almost within the range of active hostility and it will be quite possible for Indian towns, especially the coastal towns, to be attacked by aeroplanes operating from air-craft carriers and so on. Bombay, for instance, would be in a good deal of danger from aeroplanes from the west, having their main base on the east coast of Africa and being launched from ships in the Arabian Sea. On account of this India has got to be very well prepared and prepared by itself for its own defence, and it is a pity that our Government has not been doing its duty in this matter. Government are still wedded to the idea that Indian troops and British troops must have a certain ratio and that if that ratio were altered it would be a great danger to the existence of the British Empire. I should like to point out to our rulers that if they take the Indian people into their confidence and make Indians more responsible for their own defence India will no longer be a liability to the

British Commonwealth but it will be a much greater asset than it has been at any time before. Even in the last war India contributed a million soldiers. India can provide several million trained soldiers provided they are properly trained and proper measures are taken to recruit them. I do not think in these days a distinction can be drawn between martial and non-martial races. The last war showed that men who are confined to their offices became after a few months' training very good soldiers and acquitted themselves well and helped to win the war for the allies. I do not know why the same thing should not happen in this country. War is a matter more of brains than of brawn. I do not think Indians lack brains. They can easily be trained to be efficient soldiers. The present policy requires to be fundamentally altered. India has been spending very large amounts every year for her defence. Indians have not had anything to do in the matter of saying how that money is to be spent. We have been spending Rs. 45 crores, it was Rs. 65 crores some years ago, for her defence and we feel that we are not getting a proper value for that money. One of the ways of utilizing the money in a better way is to replace British units by Indian units in much larger numbers. If this is done a better value can be obtained for the money spent. The thing required is a change of heart on the part of the British Government, a wider outlook and a much better outlook for the future. That unfortunately they are not doing and it is therefore that Indians complain as regards the military policy.

Military defence has got many facets—the army, the navy and the air force. The navy is a very expensive business. It takes 14 or 15 million pounds to have a battleship of the first class. On the other hand, air defence is comparatively cheaper and easier and it ought to be easy within a very few years to make India self-sufficient so far as the air arm is concerned, not only as regards personnel but also as regards the manufacture of aeroplanes. If Indian industries of the higher class are properly organized it will be possible for India to manufacture her air requirements so far as aeroplanes are concerned and so far as the equipment is concerned. So far as the major units of the navy are concerned, we shall have to depend upon the British Government.

This brings me to the general question of Dominion Status as against Independence. One of the points why we advocate Dominion Status as against Independence is that India for many years to come is not likely to be self-sufficient in all these branches of defence. So far as the army and the air force are concerned, we may become self-sufficient, but so far as naval defences are concerned we cannot be self-sufficient for many years to come, and India has enormously long unprotected coast lines and we will have to have help not only from Great Britain but from the empire.

What is required is really making use of the man power. At present, of course, we people are hardly able to make any intelligent and expert contribution to the problem of defence. We have all been kept away from any matters of defence. People generally talk only about generalities. They cannot talk about details of defence simply because all educated people have been practically kept away from any knowledge on defence matters. I think Indians generally should be trained first of all to take a more intelligent and intelligible interest in these matters and young men should also be trained to a certain extent so that they may consider the possibility of entering the

military profession. Recently, in the last few years, there has been a certain amount of movement in this matter by the establishment of the University Training Corps, but they are exceedingly few and to my mind if this corps is extended it will spread the knowledge of military matters and will give a certain amount of military atmosphere to the minds of our younger men and thus make preparation for our defence easier for ourselves. I have always and for years been advocating that for students of the universities a certain amount of military training should be made compulsory if they are physically fit. But I have always been ridiculed and I have been told that I have been talking too much of things of an impracticable nature. But in every other country all youths do take some training. Even in England they are having a register of all able-bodied men in the country. This is not compulsory but in a few years registration will have to be compulsory if voluntary registration fails. Our young men in India also should be made military-minded. It is only then that we shall have made a start with having a defence policy of our own. In any case if we put before us the ideal of self-sufficient India and of an India able to pull her weight in the British Commonwealth of Nations or even of an India independent of the British Commonwealth, India has got to take care of her own defence.

There is philosophy current in our own country that Ahimsa ought to be the ideal of everybody. If we declare to all others that we do not desire to attack them then, it is said, others will not attack us. I am afraid I am too much of a man of the world and feel that all this talk is a talk in the wilderness. Nobody will listen to that. It will be hopeless to deal with people on the Frontier by sending advocates of Ahimsa to tell them, "We do not want to attack you, you had better stay in your mountain fastnesses." Then they will only come and take whatever we have. I think unless we are properly able to defend ourselves, India's independence or Dominion Status will not be long-lived. I think the shortsighted policy of the British Government might prove a great disaster not only to India but to the British Empire and we hope that the Government will follow a wiser and saner policy and see that the country has changed enormously and that it is not the same as it was 10, 15 or 20 years ago. Both the people of India and our Government have got to make radical changes in their military outlook, make use of all the man power and natural resources of our country to make India self-sufficient for her defence. I am therefore proposing to you these various aspects of the question. Even now Indians have been kept at arm's length in various matters. Look at the Chatfield Committee. It has to deal with vital problems of Indian defence and Indians have been entirely kept out. It is such a gross insult to our national self-respect that even moderates like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have advocated the boycotting of that Committee and have suggested that we should not give evidence before that Committee. It shows that Government is not yet learning. Let us hope that it will not learn the lesson too late not only for England but also for India. I hope you will pass this resolution unanimously.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said :—I really do not know why I have been selected to speak on the subject. I have had no experience of military life nor have I got a military appearance.

Dr. Paranjpye, you will all agree, was the right person to move this proposition. He has not only had considerable experience of the University Training Corps, both as Principal of the Fergusson College and as Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, but his appearance makes one feel that he must have had some experience of military life.

In my opinion, this is one of the most important resolutions brought before this conference. The Indianization of the army has been one of the questions on which there is no difference of opinion in this country. The preliminary steps taken by Government to indianize the army have given us the so-called Indianized units, the training corps in the different universities and the various units attached to the Indian Territorial Force. As the Chairman of the Unit Advisory Committees, I am not only connected with the training corps of the Bombay University but also with the Bombay Urban Infantry of the Indian Territorial Force. We have also got the Indian Army Reserve Officers. The U. T. C. is no doubt very popular and has been a success, but I cannot say the same of the other steps taken by Government to Indianize the army on account of the racial distinctions made between Indians and the Europeans and the lack of facilities for proper training. What we most emphatically object to is that distinctions are made between Indians and Europeans doing one and the same work and occupying the same position in the army. After all you will agree that if a distinction has to be made, it should be in favour of the citizens of the country and not in favour of outsiders. While we appreciate the change in the outlook on the part of the authorities and the greater realization of the need of Indianizing the defence forces of the country, we cannot but express our strong condemnation of the present state of affairs. The half-hearted policy of the Government is not only going to frustrate the very object in view but is going to alienate more and more the people of this country from the British Government and the people of Britain. The British Government must realize that with the introduction of the new constitution the days of their domination are over. As it is, the introduction of autonomy in the provinces has pushed the British element in the administration completely to the background, and once our people get to work the Federal constitution, imperfect as it is, the British domination in the centre must also gradually disappear. We, Liberals, value the British connection because we have, always, felt and still feel that this connection is in the interest of our country. The connection can be kept up only if the people of Britain realize that in future their relations with the people of India should be on the basis of equal partnership and not as it has hitherto been on the basis of domination, however enlightened this domination might have been in the past. As regards the Defence question, the British government must realize that they can no longer rely merely on a professional army for the defence of the country. The time has come for pursuing more intensively the policy of encouraging the growth and establishment of citizen armies. I have already referred to the great success achieved by the University Training Corps. I believe even the Commander-in-Chief has testified to the efficiency of several University units. As regards the Indian Territorial Force, if it has got to be a real success and not a mere eye-wash, both the government and the commercial houses will have to join hands so that there is not only an increase in the

strength of the force but that the units are turned into real fighting units. The employers should be compelled to give facilities to their employees to join the territorial force and also to take full advantage of the facilities afforded by the authorities for military training. But in my opinion even these steps will not solve the problem. We must start military training from the school stage. Most of the European schools in India have got their cadet corps, while Indian schools have to be satisfied with boy scout troops. The cadet corps are not a purely school organization. They function like the U. T. C. under the auspices of the Defence department. They have to go through regular drills, shooting and camp exercises. It is high time that the Government took up the problem of introducing cadet corps in Indian schools. The question of Indianization of the army has never been solved satisfactorily without the introduction of military training in schools and colleges.

One word about the fetish which is always being made about the martial and non-martial races. As a member of the governing body of the training ship *DUFFERIN*, I have had considerable experience of selection of young boys for the sea career and it has been our experience that many a young boy who cannot boast of either martial or naval ancestry and in some cases whose ancestors have never seen the sea, has made good as a sailor. Some of these boys in fact hold commissions in the Royal Indian Navy. I myself believe in traditions but my confirmed belief is that young boys picked up at the proper age and given the proper training can be turned into efficient soldiers or sailors. I therefore again say that the problem has to be tackled from the very root, that is, from the school-going stage. The question is no longer merely a question of Indianization but the nationalization of the Indian army. Great Britain has already begun to part with political power and you will all agree that so far the British have parted with power in the provinces with grace and they will soon have to begin the process in the centre. Mere transfer of power will not, however, bring them credit unless they realize that it is as much in the interests of Great Britain, Dominions and India that India should be able to stand on her own legs in the matter of her defence.

Mr. N. C. Bharucha (Bombay) in supporting the resolution, said: I propose to confine myself to the last part of this resolution which deals with air raid precautions in India. Already two speakers have drawn your attention to the fact that in the next war India runs the risk of air raids from hostile seaborne air-craft. Perhaps the danger is not adequately appreciated by us in India because in the course of the last war India experienced a wave of commercial prosperity and escaped unscathed from the direct consequences of the war. The result is that we are lulled into a false sense of security that the next war will proceed on the same lines as the last war. I am afraid this delusion will have to be removed. As our President put it, India must realize that she is part of the bigger world, and I may add, an uglier world. To-day there is nothing to prevent our cities from being bombarded because we have neither adequate naval nor air defence. I will give you some idea of the comparative strength of the various Powers. To-day the first line strength of Russia is 5,000 aeroplanes. Germany has 3,500 first-line planes. Italy and France have each got first-line strength of 2,700 planes. Britain hopes to have 1,750 first-line planes

by March, 1939, and India has got strength of 98 planes, half of which are locked up in the North-West Frontier province. In the event of a war therefore it would be easy for an enemy Power like Germany or Japan to despatch a small fraction of its air force on an air-craft carrier or refugee cruisers and threaten the shores of this country. Mr. Baldwin, when he was Premier, said: 'I want the people to know that no power on earth can prevent them from being bombed. The bomber will always get through.'

In the case of India this is doubly applicable, because you have an air force which is inadequate even for scouting purposes. Supposing a couple of cruisers carrying only a squadron of twelve bombers come within 200 miles of Bombay, Calcutta or Karachi, what are you going to do about it? What is the strength of the Indian navy? We have five sloops and may possibly have six war-ships. Is this adequate to defend your 5,000 miles of our coastline? This small navy cannot hold up any of the bombers. Ordinarily it was found in the last war that it took nine fighting planes to intercept one bomber from getting through and as a rule if a squadron of 12 planes attacked a city, 11 succeeded in getting through. They were often attacked only on their return journey after they had already done serious damage.

Now let us see what power of destruction modern bombers are capable of. There are the high explosive bombs, incendiary bombs and gas bombs. I shall confine myself to describing what incendiary bombs which have not been tried even in Spain or China are capable of achieving. A new type of bomb which sets ablaze any target into which it falls weighs 2 lb. and is known as the 'kilo' bomb. Immediately it explodes, it burns with a temperature of over 2000 F. One modern bomber can carry 2,000 such bombs. Now imagine a couple of cruisers coming here carrying only one squadron of bombers loaded with this type of bomb; it is probable that Bombay or Calcutta or Karachi may be submerged in a deluge of 25,000 such bombs. It is not possible to extinguish them by throwing water, for, the moment you throw water on them they explode. Therefore our people must be trained how to tackle these bombs.

I am not an alarmist. I am speaking to you from facts obtained from publications such as the British Home Office handbooks on air raid precautions. In the case of India, if only 25,000 bombs were dropped on any one city and if only one bomb out of every hundred dropped found an inflammable target, you will have 200 or more fires raging simultaneously. Are there enough fire brigades to tackle such fires? The resolution therefore urges that Government must pay attention to the organisation of fire-fighting squads and other allied air raid precaution services. This is a very important question. You must have read that in the course of the last September crisis Paris made preparations to deal with over 1,000 simultaneous fires. It is a terrible thing to dwell on. When you come to the gas bombs you find the picture equally terrifying. Government must take measures to have first and foremost anti-gas training and fire fighting squadrons.

Mr. President, you have made significant observations in your presidential address on this matter. You have very truly remarked: "Today men and women live in fear of impending war, the consequences of which on civilization as we have known it, no one can foresee. The great nations of the world are drifting into disastrous conflict with one another and science

which has enabled us to conquer the forces of nature to an amazing degree, threatens to become a demon of destruction.”

Ladies and gentlemen, I commend this resolution for your acceptance.
The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Civilian Governors and Judges

Mr. M. S. Sirdar (Sholapur), moving the resolution on the appointment of civilians as Governors and Judges, said :—I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance. It reads as follows :—

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India is emphatically of opinion that the practice of appointing members of the Indian Civil Service as Governors should no longer be continued as it has never been approved by public opinion in the country and is out of harmony with the new order of things.
- (b) The Federation is of opinion that Governors should be men drawn from public life and the policy of appointing Indians as Governors should be promoted.
- (c) The Federation urges that recruitment to the judiciary including the High Court should be entirely from the members of the Bar.

This resolution raises three points, namely, the discontinuance of appointing members of the civil service as Governors, secondly the necessity of appointing members from the bar to judge-ships and, thirdly, the appointment of Indians to these posts. In the resolution, please mark the words “ out of harmony with the new order of things ”—it is an important term in the resolution. Perhaps the appointment of bureaucratic I. C. S. people to these posts was justified in the regime that has just now passed ; but now, with the advent of provincial autonomy and self-government in the provinces—however attenuated that autonomy may be,—we have entered upon a new era. The appointment of I. C. S. people as Governors and as heads of administrations of the provinces in such a regime is out of tune with the present times. The intention of the resolution, however, is not to oust the I. C. S. people altogether from the public services. The intention is only that they should no longer hold Governorships and judge-ships. However, in fairness to them, we must admit that the I. C. S. people have been very useful and have proved very efficient in days gone by. We must give all credit to them. They have been described as the steel-frame of the administration in India as we all know. We cannot dispense with the steel-frame if we are to have an efficient administration. But it is one thing to say that we must have I. C. S. men in the lower services and another thing to have them as Governors and judges. Governorships must hereafter go to eminent persons in public life in India. They are no longer jobs for bureaucrats. Their outlook and vision by their training and tradition are rather narrow. They are men who are good in routine work but they cannot bring to bear on their work a broader vision and a broader outlook. That is a great drawback in the make-up of the I. C. S. members. But what will be required of Governors hereafter are sympathy, imagination and spirit of compromise. We want “ constitutional Governors ” in the real sense. Therefore it is the desire of the Liberal Federation that hereafter Governorships should go to eminent people in public life in India.

Similarly judge-ships should go to the members of the bar entirely. Here we can even make out a stronger case than, the one regarding Governors.

Judgships were given to the I. C. S. when there was no strong Indian bar. It is only an euphemism to say that I. C. S. men make quite good judges. In no modern country will you find such a practice. It is entirely to the members of the bar that judgships should be assigned. They are the prize posts meant for them. The days are now long past when we should employ I. C. S. men in the judiciary. There is no dearth among members of the bar now who can efficiently fill the highest judicial posts in this country. That being the case, there is absolutely no plausibility in saying that judgships should be given to the I. C. S.

Thirdly, in regard to the appointment of Indians—to all these posts, we have all along been pressing this point of view but we find that, contrary to our wishes, Europeans are being put in everywhere now. As regards Governorships, there are a large number of European I. C. S. members who are holding those positions now. So also is the case with the judgships. Even in the provincial judiciary many I. C. S. men have been recently recruited. This is extremely undesirable especially in view of the new era that has dawned upon us. With these few remarks I have great pleasure in moving this resolution for your acceptance.

President: Mr. Sirdar has set an excellent example of brevity and I hope others will follow that example.

Mr. G. C. Bhate (Roha), in the course of a Marathi speech, said:— I. C. S. officers are servants of the Crown. The difference between Government servants and servants of the Crown appears to be only literal, but in fact it is not so. In the changed conditions in the country it is undesirable that we should have I. C. S. Governors and judges. Proceeding, the speaker explained the resolution in Marathi.

Mr. P. S. Bakhale (Bombay):—Mr. President, brother delegates and ladies, I stand before you to-day to support the resolution moved by Mr. Sirdar and seconded by Mr. Bhate. They have exhausted all that could be said in favour of the resolution and I will therefore not take much of your time. The only thing that I would like to mention is that a member of the civil service is likely to qualify himself for the post of a Governor by the end of his service period which is nearly 30 years. During all those 30 years he is brought up in the tradition which is peculiar to the civil service and which is not in consonance with the general popular feeling. A person occupying the post of a Governor is required to possess a broader outlook and a mentality which could not be expected of a man in service for such a long period as 30 years. The necessary qualification required of a Governor is thus absent from the member of the civil service. All through his service he is part of the machinery and therefore incapable of working the machinery himself.

This resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Indians and Consular Service

President:—The next resolution is one that I have to put from the chair. The President then read the following resolution on Indians and the Consular Service:—

- (a) In the interests of safeguarding the rights of Indians living in other parts of the British Empire as well as in foreign countries, the National Liberal Federation of

India is of opinion that a consular service of the country should be developed on the lines adopted by other Dominions of the empire.

- (b) Pending the development of such a consular service, the Federation urges the inclusion of Indians into the British Diplomatic and Consular Corps from which Indians have been so far scrupulously excluded.

(The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously).

Indians Overseas

Burma :—The National Liberal Federation of India deeply deplores the recent riots in Burma which have resulted in bloodshed, extensive destruction of property of Indian residents and in desecration of their places of worship and urges on the Government of India the need of protecting Indians in Burma. While welcoming the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Burma to ascertain the cause of riots, this Federation hopes that the question of compensating the Indian victims of the riots will receive the careful attention of the Government.

Ceylon :—The Federation endorses the conclusions reached by Sir Edward Jackson in his Report on Indian immigrant labour in Ceylon, emphasising the inadvisability of restricting it and appreciates his plea for equality of status for domiciled Indian labourers.

The Federation deplores the Village Communities Ordinance Amendment which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourer and urges on the Government not to re-open recruitment of labour for Ceylon, or to enter into any trade pact with Ceylon, until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question.

Zanzibar :—The Federation regards the settlement of the clove trade dispute with satisfaction, though in the nature of a compromise entailing considerable loss to the Indians in Zanzibar, and, in view of some complaints received, requests the Government of India to see to the proper implementing of the terms of the agreement by the Government of Zanzibar.

Tanganyika :—The Federation is of opinion that the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany would constitute a serious threat to the defence of India and would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika. The Federation, therefore, requests His Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of this territory to Germany.

Kenya :—The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council which would permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in Kenya Highlands. The Federation also views with apprehension the proposal of the British Government to reserve some parts of Kenya Highlands for the settlement of Jewish refugees from Europe, and objects to any preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indian residents there.

South Africa :—The Federation regrets that notwithstanding goodwill missions, Indian nationals in South Africa continue to be deprived of their political and municipal franchise in Natal and Transvaal on racial grounds. The Federation feels that while no satisfactory solution is likely to be reached pending the attainment of full Responsible Government in India, time has now come for the Government of India to abandon their policy of protests in favour of active measures to secure the grant of the political and municipal franchise to Indians resident there.

President : The next resolution is a very important one and it has been entrusted to the care of one who is an authority on this question. He is Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh who rendered distinguished service to the country as Agent to the Governor-General in South Africa. I will now call upon him to move the resolution.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh :—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, with your permission I do not propose to read this long resolution because you have it in your hands and therefore I shall detain you for only a

few minutes. I noticed that just before tea some of you were almost beginning to go to sleep, but the tea and refreshment which have been so sumptuously provided by our Reception Committee have revived us.

As regards Burma which is mentioned in the beginning of the resolution I think that you all know the position. There were recently unfortunate riots which, as is well known, took a communal turn. As stated in the resolution a committee of inquiry has been appointed by the Government of Burma. It is to be hoped that adequate compensation is given to the Indians who suffered in those riots. And further I hope that proper steps will be taken by the Government of Burma to protect in future the small minority of Indians who have taken up their residence in Rangoon and other places in Burma.

As regards Ceylon it is gratifying to note that the conclusions reached in the report on Indian immigrant labour by Sir Edward Jackson are satisfactory. We hope however that the Government of India will do their utmost to press the Government of Ceylon to implement the conclusions arrived at. We are favourably situated so far as Ceylon is concerned from this point of view, that we can always stop Indian labour from going to Ceylon. That is to say, we have a strong weapon of offence which we can use if necessary. You are aware, that, if Indian labour is no longer sent to Ceylon, the tea industry and other industries there will suffer to a considerable extent.

As regards Zanzibar, after a very long and trying controversy the Indians of Zanzibar have been able to prove their case, which was always a strong one. There again the Government and the people of India have and have had a strong weapon *viz* that Zanzibar exports its cloves to India, and that India is the best customer of Zanzibar cloves. The result is that Zanzibar cannot get on for any length of time without the co-operation and support of India.

Now I come to Tanganyika. You will have seen from the papers that the Indian community of Tanganyika was strongly against the rendition of this colony to Germany. I am sure that you will agree with them. They fear that if the colony is transferred to Germany the new regime is likely to be detrimental to Indian interests. I do not think that any Indian, whether in India or outside will readily agree to serve under a rule which is autocratic and bureaucratic and sometimes, as recent experience has shown even brutal. I do not say that Indians are satisfied with their present condition in Tanganyika. All that one can say is that it is more satisfactory than their position in Kenya or South Africa. Tanganyika is a mandated territory and people living there, generally speaking, are better off than in certain other colonies.

The case of Kenya and South Africa is different. Sometimes one hears of the colour bar prevailing in India. We heard a great deal about it 20 or 30 years ago. Even in Bombay the older among you will remember there were hotels which were not open to Indians and then there were other invidious distinctions under which Indians suffered. But let me tell you that nobody can realize what the colour bar means and what it involves unless he has been in a country like South Africa. In Johannesburg or Durban it would be extremely difficult for an Indian to get admission to hotels or restaurants, and few trams or buses would

take you. You would have in Durban to get on to the top of a tram and occupy the last three seats reserved for Negroes and other non-Europeans. If you are in Johannesburg many trams will refuse admission. If you were thirsty and wanted some tea no European restaurant would allow you to go inside. If you wanted your hair cut or required a shave you will be greatly mistaken if you think that a European barber will shave you. If you wanted to travel in the railways you will have to travel in separate compartments along with Negroes. Worse than social distinctions is the absence of the political and municipal franchise. You will remember that many years ago Mahatma Gandhi started a passive resistance movement in South Africa in order to secure certain rights for Indians but even he succeeded only to a very limited extent and was unable to get any redress from the South African Government on the crucial question of the political and municipal franchise. I am convinced from my experience that, unless Indians obtain this franchise, there can be no salvation for them. We may have Agents-Generals and commissions of goodwill, and I naturally cannot say that no good has been secured by these means, especially from the social point of view and from the point of view of educational progress, but unless we secure the vote which is of immense importance in a country where the European community has the votes no real success can be secured. Further, as one of the resolutions points out, I do not believe that any great measure of success can be achieved unless India gets full responsible government for after all those people look upon us as members of an inferior race, who are governed by Europeans in India and are therefore not entitled to full rights of citizenship in another country. It is one of the saddest things on the African continent that our position socially, politically and economically is worse in British than in Portuguese or French territory. I have visited Portuguese East Africa. There the Indians were for the most part contented with their lot. They could go to hotels and restaurants, they could meet Europeans on a footing of equality and they had practically no economic disabilities. In British South and East Africa there are many restrictions. Gentlemen, it is essential that the Liberal Party should try to help our countrymen abroad. I am grateful to the Government of India for the support that they gave to me when I was Agent-General in South Africa. I know that on the question of racial distinction there is no difference in the objective of the Indian people and of the Government of India but I feel that the time has come for more active measures to be taken. The Government of India are content with protests. I know that the difficulties which face them are considerable. One difficulty is that we have no weapon of offence. There are not many South Africans in this country on whom we can retaliate. The exports from India to South Africa are much larger than the exports from South Africa to India and we have therefore no trade weapon which we can use as a means to obtain redress, but I do think that the Government should get into touch with Indians from South Africa and Kenya from time to time and in consultation with them see whether more effective steps cannot be taken to secure the municipal and political franchise in South Africa. I hope, gentlemen, that you will pass this resolution unanimously.

Major S. A. Paymaster (Bombay) in seconding the resolution, said:—
 'Mr. President, brother delegates and gentlemen, it is an irony of fate and a strange coincidence that I should be sponsoring today a resolution demanding better treatment and citizen rights for our Indian nationals in

the very colonies where I served, two and twenty years ago in the very army that snatched away these colonies from Germany. In my capacity of surgeon on the General and Departmental Staff of General Smutts I had the privilege of getting the first experience in this problem of Indians in South and East Africa. The colonies of Tanganyika and Kenya owe a great deal to India for their present position in the British Commonwealth and for their present prosperity. The Uganda Railway which has played the chief part in the development of Kenya colony and which has connected smiling lands and plateau with the malarial marshes and sleeping sickness-ridden low lands on the coast, that Uganda Railway owes its existence to Indian support and co-operation. It has been built by engineers from India with Indian labour and money. During the war also we built about 200 miles of railway for the East African colony, depleting our country and willingly bearing the brunt and responsibility. We gave them officers on very high pay and pension establishment. We bore their expenses for years together for the development of the colony. Further more on the war front of Daresalam there are about 300 tiny dark, wet graves of the glorious Marathas, of the 1/4th Bombay Grenadiers, Madrasis of the 61st Pioneers, men who valiantly faced bullets. They tell a sorry tale of Indian sacrifices and service to these colonies. And it is heart-rending to see that the successors of these very people are debarred admission on the high lands and are condemned to rot in the marshy and stagnated areas of the low lands. If a white colony or dominion had rendered the same services they would have claimed and secured the mandatory rights over these colonies. Neither the legislature in India nor the Government of India moved a little finger to secure these rights nor tried to ensure better treatment for our Indian nationals. Coming further to South Africa our distinguished leader, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, has just given us a very sorry picture of the South Africa of today. That reminds me of my previous experience 22 years ago when Mahatma Gandhi, Rustomji and other leaders of South Africa had either to travel on foot boards or on the side boards and still pay first class fares. If we refer to the history we will find that the chief and main cause why Great Britain launched the war was "the ill-treatment" of Queen Empress Victoria's own beloved Indian subjects! But to-day neither the Government of India nor the Home government will move a little finger to see that the poor Indians in Africa are a little bit better off in the British Commonwealth itself. Zanzibar also owes a great deal to Indian enterprise. They have brought commerce to that country by cultivating the clove industry. It pained the Zanzibar Government that Indians were so enterprising and they tried to oust them bag and baggage, goods and chattle, stock and barrel. Neither the warm solicitation of the motherly Government of India nor certain officers was responsible for bringing about a compromise but those who have been on the East African coast and those who know the working of the mind of those people realize that it must be the boycott which was carried out in India that has brought this insolent colony to its proper senses.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

X.—Educational Reform

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar :—I beg to move—

- (a) While welcoming a reorganization of the educational system so as to take account of different aptitudes and provide vocational courses at each stage of education, the National Liberal Federation of India views with concern the tendency manifested

in certain quarters to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education. It is strongly of opinion that nothing should be done to restrict arbitrarily admission to the universities or check the growth of higher education which has played a large part in the awakening of India.

- (b) The Federation notes that the Wardha scheme, as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country, has been fundamentally modified.

My public life has almost exclusively been confined to two institutions which have played a very important part in the nation-building activities of the city and the province—namely, the Municipal Corporation of the city of Bombay and the University of Bombay. During the last 13 years I have been in public life, I have been looking forward to the advent of responsible government because I have always felt that under the old system of Government it was difficult for the two institutions to get fair treatment and justice. When provincial autonomy was introduced and the Congress party took office, although I do not belong to that party, I welcomed their acceptance of office more especially because I hoped that the two most important nation-building activities which would receive their encouragement and financial aid would be the municipalities and education. But what do I find? Unfortunately I am not now-a-days able to take an active interest in the affairs of the Bombay municipality to the same extent as I did at one time. But I get the papers from time to time and I find that the responsible government are in fact taking away sources of income enjoyed by the municipality not for five or ten years but for 50 and 60 years. It is true that Government have not yet turned their attention to the University, perhaps on account of the fact that the statutory grant of Rs. 1,17,000 received by the University is a mere pittance compared to the grants enjoyed by the other universities in the country. We, including Congressmen, have been in the past complaining bitterly about the niggardly policy of the old Government in regard to education and local self-government. Those of us connected with local self-government and education were specially looking forward to have a better impetus and more financial assistance for the expansion of our activities, but curiously enough, since the Congress party took over the reins of Government in the provinces, we have been hearing rumours after rumours about the proposed cuts in the grants to educational institutions. We have also had very important pronouncements from quarters which guide the policy of the Congress Governments—declaring that the primary education was the main concern of the state and that only those who could afford should seek and pay for higher education. We had first the Wardha scheme, the main feature of which, we were told, was that it was going to make education self-supporting. When the scheme was subjected to effective criticism from all quarters, we were told that the self-supporting feature was not really an important feature of the scheme and the scheme should be considered on its own merits. Although it is well known that the scheme has been changed beyond recognition by the sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board of the Government of India, the scheme is still being called the Wardha scheme leaving the impression that what is now being put into operation as an experiment is the original Wardha scheme. The special officer appointed by the Bombay Government to introduce the so-called Wardha scheme in the province said at the Educational Conference during the week in the City that the syllabus of the scheme was subject to modification and even

overhauling. You will see that the officer himself is not sure of the syllabus which he has got to put into operation. As he said, the whole scheme is subject to overhauling. In what manner and in what respects he does not specify because he evidently does not know.

I was told the other day by the head master of one of the important schools in Poona that schools have been warned by Government that they may have to face a 15 per cent. cut in the grants from next year. I really do not know how the managers of the schools will face the situation. Only those who run schools will realize their difficulties. People are clamouring for more schools and colleges and the responsible Government tells us they have no money and therefore they have to reduce the grants made to existing schools and colleges. On the one hand, our system of education is run down and, on the other, what little is already given is being taken back.

The situation is most distressing. We, who are interested in educational institutions, have to pass through such difficult times and we do not know what we may have to face in the near future. I must, however, pay a tribute to our Premier, Mr. Kher, for whatever may be the views of those who guide the destiny of the party to which he belongs, since he assumed office he has spent liberally on higher education. He has taken steps to revive the Deccan College at Poona as a post-graduate institution and has provided funds for research work in the Karnatak and Gujerat. A new training college is being started in Belgaum. For all that he has done we are grateful to him. But while we have reason to be grateful to Mr. Kher, we cannot forget the views of those who control his destiny as Prime Minister, who think that higher education has to be paid for by those who want to go in for it, who have revolutionary ideas on primary education and who may call upon the provincial governments under their control to do things which future governments might find it difficult to undo.

Education is a very important national problem and there are people in this country who have devoted all their lives to the solution of this problem. We have only to look to institutions in Poona to realize the sacrifices made by educationists like Dr. Paranjpye and others. It is most important that the work done by these pioneers should never be hampered or undone merely for the sake of finding money for the introduction of prohibition. Money spent on education is a national investment and should in the long run help government effectively, if not so visibly, to enforce the policy of prohibition.

We are told that the country is on the war path for the attainment of self-government. If there is one thing that provides the sinews for this war it is education and if that is going to be starved, what is going to happen to our fight for self-government? Starvation of education means the postponement of the goal of self-government. If you starve education, nothing that you will do will count.

Mr. M. D. Altekar said:—The Vice-Chancellor of our University has already placed this resolution before you with a speech that was ringing with sincerity as you have noticed and I shall add only one or two points. The resolution is made up of two parts and the second part notes that the Wardha scheme as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country has been modified. The resolution does not state whether

it has been modified in the right or in the wrong direction but let us note that it has been modified, and taking note of that means something, that those who started the Wardha scheme feel that there is something materially wrong with the scheme. In fact, those of us who have watched that evolution of the Wardha scheme have noted with amusement that it has been changing from day to day and even those who once favoured it criticised it afterwards. One or two of them wrote minutes; they did not want even to publish those minutes and it is thus that we find that the authors of the Wardha scheme are not happy about it. After noting that fact, that the authors of the Wardha scheme are not certain in their own minds whether the scheme is right or wrong, we come to know of one or two things. The first thing is that ✓ I do not believe in the doctrine that it is not the business of the Government to spend on education. It is one of the most important duties of Government to spend on education and one of the severest criticisms that we levelled against the old governments was that they were not spending enough on education. It is interesting to note how drink and education have been linked up both by the old government and the new in a curious manner. It seems if we want to have prohibition we must give up education. Now if you want to spend on prohibition, what I want to say is this: you must not spend on that by curtailing expenditure on education. In no civilized country is that done, and I hope our country is civilized. It is the duty of each provincial Government to spend money liberally on education.

✓ The second point that I want to make out is this. There is such a thing as liberal education. I know that education is not paying, but education was never meant to be a share bazar. It was never meant to be a cotton bazar. It is something else. It is very well-known that even first class careers in universities are not expected to make a lot of money as certain other people do in business. It is possible that we were misled into this belief at the beginning of the British government in this country when a little education made it possible for educated people to earn good salaries. But as days went on very naturally all these educated people could not get employment. As education progressed, there were more and more educated people and they could not get good jobs as before. Therefore to link education with money-making is misleading. Those who want to make money should make it in the manner in which money is made. Education is meant for culture. This cultural sense must come out in a more forcible manner than hitherto. Our education is not money-making. It is the duty of Government to spend more and more on our universities, and to do nothing that will disturb the progress of university education in India. I request the present government with due deference to their policy of prohibition that their duty of spending a good deal more than before on education still remains and they must discharge that duty properly. I must speak with real restraint on that matter. As Liberals we believe in individual liberty of action to a certain extent at least. We also believe that there should be liberty of education. I refuse to be ordered by any government as to what kind of education I should receive or from what kind of education I should be debarred. Education must not be allowed to be propagandist. We cannot afford to reduce India to the status of Germany or Russia in a matter of this nature. We want freedom in this. There must be ample room to make experiments. I have great regard for Mr. Gandhi but even *Avatars* as described in the Puranas had human

weaknesses. Certainly, Mr. Gandhi and the High Command are also human beings. I refuse to accept a thing because a certain person, however high placed he may be, orders a certain scheme. This liberty is very important. They have been exactly following in the footsteps of the previous bureaucracy. Blue-blooded bureaucrats of the old type used to say that it was a great mistake on the part of the British Government to have opened colleges in this country. We find that the Congress also is opposed to higher education. We cannot allow that as Liberals. We believe in education. It is certainly true that, education is the one force for the salvation of the country in the future. If we curtail that our future is very dark and therefore this resolution should be passed with acclamation. We had hoped that education would be at least the one subject on which we should have had no difference with the Congress. My friends, you will pass this resolution and try your best to see that it materialises by constitutional means and not by Congress means. All these new fangled ideas are repugnant to the best traditions of education, and to the best interests of this land.

Principal V. K. Joag (Poona): Mr. President and fellow delegates, I rise to support the resolution on educational reform which has been so ably moved for your acceptance by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and seconded by Professor Altekar with his usual eloquence and humour. The resolution before you mentions three things. In the first place, it declares our considered policy that in matters educational as in other matters we stand for reform and reconstruction. As Liberals it has been our policy always to advocate reform and reconstruction wherever they are necessary. And because we stand for reform and reconstruction in the educational sphere, we say in the words that follow that we are opposed to the idea of curtailing expenditure on University education. I am sure, my friends, you will certainly agree with me when I say that it is no reform of education to curtail the resources of higher education and so we say that we are opposed to that idea. In the same manner those who have examined the Wardha scheme will agree with the view expressed by implication in the second part of this resolution that the Wardha scheme is no reform of education. It had been stated that a new discovery was made one fine morning by the great Oracle of Wardha, namely, that education should be imparted to pupils through some craft. I submit that this cannot be claimed to be any new discovery. It is another name for what is known in the educational world as the project method. It was tried in other countries and also in India by various schools not only run by private agencies but run by Government and local bodies under the old regime. The method therefore that is advocated is not new. What is new about it is the idea that the articles produced by children could be made saleable in the markets and that the produce so sold would secure for Government resources for running these schools as self-supporting institutions. As our President said yesterday, nowhere in the world has education ever been regarded as a self-supporting proposition. So I say that the only new thing in the Wardha scheme is this idea that we can make education self-supporting and that idea can never be regarded as anything but retrograde. We do not want to turn our children into factory hands. It would be a bad day for this country if ever this idea was put into force. It is the criticism of the people that has made the authors and advocates of this scheme revise their plans, and

we now congratulate them on the courage they have shown in revising their ideas. Further, we find that even the revised scheme is not to be made applicable everywhere but only in selected areas. We must congratulate the Bombay Government particularly on that decision. They are pretty certain in their own minds that if there are two kinds of schools, the old and the new, people would rather send their children to the old. Therefore they want to try their experiment in selected areas where the new schools would not have to compete with the old. Let them try the experiment and they will see for themselves the unwisdom of the whole scheme. If we are in favour of reform and reconstruction, then we must support the idea that University education should be expanded and not curtailed, and we must further support the idea that the Wardha scheme even in its modified form cannot be regarded as real reform of education..

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Separation of the Executive from the Judiciary.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great disappointment at and protest against the manner in which the several provincial governments, including those where the Congress party has formed ministries, have tried to shelve the question of the separation of the executive and the judiciary. The National Congress, from its very inception, had been always insisting on this reform and it is surprising that the Congress ministries should have shown themselves so apathetic, and in some cases even antagonistic, towards all suggestions in favour of the separation of the executive and the judiciary. The Federation commends to the public that it should not rest until this over-due reform is carried out.
- (b) The Federation views with concern the tendency on the part of some of the Congress ministries arbitrarily to interfere with judicial decisions under the garb of using discretionary powers vested in them under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Moving the resolution on the separation of the executive from the judiciary, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said :—

I have great pleasure in moving this resolution about separation of the executive from the judiciary which you have got on the printed paper. This demand for separation is an old demand, in fact the oldest demand voiced from Congress platforms for fifty years. When, therefore, Congress governments or governments run by the Congress party came into existence in various provinces, the public naturally expected that this reform which was voiced, as I have said, from Congress platforms for 50 years would be immediately taken in hand.

On the contrary, however, what we find is that the Congress governments in those provinces are fighting shy of this reform altogether. The reasons given are various. It is said in some provinces that now you have a popular government supported by a majority in the Legislature and further supported by a majority in the country; then this reform is still more necessary. The popular government having all the power behind it, the liberty of the subject has to be protected and the judiciary should be entirely free from the executive control. Therefore it is that we find in England with a democratic government the two functions are separated. There they have a democratic popular government but there more than in any other country separation of the judicial and executive functions is scrupulously insisted upon.

Again, sometimes the reason is given that separation involves great difficulties, that it will be very expensive and so on. These were excuses which the previous retrograde governments were giving to us all these years. And now these Congress governments are taking shelter behind the same excuse. There cannot be any question that this is a reform which must be taken in hand immediately and first because the liberty of the subject is much more important in any democratic government than anything else. It is, therefore, a great pity that the Congress governments are hesitating to carry out this reform. It may be that they are doing that because they do not want to surrender power and patronage and therefore wish to perpetuate this unholy combination. Their action in not carrying out that reform but decrying it, makes one suspicious as to what their intentions are in the matter. Therefore, it is our duty to insist on this reform being carried out immediately and without any further delay. I do not propose to deal with the other part of the resolution which I will leave for the other speakers to deal with. I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

President : I now call upon Mr. D. G. Dalvi, one of the oldest members of the party, to second the resolution.

Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay) : I rise to second the proposition so ably moved by our leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. When the Congress governments assumed office some of us expressed our belief and congratulated ourselves on that belief that the Congress governments in office were likely to carry on the administration in the same manner in which Liberals in office in the years 1921, 1922 and 1923, had carried it on according to Liberal principles. That was the belief which some of us entertained and we were, as I said, inclined to congratulate ourselves on this great event of the Congress having taken office. But some of the speeches we have had since this morning and the illuminating address of the President have knocked that belief from the minds of most of us. If by that statement we understand that Congress are carrying on the administration by constitutional means, I agree ; but if it is meant to convey that the Congress in office have been carrying on their administration according to Liberal principles, I demur to that proposition. The resolution which I am seconding is the best illustration of my point, the refusal to carry out the reform of the separation of judicial and executive functions that we have been trying for so long.

Let me in this connection recall the efforts made by the Liberals when they were within the Congress and also after they left the Congress. If you refer to the files of the Bombay Presidency Association you will find that as early as forty years ago, an excellent report which contained a scheme for the separation of functions was prepared. That scheme embodied the idea that subordinate-judges should be given criminal powers in order that the expenses should not be so great as otherwise they would be. In the year 1920, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Liberal party was in office though under dyarchy in most of the provinces. In the Bombay Government we had Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Dr. Paranjpye now present here. Similarly, in most of the provinces the Liberal party was in office just as the Congress is now in eight provinces. I may recall to your mind that in the second year of the Liberal party taking office, resolutions were moved for the separation of the functions in some of the provinces. Our

President may remember the fact that when it was moved in the United Provinces Council it was accepted on behalf of Government by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. In the Central Provinces the resolution was also moved and in some provinces committees were appointed for formulating schemes and the reports of those committees might be on the files of Governments. In these reports schemes were prepared but unfortunately local Governments could then do nothing without reference to the Government of India. I am told that when Lord Reading was Viceroy and Mr. S. R. Das was Law Member, both of them tried their best to give effect to the reports of the various committees, but the bureaucracy proved too powerful even for the Viceroy and the Law Member of the time. The Liberals went out of office soon after and the question was dropped. Then came several reactionary ministries, but when Congress took office we hoped that they would take up this matter as soon as possible.

But what is our experience ? It is that when this question was first mooted at Madras, the Madras Prime Minister told us that the Congress in office would not carry out this reform because they thought that having now got the power they ought not to give it up, but control the judiciary. He went further and said, "Now that Congress are in office we will see that the executive officers will not go wrong and that we shall control them." After that statement came two statements of the Home Minister of Bombay and the Home Minister of the United Provinces. Dr. Katju has prepared a scheme but I know that the scheme is so half-hearted that our President was quite right in describing it as an "eye-wash." That scheme is only this that in a district where there are a dozen revenue officers a few of them may be relegated to do the criminal work exclusively but under the control of the district magistrate and not the sessions judge. In our own province our Home Minister had made a half-hearted statement. When pressed by the public, I am told that he tried to devise a scheme and a high judicial officer was asked to prepare it. I know from the newspapers that the members of the Poona bar held a meeting and made arrangements as to which of them was going to undertake the duties of an honorary magistrate, after that scheme was put in force. A curious sequel to it was the offer of the honorary magistracy to Mr. N. C. Kelkar. His correspondence will show that the scheme was meant to be carried out but eventually the whole thing was dropped. I remember that only in the last month or during this fortnight the hon. Mr. Munshi, speaking at Broach, said that the scheme of separation of the functions was not practicable. If that report be correct, the hon. Mr. Munshi has given up the ghost so far as this reform is concerned. It is therefore very necessary for us to re-emphasise our views. I will draw your attention to the last sentence of the resolution : "This Federation commends to the public that it should not rest until this overdue reform is carried out." Not only the public but, the Liberal party should not rest, at any rate, in Bombay and Allahabad and one or two other places. We must carry on the agitation and see that these reforms are introduced as early as possible. Instead of asking the public to agitate the party itself should do it.

Coming to the second part of the resolution with which Sir Chimanlal has not dealt, I will explain to you the position very briefly. We have found since the Congress took office that there have been repeated instances of interference

with the judicial processes and findings of law courts by the executive government. No doubt, under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code power is given to the Governor-in-Council and the Governor-General-in-Council to remit or suspend sentences according to their discretion. But in doing so a recent amendment of the section says that they should as a matter of precaution consult the courts from which the findings and the processes came and take their reports into consideration before they interfered with the findings arrived at and the punishment awarded. Now in the reports in the newspapers I have not come across a single instance of the government calling such reports from the courts, and then taking action thereon. In the absence of such reports I am entitled to assume that the interference of the executive with the processes and findings of the judicial courts is arbitrary and unjustified. You will remember the bitter controversy in our city and the Assembly on account of the granting of bail to two accused persons known as *Sattorias*. The High Court refused bail, and yet the executive government granted it. But a more recent case is still worse. A certain station master in the U. P. was called upon to vindicate his conduct in a certain complaint made against him by three Muslim gentlemen in the United Provinces. His case of defamation against the three persons was pending before the chief presidency magistrate in Bombay. On the due date the chief presidency magistrate informed the complainant's advocate that he had received orders from the Home Minister and that the case was transferred to some magisterial court in the United Provinces, i. e., outside the Bombay province. The curious part of it is that the order of transfer was beforehand communicated to the accused party and not to the complainant. Ordinarily a case for transfer ought to go to the High Court if it is within the province. If it was outside the province it should have gone to the Governor-General in Council but now under the new Act the power has been re-transferred to the provincial Government unfortunately, and I cannot say that the local government has no such power. But the way in which it was exercised was most arbitrary. I know of another case which is still worse. The Central Provinces Government have recently cancelled the punishment and reversed the finding of the Nagpur High Court in a case of murder. The executive government in giving their reasons were not ashamed to say that they had gone through the record of evidence and found that the High Court was wrong in arriving at the findings. The Government therefore set aside the sentence. Now, the purity of judicial administration is the pivot of British rule in India and if this source of justice is poisoned by an executive which is subject to party influences and changes and if justice is subordinated to political considerations and expediency, then, do you think that people will have any more faith left in the judiciary, and their findings will have any value? Government have been acting most arbitrarily, and I think it is the duty of this Conference to protest as strongly as we can against these acts of the executive.

If more instances were needed of the Government giving the go-by to Liberal principles, as I understand them, I could go on enumerating them. We should make this the test of the fitness of the Congress governments to hold office. If they are going to shirk in this manner, if they will not separate the two functions, then they are unfit to carry on the administration. Even the old bureaucratic regime did not interfere with the findings of the judiciary in the manner in which the Congress governments are doing now. The

tendency to interfere is much worse in the case of the Congress governments. Therefore, I say we ought to make this a test case. If the Congress government did nothing else but carried out this important reform I for one will sing the praises of the government. But if they do not effect it I shall not be reconciled to the Congress ministry for any other good work that they may do. We are told by our President that the will is lacking. I assume the desire is not wanting. It may be that the Congress government may have tried and failed to put this reform in force because the higher authorities may not have allowed them to do it, or it may be that the bureaucracy came in their way. But if it were so, why do not they come out and tell us so? We shall then know how far the bureaucracy have interfered. It is only a possible explanation that I am offering in the light of our experience in the past. I put the burden of proof upon the Home Minister to prove that this theory is incorrect. He must satisfy the public what steps he had taken and to what extent he wanted the help of the public. Similarly if the finances stood in the way of the reform, let the Home Minister and the Finance Minister come before the public with their scheme and explain what extra funds were needed and I am sure, the Opposition in the Assembly will raise no difficulty in securing such funds, when millions are thrown away on doubtful projects by the Government. In the absence of any satisfactory explanation offered by the Government as to why they have failed to make even a beginning in carrying out this oldest reform proposed by the Congress, we are entitled to assume that the explanation given by our President that the will to effect the reform is lacking ought to hold good.

Rao Bahadur D. G. Divakar (Sholapur) : With great hope that there will be an early separation of the judiciary from the executive, I earnestly support this resolution which has been so ably explained by speakers who preceded me. The principle of this resolution has been accepted by one and all, and there are no two opinions about it. But what we find is that instead of bringing that principle into actual practice the present government is sitting quite blindfold over the matter. Before they took the reins of office in their hands they talked much about this reform as early as possible. But since they got into power we find that they are doing nothing about it. It amounts paractically to negligence for which they will have to be blamed if they do not bring about this reform sooner. What must be this attitude of theirs due to? Do they think that the principle once looked upon as good is now bad? I do not think they will dare say so. There are other excuses put forth for delaying this reform. One of them is financial stringency. As regards that also if the Government by acts of commission and ommission involve themselves in many fresh difficulties, they will have to blame themselves. They must find out ways and means for bringing about this reform early. Next to God to my mind the most sacred thing in this world is 'justice'. And upon the satisfactory administration of this depends the peace, prosperity and happiness in any society. Hoping therefore that Government will not delay the matter any further and hoping that you will pass this resolution unanimously I conclude my speech.

Mr. S. M. Varde (Bombay) : I support this resolution. It is an unavoidable duty. The present ministers in the provinces are after all our ministers. It is true that they are elected by the majority of the people and that they have the popular voice behind them. But when these ministers fail

to do a very important duty and fail to grant a demand which has been made by the people for the last half a century, it is very regrettable fact. We must not therefore fail to protest against it. Can it be said that the Government could not introduce this reform for want of time? Just a few months ago we had seen how a law was hustled through the Legislature. Is it because they have no money that they are delaying this reform? If that is so, why are they throwing away crores of rupees in the name of prohibition. The only thing we can say is that the Government loves power, power which is granted to the Government under the new Act, and they want to retain that power by keeping the executive and the judiciary in their own hands and to utilize it for strengthening their own party. That is the only conclusion which we can draw from the delay caused in introducing this reform.

As for the second part of the resolution we have seen that gamblers have been released from jail for the sake of their business so that they should be able to continue their activities. We have seen murderers being released and ravishers let out of jail. All these things we have seen during the last 18 months. I say it is a condemnation rather than a certificate to democratic rule.

The resolution was put to vote and passed unanimously.

Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.

The President then moved and declared carried resolution No. 12 in regard to the Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.

- (a) The Federation elects Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Mr. M. D. Altekhar and Babu Vishwanath Prasad as its General Secretaries for the year 1939.
- (b) The Federation elects the undermentioned Council for the year 1939. (See Appendix page 89.)

The next session.

The President also moved the following resolution from the chair and the same was carried unanimously.

The Federation resolves that the twenty-first session be held at a place to be decided upon by the Council in Christmas next year.

Vote of thanks to President.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: Our labours are at an end and it is my pleasant duty to move a hearty vote of thanks to our worthy President for the able manner in which he has conducted the proceedings of this session. (Hear, hear.) All of us who heard his presidential address must have been struck by the wealth of judgment, learning and knowledge which that address contained. In proposing him to the chair I told you that 11 year ago in this very hall we had the honour to have as President his father, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This year the honour falls on his son and you will all agree with me that the son has not suffered in comparison with the father. We are very fortunate in having as our President for this session a younger man than we used formerly to have. We want younger and still younger people to join the ranks of the Liberal party and to work for the benefit of the country and I am sure that now that the hon. Mr. Sapru has passed the presidential chair I am sure that he will work more and more for the welfare of the Liberal party and guide its destinies. Ladies and gentlemen, you have seen how ably and tactfully he has conducted the proceedings of this session. He delivered his address

with vigour and force and it will be with us a happy remembrance for a long time. I do not wish to say more and I call upon you to accord him a hearty vote of thanks.

Pandit Harishchandra Gossain: I have been asked to second this resolution and I gladly do so. I met Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru many years ago when I was working under Mr. Surendranath Banerjee from whom I learned my politics. But I met our today's President only a few weeks ago at Poona, but from the short acquaintance I have already become a staunch admirer of his abilities. May God give him long life and strength to lead us to our goal.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir put the proposition to the vote and declared it carried amidst acclamation.

The President was then garlanded by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad amidst applause.

The session of the Federation then terminated with the singing of Vande Mataram.

President's Concluding Speech

In winding up the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation of India the President, the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, said :

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, ladies and gentlemen, I desire to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the generous terms in which you have proposed the vote of thanks and the too generous manner in which you have received it. I am conscious of my own limitations. I know that I did not deserve this position which has been occupied by some of the most distinguished sons of India. But when I was asked by the elders of the Party whether I would accept the responsibility of the presidentship of this session, I considered it my duty to accept that position. I knew that in the discharge of my responsibility I would have the guidance of my elders, the leaders of the Party like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Cowasji Jehangir and our distinguished new recruit, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh. I also knew that I would have the co-operation of my younger friends, friends with whom I have very much in common, and whose ideals I share. I was and would have been content to remain a member of the rank and file of the Party. Now that you have placed me in this position, I must thank you for the generous co-operation which you have rendered to me so ungrudgingly, and which has enabled this Federation to attain the success that it has done.

Position of the Liberal Party

In my opening remarks I said that we often felt depressed at the position of the Liberal Party. We are weak. We know that we cannot immediately provide an alternative government. But I am an optimist. ✓ The Liberal Party serves a useful purpose as a great thought centre. We are thinking always in terms of constructive criticism on all public questions and we need such criticism under a system of responsible government. There is no other independent party like the Liberal Party and it should be the ✓ endeavour of everyone of us to do all we can to make this party a mighty party in this land.

Federation

There are just one or two questions on which, perhaps, you will allow me to make a few observations. The first is the question of Federation. You have passed a resolution with which I desire to associate myself whole-

heartedly. I entirely agree with that resolution, with every word, coma and semicolon of that resolution.

I will not conceal from you that I have been a consistent opponent of the Government of India Act. I am a teacher of Constitutional Law in my University and in that capacity it has been my duty to study that Act in all its details and in all its implications, and I have come very deliberately to the conclusion that in its present form it is an Act which is calculated to retard India's development towards Dominion Status within the meaning of the Status of Westminster. That is the real criticism against it. Its extraordinary rigidity, its extreme conservatism, really frighten one and, therefore, it is that we have criticised certain features of the Federal scheme.

Imposed Solutions Dangerous

I pointed out in my address what should be the proper strategy in fighting it. I suggested what I thought would be the proper method of meeting the situation the Act has created, and it was in that spirit that I made certain observations in regard to the manner in which the Act should be handled if the Federation was imposed. I have made it clear that so far as we are concerned we have no faith in the method of mass civil disobedience. But I think it is our duty also to point out that imposed solutions are dangerous and that they can at times lead to difficult situations. I think Government ought to realise the strength of feeling that there is against the constitution in the country. It ought not to blind itself to the realities of the situation. We are unluckily not an effective force in politics, but the Congress organisation and the Muslim League have yet to make up their mind as regards this constitution. Some of them have been saying that we will do this or that if this constitution is forced on us.

Suggestions for Revision

Therefore, while I recognise the sincerity of his Excellency's recent speech, I regret that his Excellency has held out no hope of immediate revision of the Act. His Excellency's attitude seems to be this : 'Well, the Federal Act is there ; you can take it or leave it. We want a stronger India and a stronger India will mean a stronger democratic world; I would therefore say to Government, try and have an agreed solution. I think there is sanity enough in this country to realise the dangers of revolutionary activities. If Government will make a generous gesture I think there will be response coming from our side also.

There are some directions in which the Act can be revised without any amending Act, as for example in regard to direct and indirect elections. Then again there is the question of representation of states' representatives in the Federal Legislature. Friendly advice can be given to the Indian states and they can be induced to send only elected representatives to the Federal Legislature. Then also Government can give some visible demonstration of its desire to lead this country to Dominion Status by a change in the policy regarding the defence organisation of this country. These are some of the ways in which the Federal Act can be revised even without an amendment of the Act. We, of course, stand for the amendment of the Act. The franchise of the Council of State can be very much widened. That will to some extent lessen the conservative character of the new constitution. Then there are the provisions which lay down that the Council of State will have

equal powers with the lower house so far as finance is concerned. It is no use saying : 'The safeguards will not be used; they are not used in the provinces.' I think in fairness we are entitled to ask his Majesty's Government to consider the representations that we have made in regard to this Federal constitution in a fair and reasonable spirit. Imposed solutions, I will repeat, do not work; they work only 'creakily, and it is impolitic to impose a constitution which the country, right or wrongly, dislikes in its present form. The Act therefore should be revised on the lines suggested by us if it is to work satisfactorily.

Indian States.

I next pass on to the question of Indian states. I congratulate you very heartily on the resolution which you have passed in regard to the Indian states. Democracy with me is a religion. I believe in democracy and, therefore, I cannot but sympathise with the subjects of the Indian states in their constitutional struggle for democratic government. I think, given the will, it ought to be possible to establish responsible governments in all the Indian states within a decade or so. Our rulers have to recognize that in the 20th century we cannot be supporters of the divine right of kings. Institutions have to justify themselves at the bar of reason. Rulership has certain obligations attached to it and Indian state rulers must move with the times if they desire to live—and we desire them to live. Let them place themselves at the head of the democratic movement even as Victor Emanuel placed himself at the head of the national movement in Italy. They must identify themselves with the democratic forces in their state and I feel certain that if they do this their thrones will be as secure as the throne of the House of Windsor is. You cannot fight revolutionaries or revolutionary activities by denying to the people the right of freedom of speech, or the right of freedom of thought and the right of freedom of association. Can anybody truthfully say that in some of these states, in many of these states, freedom of association and speech is not denied?

We stand for constitutional agitation. You know what constitutional agitation is. The most comprehensive definition of it which is in consonance with the Liberal traditions and belief was given by the late Mr. Gokhale and personally I stand by that definition. We need more sustained and vigorous constitutional agitation and the Liberal Party provides a platform for all those who believe in it.

Representative Government.

There is just one other thing. In my opening speech I pleaded for representative government as some thing which can be established immediately in the Indian states. I also spoke of the most advanced type of representative government so far as some of the Indian states are concerned. Representative government does not mean representative institutions. It does not mean even the Minto-Morley reforms. The most advanced type of representative Government that the world has known was to be found in pre-war Germany and pre-Fascist Japan. In prewar Germany they had a permanent executive. The Kaiser appointed the executive. It was responsible to him. The Reichstag used to vote supplies, used to pass the budgets. That is the type of representative government—of course the Kaiser had reserve powers for carrying on the administration if the budget was rejected—that I had in mind. We have representative government in Ceylon. Properly speaking Ceylon has no responsible government yet. You had

representative governments in some of the colonies which have now developed into Dominions. So far as the Indian states are concerned I think it is necessary for us to say that these things should be done in the interests of the rulers of the Indian states themselves. British India and Indian India are realising that they are one organic whole and we have become interested in the Indian states because our future progress under this constitution is made dependent upon the rulers of Indian states. Therefore, it is no use saying Indian states must continue as they are. We do not want them to be eliminated. No. We are not among those who desire to see them eliminated but we do want radical changes, changes which will modernise and democratise the administration of the Indian states.

The Economic Issue

One more question and that is the economic issue. I want to make a confession. I am a Liberal and I am a 20th century Liberal and I want to approach these economic questions with a big vision. I think we have shown vision in the past and I think we shall show it in the future. We believe in justice to the underdog. What matters is social justice. Liberalism does not believe in monopoly and privilege. We have to recognise that our social system suffers from many injustices. They are revolting to the social conscience. Therefore it must be our endeavour to apply ourselves with vigour and courage to the problem of Indian poverty. We do not believe in confiscation and expropriation, but we do believe in social justice and I think that this has been the creed of the British Liberal Party and I say it is the creed of the Indian Liberal Party. As one who has been interested in social work and labour welfare, whose heart is with the poor and oppressed, I have felt it my duty to make these observations. I hope you will not misunderstand the spirit in which these observations are made. I will always remain loyal to the Liberal Party and we hope this party which was founded by such men as Surendra Nath Banerjee and Dinshaw Wacha and which looks to Gokhale for its inspiration and to Ranade as its prophet great and respected in this land. I hope this party will live to fight fascist tendencies which are developing not only in Europe but also in this country.

I thank you. I have also to thank on your behalf and on my behalf Sir Cowasji Jehangir, chairman of the Reception Committee and the other office-bearers for their wonderful hospitality. Look at the tea we had this afternoon. Would you call it tea? I would call it a sumptuous dinner. It is not our idea of tea. Look at the refreshments we had.

Then we must thank Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. He has been a source of inspiration to us. At his age he has been guiding us with his wise and sage counsel. Sir Chimanlal is one of the most valuable assets of the Liberal Party and we are proud that we have a leader in the Party of his eminence, character and vision.

Then we must thank the Maharashtra Sangit Vidyalaya for giving us excellent music. I am not a great judge of music. I am very unmusical, but even I enjoyed that music. It must have been very good indeed.

Then we have to thank the volunteers of the Girgaum Vyayam Shala who have worked devotedly and who have looked after our comforts so well. We have also to thank the Parle Balwant Akhada Volunteers, and we have to thank a dozen other volunteers under the direction of Mr. Altekar,

our General Secretary, who has worked so devotedly to make this Federation a success. I would also like to thank in advance the ladies who will sing the national anthem for us.

I forgot our devoted assistant secretary, Mr. V. R. Bhende, who has been such a help to us. He is such an excellent draftsman. He came to my rescue on two or three occasions yesterday. We are very grateful to him.

National Liberal Federation of India

(TWENTIETH SESSION)

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTIONS

I. The Liberal Party's Losses

The National Liberal Federation of India records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna, an ex-President of the Federation and one of the most distinguished leaders of the Party, who rendered meritorious services to the cause of the country in diverse ways for nearly 40 years.

The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pandit Jagat Narayen, Sir Biseswar Nath Srivastava, Rai Bahadur N. K. Mukherji, Pandit Biswanath Tholal, Pandit Ramchandra Gossain and Mr. G. V. Ganu who were connected with the Liberal Party for a long time. All these Liberals rendered meritorious services to the country in their own way and the Federation offers its deep sympathies to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

[Put from the chair and carried unanimously all standing]

II. The Federal Constitution

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the Constitution, especially as regards the Centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde. While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act, especially in the direction of (a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of states the right of election of states' representatives, (b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination, (c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the Provinces, and (d) making the Constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position when there is an irresponsible government in the centre coupled with responsible governments in the Provinces is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the Constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential to the successful working of the Federal Constitution.

Proposed by : Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh (Lucknow).

Seconded by : Dr. G. S. Mahajani (Poona).

Supported by : Mr. N. M. Joshi. (Bombay).

” Mr. B. N. Gokhale (Bombay).

” Mr. L. G. Sabnis (Dharwar).

(and carried unanimously)

III. Working of Provincial Autonomy.

(i) The National Liberal Federation of India notes with satisfaction that in all the Provinces, provincial Autonomy as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference so far from the Governors, and trust that this atmosphere will continue and soon lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the provinces.

(ii) The Federation strongly deprecates the manner in which the Working Committee of the Congress Party has tried to impose its will and decisions on the provincial ministries in provinces where that Party has formed ministries. Such interference is calculated very seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government in the country.

Proposed by : Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, (Poona).

Seconded by : D. B. K. V. Brahma, (Nagpur).

Supported by : Babu Vishwanath Prasad (Allahabad).

” : Dr. P. N. Daruvala, (Bombay).

(and carried unanimously).

IV Economic Development.

(a) The Federation advocates legislation intended to secure a reform of agrarian laws which while fair to all classes will secure to the tenantry their legitimate rights and in particular security of tenure and fair rents,

(b) the embodiment in Legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not been done,

(c) the relief of agricultural indebtedness and adoption of measures to check further fragmentation and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings,

(d) substantial aid in the development of the industries, big and small alike,

(e) a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country,

(f) legislation for the more adequate protection of the labouring classes both in urban and rural areas,

(g) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls,

(h) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas,

Proposed by : Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay)

Seconded by : Prof. M. R. Dhekne (Poona)

Supported by : Mr. P. G. Mehendargi (Ahmednagar)

(and carried unanimously).

V. Reform in the Indian States

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India welcomes the proclamations by the rulers of several Indian states to grant to their subjects an increasingly greater association with their administrations, developing into responsible Government as their goal.
- (b) The Federation re-affirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian states for civil and political liberties.
- (c) The Federation trusts that the rulers of all states will realize in their own interests that, with the working of autonomous responsible Government in the provinces, it is no longer possible for them to continue to administer their states on the existing basis. The Federation, therefore, urges the rulers to concede to their subjects without any further delay the right of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, an independent judiciary, and to initiate measures for the establishment of Responsible Government.

Proposed by : Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Poona).

Seconded by : Mr. K. D. Acharya (Bombay).

Supported by : Mr. K. R. Pradhan (Jalgaon).

(and carried unanimously.)

VI Defence.

- 1 The National Liberal Federation of India records its protest that the Government of India Act of 1935 does not provide for a close association of the responsible part of the Federal Government with the defence of the country.
2. The Federation strongly deprecates the exclusion of Indians from membership of the Chatfield Committee.
3. In spite of the huge and intolerable burden of military expenditure borne by the country since the inception of the British rule, the Government have utterly failed in their duty to equip the country adequately for defensive purposes. The Federation reiterates its demand for (a) the rapid nationalisation of the defence forces of India involving the replacement of British troops and the Royal Air Force by Indian Land and Air Forces and the substitution of the Indian for European officers in the Army, Navy and Air Forces of the country; (b) the redistribution of the existing defence expenditure so as to provide more money for the rapid development of the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army; (c) the removal of Provincial and Communal restrictions regarding recruitment to the army, (d) a wider expansion of the University Training Corps and the selection of cadets from the corps for admission to the Indian Military Academy; (e) the introduction of the military drill and the establishment of a cadet corps in schools in accordance with the recommendations of the Shea Committee; and (f) taking all necessary steps to make the people of this country more self-reliant in the matter of defence.

(4) In view of the tense international situation suggesting possibilities of a European War, which may render Indian ports and coastal towns.

liable to air raids by hostile sea-borne aircraft, involving use of explosive, incendiary and gas-bombs against civil population of this country, this Federation urges upon the Government the need to undertake a more systematic organisation of Air Raid Precaution measures, including anti-gas training, protection against incendiary and gas bombs, organisation of fire-fighting squads and other allied Air Raid Precaution services.

Proposed by : Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona)

Seconded by : Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar (Bombay)

Supported by : Mr. N. C. Bharucha (Bombay)

(and carried unanimously.)

VII Appointment of Civilians as Governors and Judges.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India is emphatically of opinion that the practice of appointing members of the Indian Civil Service as Governors should no longer be continued as it has never been approved by public opinion in the country and is out of harmony with the new order of things.

(b) The Federation is of opinion that Governors should be men drawn from public life and the policy of appointing Indians as Governors should be promoted.

(c) The Federation urges that recruitment to the judiciary including the High Court should be entirely from the members of the Bar.

Proposed by : Mr. M. S. Sirdar (Sholapur)

Seconded by : Mr. G. C. Bhate (Roha)

Supported by : Mr. P. S. Bakhale (Bombay)

(and carried unanimously.)

VIII Indians and Consular Service.

(a) In the interests of safeguarding the rights of Indians living in other parts of the British Empire as well as in foreign countries, the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that a Consular Service of the country should be developed on the lines adopted by other Dominions of the Empire.

(b) Pending the development of such a Consular Service, the Federation urges the inclusion of Indians into the British Diplomatic and Consular Corps from which Indians have been so far scrupulously excluded.

(Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.)

IX Indians Overseas.

Burma :—The National Liberal Federation of India deeply deplores the recent riots in Burma which have resulted in bloodshed, extensive destruction of property of Indian residents and in desecration of their places of worship and urges on the Government of India the need of protecting Indians in Burma. While welcoming the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Burma to ascertain the cause of riots, this Federation hopes that the question of compensating the Indian victims of the riots will receive the careful attention of the Government.

Ceylon :—The Federation endorses the conclusions reached by Sir Edward Jackson in his report on Indian immigrant labour in Ceylon, emphasising the inadvisability of restricting it and appreciates his plea for equality of status for domiciled Indian labourers.

The Federation deplotes the Village Communities Ordinance Amendment which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourer and urges on the Government not to re-open recruitment of labour for Ceylon, or to enter into any trade pact with Ceylon, until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question.

Zanzibar :—The Federation regards the settlement of the clove trade dispute with satisfaction, though in the nature of a compromise entailing considerable loss to the Indians in Zanzibar, and in view of some complaints received, requests the Government of India to see to the proper implementing of the terms of the agreement by the Government of Zanzibar.

Tanganyika .—The Federation is of opinion that the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany would constitute a serious threat to the defence of India and would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika. The Federation, therefore, requests his Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of this territory to Germany.

Kenya :—The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council which would permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in Kenya Highlands. The Federation also views with apprehension the proposal of the British Government to reserve some parts of Kenya Highlands for the settlement of Jewish refugees from Europe, and objects to any preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indian residents there.

South Africa :—The Federation regrets that notwithstanding goodwill missions, Indian nationals in South Africa continue to be deprived of their political and municipal franchise in Natal and Transvaal on racial grounds. The Federation feels that while no satisfactory solution is likely to be reached pending the attainment of full responsible Government in India, time has now come for the Government of India to abandon their policy of protests in favour of active measures to secure the grant of the political and municipal franchise to Indians residents there.

Proposed by : Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, (Lucknow)

Seconded by : Major S. A. Paymaster, (Bombay)
(and carried unanimously).

X Educational Reform.

- (a) While welcoming a reorganisation of the educational system so as to take account of different aptitudes and provide vocational courses at each stage of education, the National Liberal Federation of India views with concern the tendency manifested in certain quarters to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education. It is strongly of opinion that nothing should be done to restrict arbitrarily admission to the universities or check the growth of higher education which has played a large part in the awakening of India.

(b) The Federation notes that the Wardha Scheme, as originally announced and which was highly detrimental to the interests of the country, has been fundamentally modified.

Proposed by : Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, (Bombay)

Seconded by : Mr. M. D. Altekar, (Bombay)

Supported by : Principal V. K. Joag (Poona)

(and carried unanimously.)

XI Separation of the Executive from the Judiciary.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great disappointment at and protest against the manner in which the several Provincial Governments, including those where the Congress Party has formed ministries, have tried to shelve the question of the separation of the Executive and the Judiciary. The National Congress, from its very inception, had been always insisting on this reform and it is surprising that the Congress ministries should have shown themselves so apathetic, and in some cases even antagonistic, towards all suggestions in favour of the separation of the Executive and the Judiciary. The Federation commends the public that it should not rest until this over-due reform is carried out.

(b) The Federation views with concern the tendency on the part of some of the Congress ministries arbitrarily to interfere with judicial decisions under the garb of using discretionary powers vested in them under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Proposed by : Sir C. H. Setalvad (Bombay.)

Seconded by : D. G. Dalvi (Bombay.)

Supported by : Rao Bahadur D. G. Divakar (Sholapur)

„ Mr. S. M. Varde (Bombay.)

(and carried unanimously.)

XII Council and Office-Bearers for 1939.

(a) The Federation elects Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Mr. M. D. Altekar and Babu Vishwanath Prasad as its General Secretaries for the year 1939.

(b) The Federation elects the undermentioned Council for the year 1939.

(List of members is printed in appendix).

(Put from the chair and carried unanimously.)

XIII The next session.

The Federation resolves that the Twenty-first Session be held at a place to be decided upon by the Council in Christmas next year.

(Put from the chair and carried unanimously.)

P. N. SAPRU

President, Twentieth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India.

Bombay,

December 31, 1938.

National Liberal Federation of India.

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1939.

President.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Prakash Narayan Sapru, M. C. S., Bar-at-Law, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.

Vice-Presidents.

2. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
3. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Kt., D. Litt., LL. D., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A., D. Sc., Poona No. 4.
6. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
7. Sir Moropant Joshi, K. C. I. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
8. Mr. J. N. Basu, M. A., B. L., M. L. A., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
9. The Hon'ble Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, M. C. S., Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
10. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., Mylapore, Madras.
11. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I. E., M. L. A., O. B. E., Church Gate St., Bombay.

General Secretaries.

12. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, M. A., LL. B., Advocate, Girgaon Road, Bombay 4.
13. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Park Road, Vile Parle, Bombay No. 24.
14. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, B. A., LL. B., Leader Road, Allahabad.

Nominated by the President.

15. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal, Berar.
16. Rai Bahadur Brijendra Swarup, Cawnpore.
17. Mr. B. S. Kamat, B. A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona 5.
18. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
19. Dr. Khirodlal De, M. B., D. T. M., 282, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

ELECTED MEMBERS

BOMBAY

20. Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw, Kt., M. V. O., Adenwala Bag, Tardeo, Bombay.
21. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., Manekji Wadia Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
22. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
23. Mr. A. D. Shroff, B. A., B. Sc., (London), Savoy Chambers, Dalal Street, Bombay.
24. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
25. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut, J. P., French Bridge, Chaupaty, Bombay 7.

26. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
27. Mr. N. R. Wadia, Motlabai Building, 120, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay 1.
28. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, M. A., LL. B., (Advocate), 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
29. Mr. K. J. Dubhash, M. A., LL. B., (Solicitor), 79, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
30. Dewan Bahadur Chunilal M. Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
31. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
32. Mr. R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay 2.
33. Principal J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
34. Principal V. K. Joag, M. A., Nowrosji Wadia College, Poona 1.
35. Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I. C. S.—(Rtd.), 344, Shaniwar Peth, Poona City.
36. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City
37. Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M. A., Ph. D. Fergusson College, Poona 4.
38. Mr. S. G. Sathe, M. A., I. E. S., (Rtd.), Vineeta, Poona 4.
39. Mr. V. M. Apte, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Dhulia. (West Khandesh.)

Bengal.

40. The Hon'ble Sir Bejoyprasad Singh Roy, Kt., M. L. A., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
41. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M. A., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
42. Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
43. Prof. B. B. Roy, M. A., Statesman House, Calcutta.
44. Mr. Satinath Roy, M. A., B. L., 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
45. Mr. P. N. Singh Roy, 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
46. Mr. Sudhanshu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
47. Kumar Rajendro Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
48. Rai Nagendranath Mookerji Bahadur, O. B. E., Ranaghat, Nadia.
49. Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
50. Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur, 186, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara (E. I. Ry.)
51. Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen, Solicitor, 44, Ramkanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
52. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
53. The Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
54. Raja Bhupendra Narain Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
55. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
56. Mr. Shiva Prasanna Ghose, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Bhagwandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
58. Mr. Shew Kissen Bhattar, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
59. Gosto Behari Mandal, Nawabgunge, Barrackpur, Bengal.
60. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghose, Sheoraphuli, E. I. Ry.
61. Pandit Harischandra Gossain, 3, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
62. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfeld Row, Calcutta.
63. Mr. D. C. Ghose, Bar-at-Law, 23, Devendra Ghose Road, Calcutta.

United Provinces.

64. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
65. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, P. O. Dumraon, (District Shahabad).
66. Dr. Rajeshwar Bali, O. B. E., Daryabad, district Bara Banki.
67. Kumar Rajendra Singh Saheb, "Tikra House," Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
68. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
69. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
70. Rai Brij Narain Gurtu, George Town, Allahabad.
71. Babu Bodh Raj Sahney, Advocate, Civil Lines, Jhansi.
72. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Ganga Prasad Memorial Building, Lucknow.
73. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Advocate, Clive Road, Allahabad.
74. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Member, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
75. Mehta Krishna Ram, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
76. Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M. A., LL. B., Advocate, Fatehpur, U. P.
77. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, Bar-at-Law, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
78. Babu Vishnu Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
79. Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
80. Mehta Mahipat Ram, Leader Office, Allahabad.
81. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, "Surya Bhawan", Fyzabad.
82. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Narayan, Treasurer, Imperial Bank of India, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
83. Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, M. A., C. I. E., M. L. A., Lucknow.

Madras.

84. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar, Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
85. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Kanti Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
86. Raja Sir Vasudev Raja of Kollengode, Kollengode, South Malabar.
87. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral, P. O. Madras.
88. Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Advocate, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.
89. Mr. C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapatam.
90. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, "The Ashram", Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
91. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu, C. I. E., Ritherdon Road, Vepary, Madras.
92. Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
93. Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao, do. do. do.
94. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, do. do. do.
95. Mr. S. R. Venkatraman, do. do. do.
96. Mr. V. M. Nayanar, do. do. do.

Central Provinces & Berar.

97. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M. B. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
98. Mr. V. K. Rajvade, Advocate, Nagpur.
99. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.

100. Mr. N. A. Dravid, M. A., Craddock Town, Nagpur
101. Mr. V. G. Mandpe, Dantoli, Nagpur.
102. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
103. Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
104. Rao Bahadur R. M. Khare, Amroli Camp.
105. Mr. S. N. Bhalchandra, Advocate, Yeotmal.
106. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal (Berar).

Punjab.

107. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
108. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
109. Lala Keshao Ram Shekri, Vakil, Civil Lines, Lahore.
110. Hon'ble Lala Manohar Lal, Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
111. Pandit Hardatt Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, MacLagan Road, Lahore.

Behar and Orissa.

112. Babu Bhagvati Saran Singh, Anapur, Allahabad district (U. P.)
113. Mr. A. S. N. Moorthi, Berhampore (Ganjam Distt.)
114. Mr. L. N. Sahu, M. A., Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

Assam.

115. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, Shillong.
116. Mr. Chandradhar Barua, Jorhat, Assam.

List of Members of the Reception Committee and Delegates.

1. Mr. Nausir C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay No 2.
2. Mr. Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, 41, Peddar Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay No. 6.
3. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., Setalvad Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
4. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I. E., M. L. A. Readymoney Mansion, Church Gate Street, Bombay.
5. Mr. Vasant Rao S. Ravut, French Bridge, Bombay No. 7.
6. Mr. Bhalchandra Narayan Gokhale, Advocate, 157-59 Girgaum, Bombay.
7. Mr. Dattatram Ganpat Dalvi, Advocate, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.
8. Mr. Burjor J. Shroff, Fakirji Lodge, Tardeo Road, Bombay.
9. Prof. Madhav Damodar Altekar, Prabhavati Niwas, Park Road, Vile Parle.
10. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Fort, Bombay.
11. Mr. Dinshaw D. Romer, Solicitor, 14, K. Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.
12. Mr. B. D. Lam Solicitor, 113, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
13. Khan Bahadur A. R. Bilimoria, Pallonji House, 2nd Floor, New Charni Road, Girgaum, Bombay.
14. Mr. Vishwanath P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, 6/10, Dean Lane, Fort, Bombay.
15. Mr. Kaikhushroo Jamshedji Dubash, Solicitor, 79, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.
16. Sir Homi Mehta, Kt., 125, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
17. Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M. A., Ph. D., M. L. C., Fergusson College, Poona—4.
18. Mr. Balkrishna Sitaram Kamat, Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
19. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Vallabhai Patel Road, Bombay.
20. Mr. Wilfred E. Perriera, Solicitor, 101, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
21. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ali Baakza, M. B. E., New Queen's Road, Bombay.
22. Sir Hormasji C. Dinshaw, Kt. M. V. O., Adenwalla Baug, Tardeo, Bombay.
23. D. B. Chunilal Maneklal Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura Road, Surat.
24. Dr. Raghunath Purshottam Paranjape, M. A., D. Sc., Purshottam Ashram, Poona (4).
25. Mr. Beharam N. Karanjia, M. L. C., 8, Carmichael Road, Cumballa Hill, Bombay 6.
26. Mr. Frank Oliveira, Bar-at-Law, The Haven, Mazgaon, Bombay.
27. Sir Dossabhoy Hormasji Bhiwandiwalla, 583, Chira Bazar, Bombay.
28. Mr. Kaikhoshru N. Chandabhoy, Gustad Chambers, Sir P. M. Mehta Road, Bombay.
29. Mr. Ramchandra Kashinath Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay No. 2.
30. Mr. Joseph Paul D'Mello, C/o Caslon Stationery Mart, 133 Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay.
31. Mr. M. A. J. Noble, 109, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay.
32. Mr. Cowasji D. Mahalaxmiwalla, Halcyon Lodge, Vachhagandhi Road, Bombay.

33. Mr. Kharshedji Limji, 534, Sandhurst Bridge, Bombay—4.
34. Mr. Dinshaw Cowasji, 20, Fort, Street, Fort, Bombay.
35. Mr. Jamshedji Nusserwanji, M. L. A., Post Box No. 271, Karachi.
36. Sir S. S. Patkar, Kt., Hughes Road, Chowpatty, Bombay.
37. Mr. Sarvottam Ganesh Kantak, Vile Parle, Bombay.
38. Mr. Nawroji Rustomji Wadia, 120, Wodehouse Road, Middle Kolaba, Bombay.
39. Mr. Hari Ganpatrao Gharpurey, I. C. S. (Rtd.), 344, Shanwar Peth, Poona City.
40. Mr. S. D. Saklatwala, M. L. A., 24, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay.
41. Mr. N. J. Alvares, Namice Villa, Dadabhoy Road, Vile Parla, Bombay.
42. Mr. Jamshedji Dhanjibhai Mahalaxmiwalla, Firuz Ara, Opp. Band Stand, Backbay Reclamation, Church Gate, Bombay.
43. Mr. P. S. Bakhale, Advocate, Soman Building, Kennedy Bridge, Bombay.
44. Sir Govind Balwant Pradhan Kt., Balwant Baug, Thana.
45. Mr. Vicajee Ardeshir Taraporewalla, 7/10, Elphinstone Circle, Fort, Bombay.
46. Mr. J. W. Gomes, Bar-at-Law, 24, Club Road, Byculla, Bombay.
47. Mr. Jehangir Cowasji Jehangir, Readymoney Mansion, Church Gate Street, Bombay.
48. Mr. Pestonji Dhanjibhoy Mahalaxmiwalla, 135, Church Gate Reclamation, Bombay.
49. Mr. Jehangir Pallonji Katgara, Jeena & Co., 45, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
50. Mr. Jiwaji Krishna Parulkar, 330, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.
51. Mr. Rustomji Nanabhai Boyce, 38, Fort Street, Fort, Bombay.
52. Mr. P. C. Tarapore, Editor, "The Daily Gazette" Karachi.
53. Mr. Mohamedally Allabux, M. L. A., 106, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.
54. Mr. Rustomji Dhanjibhoy Patel, 10, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.
55. Mr. V. M. Apte, Advocate, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
56. Mr. Dinshaw Darabshaw Shroff, C/o S. B. Billimoria & Co., 113, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
57. Sir Ishwardas Lukshmidas Kt., Garden View, 19, Hughes Road, Bombay.
58. Mr. Nusserwanji Sorabji Gazder, Cuffe Parade, Pallonji House, Colaba, Bombay.
59. Dr. Amarshi Jivabhai Bhimjiani, 65, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
60. Mr. Dadabhoy Jehangir Registrar, Soonamai House, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
61. Mr. Nariman Dadabhoy Adenwalla, 418, Chhotalal Bhuvan, Kalabadevi Road, Bombay 2.
62. Mr. Jal S. Ratnagar, Surya Mahal, Military Square Lane, Fort, Bombay.
63. Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir, Motlibai House, Parsi Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay.
64. Mr. Pestonji Manekji Kanga, Solicitor, 25, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
65. Mr. Dorab Bomanji Kapadia, Hirji Mansion, Gowalia Tank, Bombay.
66. Mr. Jamshed Cowasji Dubash, Palmlands, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

67. Mr. Mancharji Edalji Joshi, 630 Mancharji Joshi Road, Dadar, Bombay.
68. Mr. N. J. Readymoney, Nepean Sea Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
69. Mr. Ardeshir Bomanji Dubash, C/o A. B. Cursetji & Sons, 6, Rampart Row, Bombay.
70. Rao Bahadur Moreshwar W. Pradhan, Corner of Sai Baba Lane and Ghod Bunder Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay.
71. Mr. Kaikhushru Ardeshir Dubash, 6, Rampart Row, Fort, Bombay.
72. Mr. Kaikhushroo Jehangir Divecha, Ahmed Manzil, Warden Road, Bombay.
73. Mr. Cowasji H. L. Batliwalla, Opp. Petit Hall, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay No. 6.
74. Dr. T. M. Kajiji, Bar-at-Law, Villa Ghitta, Pedder Road, Bombay.
75. Mr. S. C. Cumbatta, Cumbatta Building, Queen's Road, Bombay.
76. Mr. Dwarkadas Kaliandas, "Krishna Kunj" Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
77. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, Somerset Lodge, Warden Road, Bombay.
78. Mr. Kaikobad Cowasji Dinshaw, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.
79. Mr. Naoroji M. Dumasia, C/o Times of India, Fort, Bombay.
80. Capt. J. D. Kothawala, 41, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay.
81. Dr. Sorab P. Mehta, 1, Govt. Gate Road, Parel, Bombay 12.
82. Mr. Ramchandra Krishnaji Garud, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
83. Mr. P. M. Apte, New Pratap Mills, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
84. Mr. Baburao Ramchandra Ransingh, Agra Road, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
85. Mr. Shivram Balkrishna Kotwal, Grand Baugh, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
86. Mr. G. H. Kane, Electric Supply Co. Dhulia, West Khandesh.
87. Dr. Bhalchandra Bhagwant Kirtane, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
88. Mr. Sitaram Damodar Deshpande, Old Town, Dhulia, Dist. West Khandesh.
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