

REPORT
OF THE
Proceedings
OF THE
EIGHTH SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation
OF INDIA
held at Calcutta
on December, 28, 29 and 30, 1925.

CALCUTTA

1930



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED	1
OPENING OF THE SESSION	9
ADDRESS OF MR. KRISHNAKUMVR MITRA, CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE	10
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT	25
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY SIR MOROPANT JOSHI	30
MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY	50
RESOLUTIONS :—	
I and II. Condolence	51
III. Constitutional Reforms	52
IV. Internments and Regulations	76
✓ V. Cotton Excise Duty	83
VI. Judicial Reform	83
VII. Elevation of Backward Classes	86
VIII. Financial Position of Provincial Governments	92
IX. Military Policy and Training	98
X. Civil Services Act	108
✓ XI. Agricultural and Industrial Development	108
XII. Indians in South Africa & Kenya	113
XIII. Elementary Education	123
XIV. Social Work in Rural Areas	127
XV. Medical Aid in Villages	127
✓ XVI. Relation Between Landlord and Tenants	127
✓ XVII. Improvement of Labour Conditions	127
XVIII. Anti-Indian Legislation in Burma	130
XIX. Constitution of the Federation	134
XX. Council & Office-bearers for 1926	135
VOTE OF THANKS	135
CONCLUDING SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT	136
APPENDICES :—	
IA. List of Members of the Reception Committee	139
IB. List of Delegates	141
II. Council and Office-bearers for 1926	149

The National Liberal Federation of India.

EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION.

Calcutta : December 28, 29 & 30, 1925.

Resolutions.

I. Death of Queen Alexandra.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried in silence, the whole audience standing.]

II. The Late Sir Surendranath Banerjea and Other Patriots.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of deep regret at the death of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, its first President, who, during an active and distinguished public life of half a century, rendered signal services to the country and whose honoured memory will long be cherished by the grateful people of India as one of their foremost nation-builders.

(b) The Federation records its deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the deaths of Desabandhu C. R. Das, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, His Highness the late Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, Sir P. Theagoraya Chetty, and Babu Avinash Chandra Mazumdar of Lahore.

[Put from the Chair and carried in silence, the whole audience standing.]

III. Constitutional Reform.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it, and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic service rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-Presidents.

(b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August, respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September, which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.

(c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below :—

- (1) Provincial governments should be responsible to the respective provincial legislative councils, which should be wholly elected.
- (2) The central government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (3) The control of the foreign and political relations of the Government and of the military, naval and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a commission on which Indian opinion is adequately represented.
- (4) During this period a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor-General, who should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.
- (5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure, but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.
- (6) Indians should be trained for, and freely admitted to, all arms of defence and such financial provision shall be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
- (7) The principles and conditions of recruitment for all superior services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Governments in India ; the actual recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commission in England.
- (8) All subjects not specifically vested in provincial governments should be under the control of the central Government.
- (9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.
- (10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered, and adequate

provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed and labouring classes.

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

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

[Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad), seconded by Sir Provash Mitter, C.I.E., M.L.C. (Calcutta), supported by Mr. B. S. Kamat (Poona), Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, I.S.O., M.L.C. (Nagpur), Pandit Hardatt Sarma (Lahore), Mr. K. Parthasarathi Iyenger (Madras), Mr. P. N. Guba, M. L. C. (Calcutta) and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal (Calcutta), and carried unanimously.]

IV. Internments, Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulations.

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

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

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

[Proposed by Mr. C. C. Biswas (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. R. R. Jayavant, M. B. E., M. L. C. (Nagpur), supported by Principal J. R. Banerji (Calcutta), Mr. G. K. Gadgil (Poona) and Dr. Abdul Gaffoor Siddique (Bengal), and carried unanimously.]

V. The Cotton Excise Duty.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously]

VI. Judicial Reform.

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits.

[Proposed by Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Amraoti), seconded by Mr. R. K. Doss (Dacca), supported by Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar (Nagpur), and carried unanimously.]

VII. Untouchability and the Elevation of all Backward Classes.

(a) The Federation reaffirms its deep sympathy for the so-called depressed classes, reiterates its abhorrence of the ungodly and unsocial sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable, and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo this grievous and impious wrong against those so treated, and to take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, economically and educationally.

(b) The Federation is in full sympathy with all legitimate efforts of all backward classes to improve their condition—educational, social and economic—and urges that the Government as well as relatively advanced classes should give them full support in their endeavours.

(c) The Federation is of opinion that whenever special facilities are granted to any community either in the matter of representation or in the services or in educational institutions, the backward classes should be allowed to participate in such facilities.

[Proposed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona), seconded by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. (Bombay), supported by Dr. P. K. Acharya (Calcutta), Mr. G. C. Banerji (Allahabad) and Pandit Digendra Narayan Bhattacharya (Serajganj), and carried unanimously.]

VIII. Financial Position of Provincial Governments.

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

[Proposed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K. C. I. E., LL. D., M. L. A. (Bombay), seconded by Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter (Calcutta), supported by Lieut. Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy (Calcutta), and carried unanimously.]

IX. Military Policy, Education and Expenditure.

(a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianisation of eight units of the Army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that the opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee on Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.

(b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence and for all ranks.

(c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.

(d) The recommendations of the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefor in the Budget for 1926-27.

(e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon a consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia, and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.

(f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination should be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

[Proposed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona), seconded by Rao Bahadur A. S. Bambawale (Nagpur), supported by Mr. Sachindra Nath Mukerji (Bengal), and carried unanimously.]

X. The Civil Services Act.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously]

XI. Development of Agriculture and Industries.

(a) The Federation again impresses upon the people and the Government the great importance of measures of economic development, including not only the improvement of methods of agriculture but the stimulation of agricultural, manufacturing and cottage industries, the organization of capital and the encouragement of co-operation.

(b) The Federation also desires to impress upon the people and the different governments—central and provincial—the importance of establishing educational institutions, higher as well as secondary, for imparting agricultural, commercial, technical and industrial education.

[Proposed by Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Dutt (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay), supported by Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M. L. C. (Lucknow) and Mr. Kali Prasanna Das Gupta (Jessore), and carried unanimously.]

XII. Indians in South Africa and Kenya.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-Asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government's measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that domi-

nion, and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that, if the Union Government should finally reject the proposal of a round table conference and the Bill be passed, the Government of India should move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow it under sec. 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.

(b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

[Proposed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., LL. D. (Allahabad), seconded by Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad), supported by Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu (Calcutta) and Mr. Rajani Kanta Mitra (Khulna), and carried unanimously.]

XIII. Elementary Education.

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

[Proposed by Mr. S. N. Mullick, C. I. E. (Calcutta), seconded by Mrs. Kumudini Bose (Calcutta), supported by Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram (Ahmedabad) and Mr. Bhagirath Chandra Das (Noakhali), and carried unanimously.]

XIV. Social Work in Rural Areas.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

XV. Medical Aid in Villages.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

XVI. Relations between Tenants and Landlords.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

XVII. Improvement of Labour Conditions.

(a) The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the conditions of labour in India, including wages, housing, care of health, education, provision against sickness, unemployment and old age, and the general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the central and provincial governments.

(b) The Federation also recommends to all Liberal associations in the country to help the working classes organize themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

[Proposed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. (Bombay), seconded by Mr. K. C. Roy Chaudhury, M. L. C. (Calcutta), supported by Mr. Azad, and carried unanimously.]

XVIII. Anti-Indian Legislation in Burma.

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

[Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad), seconded by Mr. S. S. Halkar (Rangoon), and carried unanimously.]

XIX. Constitution of the Federation.

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

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

XX. Council and Office-bearers for 1926.

Resolved that in the year 1926,

(a) Mr. C. Y. Chintamani be the General Secretary of the National Liberal Federation of India :

(b) the under-mentioned members* do constitute the Council of the Federation, and

(c) the ninth annual session of the Federation be held in Berar.

[Proposed by the President, seconded by Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C. I. E. (Akola), and carried unanimously.]

* The names are printed separately.

The National Liberal Federation of India.

THE EIGHTH SESSION.

Calcutta 1925.

President :

Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E.

General Secretary :

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Office Bearers of the Reception Committee.

Chairman :

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra.

Vice-Chairman :

Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.V.O.

Rai Budreedas Goenka Bahadur, M.L.C.

Sir Provash Mitter, C.I.E.

Sir Debaprosad Sarvadikari, C.I.E.

Principal H. C. Maitra.

Rai Pramathanath Mullick Bahadur.

Secretaries :

Mr. S. M. Bose.

Mr. P. N. Guha.

Mr. N. C. Roy.

Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur.

Mr. D. C. Ghose.

Mr. Sachindraprosad Basu.

Assistant Secretaries :

Mr. Bejoyprosad Singh Roy

Mr. Prafulla Kumar Chakravarti.

Treasurer :

Mr. J. N. Basu.

The National Liberal Federation of India

THE EIGHTH SESSION.

Calcutta, December 28, 29, & 30, 1925.

The Eighth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened at the Town Hall, Calcutta on Monday, the 28th December, 1925, at 1-30 P.M. The Hall was tastefully decorated with flags, buntings and festoons, and appropriate mottoes such as "Construction and not Destruction", "Swaraj our Birthright", "Love and Service", "Liberal stand for True Nationalism and Swaraj", "Hindu-Moslem Unity", "Order and Progress", and "Elevate All Backward Classes" were prominently displayed on all sides. There was a large and distinguished gathering of delegates from all parts of India and a number of distinguished visitors also attended. There were several ladies including some who had specially come from Nagpur to attend the session. Prominent among those present were Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Provash Mitter, Pandit Hridoyanath Kunzru, Hon. B. L. Mitter, Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. K. S. Kamat, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobley, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Thakur Hanuman Singh, Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Mr. Surendranath Varma, Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Rai Mohendra Chandra Lahiri Bahadur, Mr. Surendranath Mullik, Mr. P. N. Guha, Dr. Abdur Gaffur Sidique, Dr. P. K. Acharya, and Messrs. J. N. Basu, S. M. Bose, Erfan Ali, D. C. Ghose, Bejoy Prosad Singh Roy, A. Atal, K. R. Pilcher, Kenneth Saunders, Satyananda Bose, Debiprosad Khaitan, Tarit Bhusan Roy, Prafulla Chandra Chakravarti, Principal H. C. Maitra, Principal J. R. Bannerji and Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Dutt. Among the ladies present were Mrs. Durgabai Joshi, Mrs. Satyabhama Joshi, Mrs. Karmakar, Lady Abala Bose, Mrs. Subala Acharya, Mrs. Kumudini Bose, Mrs. Maya Bose, Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti, Mrs. Mrinmoyi Dutta, Mrs. Maikkar and Mrs. Sarala Dutta. Punctually at 1-30 P.M., the President-elect, Sir Moropant Joshi, arrived and was escorted to the dais in a procession which was composed of Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Provash Mitter and Principal H. C. Maitra, Vice Chairmen, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Ex-Presidents of the National Liberal Federation of India, Mr. Provash Chandra Ghosh, Captain of the Volunteers, and Messrs P. N. Guha, S. M. Bose, D. C. Ghose, Sachindra Prosad Basu and N. C. Ray, Secretaries. The President on arrival was accorded an enthusiastic reception, amidst cries of "Bande Mataram".

The proceedings commenced with the singing of a Vedic Hymn and of the *Bande Mataram* by a chorus of young ladies, with accompaniment of *Sitar*, *Esraj*, and Violin. The singing was greatly appreciated.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address.

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then rose amidst cheer and welcomed the delegates in a speech which was read out on his behalf by Mr. S. P. Basu.

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

Welcome
Address
—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

We have met here under the shadow of a great calamity. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea is no more. Scarcely had we time to recover from the shock by the sudden death of our friend and fellow-worker Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, immediately followed by the tragic death of Mr. C. R. Das, than the cruel hand of death snatched away from our midst the veteran leader of Bengal who was our friend, philosopher, and guide during the last fifty years of our struggle.

Brother Delegates, it is impossible to begin the proceedings of the day without paying our homage to the memory of his departed greatness, as also to the magnitude of his services to the cause of our country. It was Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea who led us on to so many victories in the past, and it was with him also that we suffered so many defeats and reverses as well. But whether victor or vanquished, Surendra Nath was always in the thickest of the fight, and never yielded an inch of ground to his opponents and adversaries, for which his defeats and reverses were considered even more glorious than his victories. Never more shall we hear the silvery eloquence that had electrified so many Congresses and Conferences in the past and infused new life into dead bones. That thundering voice has been hushed into silence for ever. The idol of the people for the last fifty years of our life,—the hero of the nation in all her fight for freedom is gone,—he is gone to his rest after an age-long service.

Brother Delegates, Bengal is in deep mourning. We are today like an army without a Commander. Like the people of Israel, we are in the midst of a limitless desert, forsaken and forlorn, the vision of the promised land receding further and further from our sight in a Babel of strange tongues, and the shades of evening falling thick and fast around us. How sorely we needed the guidance of a leader like Surendra Nath in this time of trial and tribulation!

Brother Delegates, with the disappearance of Surendra Nath Banerjea from the field of politics, there has been a great set-back in all our political activities. In fact, people have been doubting seriously whether Liberalism, and all that Liberalism stands for in India, would survive the onslaughts and criticisms to which we have been subjected during the last few years of political agitation in the country. But the period of its trials seems well nigh to be over, and Liberalism today stands vindicated all over the country. The clouds that had gathered over our head, and the storm that had threatened to sweep everything in its mad fury, has burst and blown over. It has run its course; and we find today in clear sunshine that the old ship is safe in her moorings, and the weather-beaten mariners are faithfully sticking to their posts.

In such a time, Brother Delegates, we have invited you to this old city of ours to give the lead and light once more to your bewildered countrymen. Brother Delegates, on an occasion like this, it is extremely unfortunate that an old man like me has been selected by your brethren of Bengal to welcome you. I have all along preferred to live and work in obscurity, and have never aspired to the chair. All my life I have liked to work as your humble camp-follower, and loved to be led rather than to lead. If I have appeared before the footlights and used the platform, it has always been as a preacher of those principles and ideals which the Liberal party in India stands for, and for which men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Tilak, Anandamohan, Kalicharan, Surendra Nath, and a host of others had lived and died. By persuasions, and threats carried almost at the point of bayonet, I have been literally dragged from the rank and file, and thrust into the chair from which worthy and distinguished sons of Bengal had so long welcomed you. If you are receiving your welcome today from an unknown and obscure camp-follower of yours, the fault is, Brother Delegates, not mine. I shall therefore ask your indulgence to forgive and forget the many failings and shortcomings which you are sure to find in me and my performance as your Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Brother Delegates, the party to which I have the honour to belong, has no new philosophy to expound,—no new creed to explain,—no political jugglery to show. It is a school of politics that has stood the test of time, and has never been found wanting. It is as old as the history of British rule in India. I have an undying faith in the ideals and principles of this school and am not going to forsake them in my old age for fancies and phantoms, nor for any utopian ideals preached by a new school of politicians. Like the faithful followers of the Prophet of Nazareth, we stand by our creed, and do not fear the cross. We have all along pledged ourselves as a party since the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to co-operate with the ruling power whenever possible, and oppose all their measures on constitutional lines whenever and wherever necessary, in order to bring them round to the path of justice and righteousness.

This fundamental principle of the Liberal party was accepted by that great Mahratta leader Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak who gave it a new name, and called it "Responsive Co-operation" as distinguished from the then rising cult of Non-co-operation. He had in fact left it as his last political testament to the people of India, and advised them not to be misled by the siren songs of any new cult however tempting they may be, but raise the cry of "Responsive Co-operation" throughout the country, and march steadily on to the goal of Swaraj.

But the novelty of the new cult, and the irresistible fascination of getting Swaraj within three months by making no sacrifice whatsoever in men or money,—in life or limb,—but simply by turning the wheel of a peaceful Charka,—in fact by performing a magic in point of which Aladin's performances were as nothing,—and the very simplicity of the

Welcome
Address.

Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mittra.

Welcome
Address
—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

process of getting Swaraj so cheap, and so quickly, had practically turned the heads of our countrymen. Before this tempting offer of Swaraj, the cry of responsive co-operation was lost in the wilderness, and people began to believe more in magic and miracles than in logic so far as politics was concerned. But magic and miracles cannot long take the place of logic, nor can a whole nation be deluded long even by a Prophet in politics! With the signs of returning sanity after the hypnotic spell of the last few years, the cry for responsive co-operation is coming to be accepted again in Indian politics as the only practical Programme and immediate objective of all parties.

Brother Delegates, it will be interesting to enumerate here what the country has gained so far by following the method of responsive co-operation. For the public have got a forgetful memory, and the achievements of the Liberal party that had founded the Indian National Congress have well nigh been forgotten by the present generation of politicians.

(1) During the time of Marquis of Salisbury, the age-limit of the Indian Civil Service was lowered from 21 to 19, with the result that it was impossible for the Indian students to go in for the prize-posts of the Indian Civil Service, and get into the steel frame of the British Administrative machinery. There was tremendous agitation all over the country against this iniquitous measure, and the late Mr. Lal Mohon Ghosh went over to England as a representative of the people to protest against it. The immediate result was that the Statutory Civil Service was introduced by which distinguished men like Mr. S. K. Agasti, Mr. K. N. Roy and others became civilians. As a result of further agitation the age of the Indian Civil Service was raised to 22 through the recommendations of the Public Services Commission appointed in 1887.

(2) As a still further instalment of success in this matter, the Indian Civil Service Examination is being held in India for the benefit of the Indian students.

(3) During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, the Press Act was passed in one day's sitting to gag the Indian press; but after years of persistent agitation, this Black Act was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon.

(4) After the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Bill in 1899 by Lord Curzon, there was great agitation in the country, and since then the agitation was kept up by the Liberals. Twenty years after, when the reforms came into existence in 1919, and as the result of the reforms Sir Surendra Nath was appointed the first Minister for Local Self-Government, he set himself immediately to place the Calcutta Corporation in the hands of the people, and the subsequent history is now too well known to be repeated here.

(5) The history of the agitation against the Partition of Bengal,—another Herculean feat of Lord Curzon,—is also fresh in our memory.

I do not wish to repeat here how the settled fact of the Partition was unsettled by the Liberals during the administration of Lord Hardinge by carrying on an endless agitation against the measure for seven long years.

Welcome
Address

Mr. Kumar
Krishna
Mitra.

(6) The salt tax has also been considerably reduced by the efforts of the Liberals.

(7) Formerly Indian Civilians could never get, on account of their colour, the posts of Divisional Commissioners as permanent incumbents. The claims even of eminent civilians like Sir K. G. Gupta and late Mr. R. C. Dutt were long overlooked. But the prospects are considerably changed today when an Indian can expect to be the Governor of a Province.

(8) Formerly no Indian could ever aspire to get into the Executive Councils of the Central or the Provincial Governments, but we have got now Indians in all these Councils trusted with important portfolios to carry on the administration of the country.

(9) Many prize-posts that had hitherto been the close preserve of the Indian Civil Service, have now been thrown open to the Indians as the result of persistent agitation of the Liberals.

I shall now trace the history of the gradual expansion of the present Legislative Council in Bengal from an absolute and out-and-out Bureaucracy to the present acceptable form of Democracy.

The first Council came into existence in 1862 *i.e.* five years after the great Mutiny. It consisted of 12 members only all of whom were nominated by the Lieutenant Governor, subject to the approval of the Governor-General. After years of agitation by the Indian National Congress, the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1892 by which 20 instead of 12 members composed the Council, but all of them were nominated as before by the Lieutenant Governor subject to the approval of the Governor-General, with this proviso that 7 out of these 20 members will have to be nominated by the Lieutenant Governor on the recommendations of different public bodies and that not more than 10 out of these 20 members should be Official.

As the result of further agitation by the Liberals of the old Indian National Congress, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was passed which increased the number of members from 20 to 50 and introduced for the first time in the history of British rule in India the principle of direct election. By this Act, the Corporation of Calcutta, the University, the Municipal Corporations, the District Boards, the Land Holders, the Mohamedan Community, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and the Calcutta Trades' Association got for the first time the right of direct election. The official majority in the Council ceased to exist, and the Act empowered members to move resolutions upon matters of general public interest.

Welcome
Address

Mr. Kumar
Krishna
Mitra.

Then came at last the Government of India Act of 1919 which has given us the present Constitution by which one million and twenty thousand people have got the direct vote on a minimum franchise of one rupee in the rural area.

We could have achieved much more by this time if we had not been discredited in the country by a ceaseless and systematic campaign of mis-representation. Emissaries were sent from Calcutta to different parts of the country to discredit the Liberals of India and make them unpopular by indulging in all sorts of uncharitable remarks and wilful mis-representations. Let us examine some of the charges levelled against the Liberals during the last five or six years of political agitation in the country.

First and foremost, the Liberals have been snubbed as service-seekers and place-hunters. Nobody has ever heard a more lying and libellous statement than this. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea was the recognised leader of the Liberal party. Can any of his worst enemies accuse him as service-seeker or place-hunter? He lived and died as a servant of the people. He never sought for a Ministry. He never manipulated for a place under Government. When the reforms came, he was in fitness of things chosen by Lord Ronaldshay to be entrusted with the difficult task of administering a department of Government which had hitherto been the close preserve of the Bureaucracy. Could his detractors suggest a better or more honourable name? And when the opportunity came, did this Liberal leader ever use his power of office or influence against the interests of his country or act as a slave of the Bureaucracy as all service-seekers and place-hunters do? No,—he began his administration by appointing exclusively non-official Chairmen in all Municipalities and District Boards of the Province. The sanitation and medical administrations of the country were thoroughly reorganised and placed on a new basis by giving the higher posts more and more to the Indians, and bringing the machinery under popular control. But the monument of his achievements has been the enactment of the Calcutta Municipal Bill by which the municipal administration of the first city in the East has not only been placed on a thoroughly democratic basis but brought under the absolute control of the people. We have now got our own Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors who are no longer in a hopeless minority in the councils of the Corporation, but have got absolute control in making or marring the fortunes of their city; and all these improvements and achievements, mind you, have been carried out in the teeth of violent opposition. Where would have been the existence of our friends in the opposite camp if this new Corporation was not created by ceaseless efforts of this much-maligned Liberal leader? Surely these are not the characteristics of a service-seeker, or place-hunter!

The late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Lord Sinha, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Sivaswami Ayer, and Mr. S. R. Das are other stalwarts of the Liberal party who held high Offices under

Government. But can any one by any stretch of imagination call them as service-seekers or place-hunters? They had princely incomes in their profession. Acceptance of office under Government, on what to them was a starvation allowance, was no small sacrifice to them. And it is a known fact that they had accepted the posts after repeated offers were made to them on pain of being stigmatised as men who shirked their duties and responsibilities for considerations of pecuniary loss and personal discomforts. I have it from a high Government official that Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, the nephew of the late Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu was offered and pressed hard to accept a ministry under government, but he had refused it on principle. No, these are not the men that can be stigmatised as service-seekers or place-hunters.

Next, we have been represented in the country as a party pledged to support Government, that have done nothing by way of service except carrying out the mandates of Government like slaves. There cannot be a more untrue and unjust accusation than this. The whole history of the Liberal party in India since the foundation of the Indian National Congress by them right up to the present day, has been a ceaseless campaign of opposition to all reactionary and repressive measures of Government. For, who undid the partition of Bengal?—who organised and carried on that gigantic fight unparalleled in the history of constitutional agitation in India against the iniquitous measure of Lord Curzon? Who again brought that agitation to a successful issue and gave back to us a united Bengal after fighting against fearful odds and organised opposition? Surely they are the much-maligned Liberals of India, and this is not carrying out the mandates of Government like their bond-slaves.

It was again the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru who from their high office had all along put pressure on Government to repeal the reactionary measures, and their Liberal followers had kept up a systematic agitation in the country against those measures. Whether it is the Press Act, or the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or the deportation of Indians without trial, it is the Liberals always, and the Liberals now, that have kept up an undying agitation in the country.

It is now a known fact that the Repressive Laws Committee appointed mainly through the initiative and influence of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru had recommended to Government to repeal 11 out of 13 repressive laws and they would have immediately been given effect to but for the unfortunate crimes, communal wars, and other recrudescence of violence which the after-math of non-co-operation had brought in its trail and disturbed the peace of the country for so many years.

The Liberals have again been represented in the country as men who are high in life, and aristocratic in manners, and that they hate to mix with the people. Well, Brother Delegates, my presence here to-day as Chairman of the Reception Committee is a direct condemnation of the

Welcome
Address

Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

statement in which the emissaries of the opposite party so freely indulge in order to poison the minds of the people against the Liberals. I come from the people and belong absolutely to the rank and file. I walk in the streets of Calcutta like thousand other men of my province. I do my marketing, and if necessary carry my own load. Still the Liberals have literally dragged me into this place of honour—the highest in the gift of Bengal—and the nobility and aristocracy of the country have in spite of their birth, education, wealth, and honours, preferred to serve as Vice-Chairmen in the Committee. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Society for the Improvement of Backward classes—the biggest organisation of its kind in Bengal—with four hundred schools in its register is maintained through the efforts and munificence of Lord Sinha as its President and Sir Probhas Mitter as its principal contributor. Surely these are not the signs of shunning the poor and the lowly. The more we analyse the charges levelled against the Liberals, the more and more we are convinced of the injustice, untruth, and unfairness of the accusations.

The Liberals believe that nations are by themselves made. They also believe firmly that no power on earth can stop their progress or keep them back from attaining their goal, the moment they become fit for their vocation. By pursuing this policy, they have steadily captured many walks of life and are now considered the leading men in their lines. The Bar and the legal profession were formerly manned and led by foreigners whose names have now become a matter of history. In place of Paul, Woodroffe, Evans, and Jackson we have now a Das, a Sirkar, a Chuckerbarty and a Mitter who are now the recognised leaders in their profession. In the Medical profession physicians like Sir Nilratan Sirkar, Dr. U. N. Brahmachary and surgeons like the late Dr. Suresh Sarbadhichary and Dr. Mrigendra Lal Mitter have successfully defeated foreign competition and carried the palm by virtue of their merit and fitness. In Science and Chemistry Sir Jagadish Basu and Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy have occupied unique position in the world. In business the name of Sir Rajendra Mukherjee is a name to conjure with—In the Judicial lines scarcely we find the equal of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, whereas the name of the late Dr. Rash Behary Ghose will ever be remembered by his grateful countrymen as the foremost Jurist of his age.

By steadily pursuing this policy of demonstrating our fitness to occupy places of honour and trust, and by adopting a method of responsive co-operation on constitutional lines, we have made considerable progress in our march for freedom and responsible Government. The results are, we frankly admit, neither soul-stirring, nor sensational. We are even prepared to say that they are not so satisfactory either. But they are unmistakably an advance in our march of progress for freedom. We have achieved something as against nothing. We have enlarged the councils, we have broadened the services, we have enfranchised millions of our people who had absolutely no vote or voice so long in the administration of the country, who have got half the Government transferred to the absolute control of the elected representatives of the people, we have

got non-official elected Chairmen in our Municipalities and District Boards—we have got our own Mayor and Aldermen in the first City of the East—our men are now in the Executive Councils of the Central and Provincial Governments as well as in the Secretary of State's Council, above all, we have been able to substantiate and vindicate the justice and righteousness of our cause and arouse the moral consciousness of the British public not to prolong but to hasten the path and progress of freedom.

Gentlemen, these rights and privileges—whatever their worth may be—have not come to us by themselves, nor have they been given to us by the Bureaucracy as a matter of gift or courtesy. They have practically been wrung out from the hands of an unwilling Bureaucracy by a ceaseless campaign of constitutional agitation conducted on the right lines by an army of Indian patriots who had grown grey in the service of their country's cause, and by following a line of political agitation which of late has come to be known in Indian politics as responsive co-operation.

Brother Delegates, we have never said that we are satisfied with what we have got. Nor have we ever maintained that the machinery we have got is a perfect model or a very satisfactory institution. But what we do maintain, is that now that we have got something to proceed with, we shall certainly work it, find out its defects and imperfections by actual working, and then go on again in our usual way and with renewed vigour to mend the constitution and improve upon it till we can make it absolutely our own.

Our policy has all along been to accept with alacrity what is given and then demand for what is our due still, and has not been given. It is no use turning our face away from the constitution because it has not come to us as a perfect model. We cannot choose to play the child who refuses to take a milk-diet because he has not been given the full-meal after a prolonged illness and fast. That is neither good policy nor prudence. We shall take the milk and grow strong. If after gaining sufficient strength, the doctor still refuses the full meal, well, we shall outgrow the doctor and sit for a full course of dinner in spite of the doctor. That is how we look at it as practical politicians.)

But the new school of political thinkers captured the imagination of the people by prescribing a short cut to our common goal and assuring them Swaraj by a system of triple boycott popularly known as the Boycott of schools and colleges, Boycott of law courts, and lastly a Boycott of the councils. People were so enamoured of this triple boycott movement that they at once took to it and swallowed the pill without stopping for a moment to consider how the wholesale boycott of schools, colleges, courts, and the councils will bring us a single step nearer to our attaining Swaraj. No, they were not in a mood to deliberate or consider. It was enough that the medicine was prescribed by a Prophet in politics. They had been suffering long from various maladies and had naturally lost faith in doctors. They were eagerly looking for some miracles to cure the thousand ills they had been suffering from, and

Welcome
Address

—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Nitra.

naturally they turned to magic and miracles instead of logic. But it did not take them long to be disillusioned. Schools and Colleges were soon empty, Law courts were briskly boycotted, and councils were shunned as if they were so many leper-colonies. But all this was like ploughing the sands, and the triple boycott did not lead the country anywhere except to a blind alley from which there was no exit.

When this policy of non-co-operation failed, they advocated the policy of destruction, just to keep up appearances and maintain their prestige before the country. The next prescription therefore was to enter the council and end the administration by bringing about a deadlock. This has also been given a fair trial. True, the Government has been defeated time and again, but in spite of these crushing defeats in the councils, the administration is going on as merrily as ever. The only result of this policy of destruction within the council which is visible to the naked eye of the man in the street, is that the popular Ministry has gone, the transferred departments of Government have reverted to the Bureaucracy, and whatever little scope or opportunity the people had got to improve the sanitation, education, agriculture and industry of the country has been lost to them. It is highly to be regretted that the Government of Bengal seized this opportunity immediately, and, unlike the Government of the Central Provinces, transferred the departments in an indecent haste to the same Bureaucracy from whose unwilling hands they were practically snatched away through a century of ceaseless agitation by the much despised Liberals of India. The time for stock-taking has now come. The man who runs can read easily whether the country has lost or gained by pursuing this suicidal policy. Let us now judge the whole situation calmly and dispassionately, and let us state our position once for all in a clear and unambiguous manner.

Our aim is to attain Swaraj by which we mean Dominion form of Self-Government as exists in all Self-Governing colonies of the Empire. Our idea is to work for the early establishment of a Commonwealth of Free and Federated nations each standing on her own strength, developing her polity according to her best genius and resources, and bound together indissolubly under the Aegis of the British Crown on the principle of live and let live,—service and sacrifice,—love and fellowship.

Gentlemen, this is an age of the world when nations are trembling and convulsed. Isolated existence under modern conditions of the world is mid-summer madness. You may build a wall around your boundaries and shut yourself up, but that will not save you from foreign exploitation or foreign invasion. The Chinese had tried it centuries ago, but failed miserably. It is the age of Wireless, Aeroplanes, and Explosives,—the Age of Science and Chemistry as against Magic and Miracles. If you wish to live, you have not only to adopt yourself to the environments of the situation but combine with other great powers who are trying to establish themselves on the ruins of weak and disorganised nations. It is not therefore enough to attain Swaraj the common goal of all political parties in India, but to keep that Swaraj against the

onrush of world-forces by developing our resources and joining the commonwealth of Free and Federated nations. We like this ideal because we love our country more than we love the clap-trap of a motley crowd—because we wish to perpetuate the Swaraj we are determined to get inspite of opposition from short-sighted friends and organised opponents.

Welcome
Address

—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mittra.

Having stated our ideal in clear and unequivocal terms, we declare that it is the recognised principle and policy of our party to attain the Swaraj strictly by constitutional means. It is, we admit, a long, tedious, and slow process to work, but we know also, that it is the surest way to attain the goal we have in view. The other method is the direct method, which is another name for anarchy or revolution. Russia, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Portugal each in her own way tried this bloody game more or less, but each in her turn instead of giving liberty to her country, involved her in ruin and desolation and threw her into an abyss of abominable anarchy. It was at last by the tried road of constitutional progress that the countries were saved and restored to their legitimate share of independence.

Gentlemen, when we ask our long-suffering and impatient enthusiasts of the opposite school to pause for a while and avoid all talk of direct action, it is not because we want to shirk our responsibility and avoid the danger or, that we want to save our skin, but because we believe honestly that the method of direct action can only lead us, as it has led so many other countries in the past, to absolute ruin and disaster. Besides, I consider it a sin to talk to an ignorant and illiterate people of mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, when they cannot comprehend the seriousness and magnitude of such an undertaking and do not understand the consequences of such a campaign. Naturally they have turned a deaf ear to the idle threats and the slogan of mass civil disobedience.

Brother Delegates, having stated our aims and objects, and the method for attaining our goal, let us stop for a moment to consider the various obstacles that stand in the way of our freedom. Besides many matters of minor importance, the Hindu Mohammedan question, the conflicting interests between Landlords and Tenants, the constant quarrel between Capital and Labour, the sullen attitude of the Masses towards the Classes, the question of untouchability that has created the Pariahs and the Panchamas in our social system, the paralysing effect of the Purdah that has killed the womanhood of our country and choked the source of all inspiration for good cause, and lastly the attitude of the Bureaucracy towards our aspirations are the principal weak-spots in our movement which may give way any moment and break the whole chain of progress. These are the sunken rocks on which the ship may founder any day if we can not keep clear of them.

The Hindus and the Muhamedans must realise that their idea of Swaraj will remain a dream and a chimera, and end in idle talk unless and until they can make up their differences and stand on a common

Welcome
Address

Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mittra.

platform to fight for the common cause. This fusion is only possible through the cementing process of love and fellowship, and not on the basis of a political pact drawn up in haste to give a series of crushing defeats to the Bureaucracy in the council chambers, and produce a spectacular effect on a hysteric crowd who seem to delight in shadows and do not care for the substance. The Hindus must realise that they cannot have any Hindu Swaraj any more than the Mahomedans can have any Shah or Amir from Arabia or Afganistan enthroned in the imperial city of Delhi. Whether they came originally from Arabia or Afganistan, Persia or Turkistan, they are now for generations settled in India, and their fathers and forefathers are buried in the sacred soil of Hindusthan. It is now the country of their birth and adoption. The same laws, the same conditions of life, the same sorrows and sufferings bind us all together. If you are to rise at all you must learn to stand together and rise as one man, for united we stand and divided we fall. If we wish to realise the vision of Swaraj, it must be through the united efforts of these two great communities as also through the efforts of the Parsees, the Jains, the Christians and various other races and tribes that inhabit this ancient land of ours. We must all put our shoulders together to the wheel and give it a long, continued and sustained push so that the car may move along rapidly to its goal. Let us realise in our hearts that the fetters are common to us all,—that the bondage is intolerable and is biting into our flesh,—that while we are quarrelling over shadows and accentuating the points of difference between us—Mother India is weeping in silence and humiliation, and the vision of Swaraj is vanishing from our view.

It is love and mutual understanding alone as also a true reading of the whole situation that can bring us together and combine us for a common campaign. Gentlemen, the union of hearts is only possible on the basis of love. Whenever and wherever it has proceeded from any motive of self-interest, it has failed in its mission and the union breaks either in separation or quarrel. If we wish to engage ourselves in this fight for freedom, we must realise that India is our common mother, and we all of us are her children, pledged to stand by her, and fight for her liberation. There is in this temple of love and liberty no room for Hinduism, or Muhamedanism, or, any other "ism", which by itself forgets the points of agreements and magnifies the points of difference, and which has so long divided a brother from a brother and afforded opportunities to our opponents either to ignore or strangle us in our struggle for freedom.

Brother Delegates, we have had enough of fratricidal wars between ourselves,—we have had enough of dissension and disunion. Let us now try the other process—the process of love and fellowship,—suffering and sacrifice,—based on a spirit of "give and take" and mutual goodwill.

Gentlemen, the conflicting interests between Landlords and Tenants as also between Capital and Labour have to be adjusted and settled likewise on the principle of love and fellowship. The Landlords and the Capitalists ought to feel for the chronic poverty and awful

ignorance of their unfortunate countrymen. With sweated labour and living wages in factories, and with various difficulties and disadvantages under which labour is working at present, nobody can blame the labour organisations or their leaders if they try to combine against capital, and join the May Day celebrations with red flags. Both labour and capital should realise that they cannot produce wealth without combination and co-operation. Capital without labour is like head without hands, and labour without capital is like hands without the driving force of the brain and the organising power of wealth.

If labour is to be made intelligent, productive, and efficient, great care and attention have to be paid to their education, health, and happiness as also to their moral and material welfare. Once this relation of love and fellowship is established, all talk of war against capital shall disappear, and we will find labour and capital combined on the same platform and engaged in the same fight for freedom.

Along with labour and capital, the relation between landlords and tenants has also to be harmonised and cemented. The chronic poverty of the tenants and their indebtedness to the money-lenders are so well-known that they need not be detailed here. The major portion of their income after paying the Zemindar's dues goes to swell the pockets of the Kabuliwalla, or the village Shahukar, and the small balance, if there is any, is not sufficient either to keep the wolf from the door, or to cover their nakedness during the dreary months of December. I do not mean to say that the Zemindars are responsible for all this. But there are certain matters for which certainly the Zemindars are directly responsible for their miseries, as for instance, the various illegal extortions of money from the tenants by their officers under this or that plea, and the habit of spending all their incomes derived from the tenants not in their own Zemindary for the benefit and improvement of their own people, but outside, in the so many melting pots of the metropolis for the ultimate good and benefit of other people.

This ideal and outlook have to be changed. The Zemindars must realise that the tenants are their own children. If they are weak, ignorant, and constantly suffering from disease and poverty, then this perennial source of their health wealth, and happiness shall dry up for ever, and their citadels shall crumble to pieces. Nor can they expect to see their tenants suffering for centuries in patient and meek submission. They are also drinking deep from the same fountain of liberty, and have been intoxicated with the same love for freedom and equality. The Zemindars must not forget, when the Spring comes after a long spell of Winter, it is not only the lillies and the roses that bloom and blossom, but the Spring does not forget the hedge-rose or the hawthorns. Even the meanest and the smallest flowers are brought to life by her sweet touch and vigorous breath. The message of freedom has, they must realise, come to the door of their tenants as well, and it will be coming more and more in thunder and lightning. Wise man is he who reads the sign of the times and prepares to receive the mighty and irresistible guest

Welcome
Address

Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

with grace and alacrity. With a happy, prosperous, and contented tenantry behind them, the Zemindars shall be a tower of strength whether in the council chamber, or in the country at large.

Next in point of importance, is our relation to the depressed classes. It has often been held by great political philosophers that an ignorant mass is a burden to society whether in time of war or in time of peace. Nearly eighty per cent of the total population of our country come under the category of the depressed or submerged classes. They have been brought up in ignorance, illiteracy, and evil surroundings. They have been treated by us as untouchables, whose touch or sight will pollute the upper classes. How can you expect that this dumb, mute, and ignorant mass of humanity shall respond to your cry for freedom or call to patriotic suffering? They have to be educated and raised to the same level and status, and inspired with the same ideals with us before we can reach our goal.

I have a word to say to the Bureaucracy. The Reforms have ushered into a new condition of things to which they have never been accustomed. Since the beginning of British rule in India, they have enjoyed great powers and privileges. It is difficult to forego these rights and privileges without a wrench. But the facts of the situation have to be faced, and the experiment under the Reforms has to be given a fair trial. India is not the same old land of gold and honey which their fathers and forefathers saw during the time of the good old days of John Company. Much water has since flown down the Ganges, and we see to-day, after centuries of wrong, injustice, and oppression, India is on the eve of a great birth—pulsating with a new life and determined to do or die in carving out a place for herself in the comity of nations. She has realised that Nations are by themselves made, and Heaven helps those that help themselves. It is this passion for freedom, this love for liberty after centuries of slavery and bondage, that has driven a whole population mad, and they have no time to consider the ways and means for working out their salvation. Words of discretion and caution are but gall and worm wood to them. They avoid the old and trusted leaders of the country because they ask them to pause for a moment and consider the ways and means.

It is this terrible mentality of the people at large who have been suffering long from various maladies, and have apparently lost the power of reasoning, that is being exploited by Quacks and Jugglers who promise them a quick cure by magic and miracles. History repeats itself in every age and climate. If the people are thus suffered to be drifted into doubtful and dangerous channels, you must be prepared to see some day such a terrible conflagration as will not only envelope the whole country in a holocaust, but shall reduce to ashes all those beautiful institutions which a generation of silent and patriotic workers have built up slowly during the last hundred years or more.

If England has not been bankrupt of her statesmanship, she must take courage in both hands and face the situation with her usual resourcefulness. There are enemies of human progress in every country, and they will not be slow to give her wrong advice. There are again the Jingoës who will extol the virtues of the sword, and advocate a further tightening of the screw ; but you had tried this game years ago. You had tried to strangle the child in its cradle, and the result was writ large in the history of the dark days of revolutionary crimes in India. No,—the sword or the steam-roller policy has never built or saved an empire. It is the last resource of a bankrupt statesmanship. Already, the screw has gone deep into the heart. A further tightening of the screw shall tear it open and defeat its purpose.

Welcome
Address
—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

By your own policy you have put the engine on the line and generated tremendous amount of steam into the boiler to take her to its destined goal. If you now stop its course or sit upon the safety valve, the boiler may burst and end in a terrible explosion. You tried that game years ago, and found to your bitter cost, how futile it was to go into war against a whole population and hammer them back into submission. It was an impossible task, and your only achievement was that you had driven sedition under ground, which manifested itself everywhere like living volcanoes, in dark crimes, and had very nearly undermined the "steel frame" on which the Bureaucracy stands.

A galaxy of British statesmen, headed by Morley, Minto, Montague and Hardinge, then came to the scene and handled the situation with that supreme statesmanship and consummate skill that are the special characteristics of the British Nation. The methods that they had pursued were the old and tried methods of concession and conciliation—of peace and good will. But the half-measures with which they started to conciliate failed to satisfy the aspirations of the people, and the majority of them have, in an angry mood, preferred, like the sick child, to go without a loaf rather than have half a loaf.

I appeal to the Bureaucracy to put up for the moment with this angry and unreasonable mood of the people, and enter into the ætology of the present political movement with that open mind and sympathetic spirit which have won back to them the fighting Boers and the Irish Revolutionaries from their attitude of deadliest hostility into that of comrades-in-arms. If it has been possible for England to perform such a seemingly impossible task with the Irish and the Boers, she can certainly win back the hearts of those who in a spirit of hopeless despair are now preaching the ideal of attaining Swaraj without the Empire by resorting to a campaign of passive resistance and mass-civil-disobedience ; and the process of winning back the hearts of a discontented people is the pursuance of a policy of concession and conciliation, of sympathy and co-operation.

This is, Brother Delegates, coming back again to the mission of love, good will, and fellowship. I have, I am afraid, tired your patience with this gospel of love. But my only apology is that I have no other

Welcome
Address

—
Mr. Krishna
Kumar
Mitra.

message to give and none other method to advocate. Gentlemen, I have no faith in the sword and none whatsoever in the cult of hatred. They may give us victory for the moment, but shall never conquer hearts on which alone a permanent foundation of a great Empire can be based. Cæsar and Alexander had tried to build empires by the power of the sword, but they all vanished and disappeared as the foundations were built on running sands.

England is also making a gigantic experiment in building up a world-wide Empire before which the mighty Roman Empire is but a drop in the ocean, and the conquests of Alexander or Napoleon were but mere trifles. Let us hope that she will avoid the dangers and pitfalls that caused the ruin of so many Empires in the past. She has, let us hope, conceived the idea of a world-wide Empire in no mean spirit, for a mean mind and a mighty Empire can never go together. If this dream of a great Empire is to materialise and last for ages and centuries, it must be on the broad basis of love and fellowship, service and sacrifice.

Lastly, I have a word to the various parties and groups that have now been working in the country for the common goal of Swaraj. Whether you want it within the Empire or without it, remember always, brethren, that you cannot achieve anything great or good unless through the path of truth and righteousness. For it is righteousness and righteousness alone that makes and exalts a Nation. This has been recognised in all ages and countries as the bedrock of all free institutions that have endured and stood the ravages of time. New schools and new ideals have come into existence, and they have founded a new code of ethics for their followers. Truth and righteousness to them are but the hallucinations of a weak and moribund conscience. People have been asked with frenzied eloquence and fanatical enthusiasm to "discard conscience and follow their leaders",—they have been encouraged by the conduct and example of their leaders "to indulge in lies and falsehoods in order to gain their immediate objective,"—they have been taught publicly and in all seriousness that "no means is to be considered too low to attain their goal." I have been shocked to read these utterances coming from the mouth of responsible leaders of parties. It is time to cry halt. We have in our hurry for Swaraj, destroyed and demolished many things; but let us not for God's sake, undermine the very foundation of our civilisation that has been handed down to us from generation to generation as the most glorious heritage and priceless possession of this ancient land. Whether you shall get Swaraj or not by pursuing this new code of ethics is more than I can say. But I can say this with absolute certainty that you will kill the soul and spirit of this ancient civilisation which gave peace, contentment, and happiness to mankind in the morning of the world, and has survived so many vicissitudes of fortune through ages and centuries. Take this warning, Brethren, from an old man who may not be so wise or brilliant like you, but who has got the experience of seventy four

winters behind him—you will not achieve anything great or small except through the path of truth, virtue, and righteousness.

During the last few years of fruitless agitation, you have seen that the only way to reach the goal is by following the road of constitutional progress, and by pursuing a policy of responsive co-operation which includes co-operation with Government and at the same time does not exclude the programme of opposition to all their reactionary measures. This policy and principle have so far brought us much nearer the goal, whereas the other policy has been tried and found wanting. It is a hopeful sign of the times that a movement has already been started in Bengal for the unification of the Liberals and the Nationalists, and each day seems to be bringing us nearer to each other. May God bless the efforts of those that are trying to bring about this union! Whether you are a Co-operator or a Non-co-operator,—whether you are a Socialist or a Swarajist—whether you are a Liberal or an Independent—we are all of us, brethren, children of the same Mother, and working for the same cause. Do not create confusion of tongue by coining new words and magnifying the old and forgotten differences. Let us put our heads and join our hands together and march on steadily to the common goal.

In the days of the Upanishadas the Rishis of old had sung in this ancient land of ours “संगच्छ्वं संवद्वं संवो मनांसि जानताम्” “O! ye Children of the Infinite! Be of one mind, and do thou walk together and speak together.”

Through space and time, the call has again come to us; it moves and inspires us to be united again for the common goal—united in policy and purpose—united in means and methods—united in aims and objects—and united at last for the cause of freedom. And in this pilgrimage for Swaraj, let us cement our brotherhood by having as our motto

In matters essential Unity
In matters non-essential Liberty
and in all matters Charity.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, (Bombay) in proposing Sir Moropant Joshi to the Chair, spoke as follows :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in proposing that Sir Moropant Joshi be asked to take the Chair at this Federation on this occasion. (Applause) You observed in your Address, Mr. Chairman, that the Liberal Party

Election of
President—
Sir C.
Setalvad.

and its principles have been thoroughly vindicated. Sir, that is literally true. When the cult of non-co-operation and civil disobedience was started by that great Magician of Ahmedabad, a great wave of unreason, as you are aware, passed throughout the country, but it was the Liberal Party that kept its head on that occasion. When the Triple Boycott, started by that great Magician, failed miserably as it did, and when they soon realised how wrong they were, those who formed what is called the Non-Co-operation Party made up their minds, at least some of them, to enter the Councils. As you are aware, Ladies and Gentlemen, they still kept up the pretence that they were entering the Councils for the purpose of non-co-operating. They wanted Non-co-operation within the Councils and make Government impossible. They failed to make Government impossible by the Triple Boycott. They failed to make Government impossible by that pretended Non-co-operation within the Councils. On the contrary, as you are aware, Ladies and Gentlemen, they have done on many occasion all that was possible and in their power to do, to co-operate and one of them, as you are aware, has taken the Presidential Chair of the Assembly. (Hear Hear). What greater proof of the success of Co-operation can there be? He is there sitting in the Chair to work the very Constitution which they despised—the very constitution which they say they went into the Councils to destroy. Ladies and Gentlemen, they have realised, at least some of them, that it will not do to enter into Councils and to be for ever in Opposition and throw out Government measures, throw out Budgets and do the rest of it. It will not do to do all that and not take office. Therefore, a group of them have now started the cult of "Responsive Co-operation" and they want to take office. But again, they keep up the pretence, as you see everyday in the newspapers, that they want to take office for the purpose of obstructing from within or in other words, to make Government impossible by taking office. These people who will keep up such pretences still cling to their exploded theories which have been discredited all through. However, we are glad they are growing wise.

Then we have, Ladies and Gentlemen, our friends, the Independents. They have after seven years discovered what the Liberal Party thought all along from the beginning. (Hear, Hear). They have now realised that Swarajist tactics will not do; that they must make frantic effort to join hands with other people to put down the Swarajists and to stop the mischief that they are doing. Therefore, some of them in a very patronising manner want to level up the Liberal Party, as though the Liberal Party stand in any need of levelling up. The real fact is that these people who are talking like that, are the very people who stood out in 1918/19 and had not the courage to face public obloquy and disapproval, which the Liberal Party did, by standing steadfastly to their principles and in doing what they thought was in the best interests of the country. These Independents were of the same view then. They are of the same view now. They want to checkmate the Swarajists and as I say they had not the honesty or the courage to

do that in 1919 and they were not prepared to face public opprobrium and public disapproval but watched the game at a distance. Now that they find that the Swarajists are disassociating themselves from them and have seen the error of the Swarajists' ways, they patronise the Liberals and say "Oh, you come with us; we will join hands with you; we will level up with you and we will work with you against the Swarajists." We thank them for their solicitude for our welfare. But it does not matter. It is gratifying that they say that the Liberal way is the real and proper way. It does not matter what their past is, either Independents or Swarajists; we are quite willing to welcome them in our fold. We are quite willing to go on with Liberal Principles in the manner that we have always done and looking to the professions of this group of Swarajists and this group of Independents, one fails to see where the difference lies between them in the Liberal principles that we have stood for all this time. (Hear, hear). I see none; and if that is so, why don't they come and join the Liberal Party? Why don't they level it up by coming within it (Hear, Hear), instead of standing outside saying in a patronising manner "You little people do not understand; you are a small group; you must level up; we are the people who really see the truth of the matter"? But the fact is that the Liberal Party have seen it long ago and have consistently worked for it and are prepared to work for it, in good or bad report, and that is where the real strength of the Liberal Party lies. If we go on working as we have done in the past, in spite of public disapproval not hoping for any popular clamour, triumph is for us in a very short time. We shall again put the country on the right path of political progress, law and order, and an ordered progress towards constitutional Government. So in this sense this is a memorable Session of the Liberal Federation and it is only right that we should have selected a man with the historic past of Sir Moropant Joshi to be our President on this occasion. I have had the privilege of knowing Sir Moropant Joshi in my College days. When I went to College, Mr. Joshi as he then was, was in the Senior class and we all looked up to him in those days for guidance and for help. Ever since then, the acquaintance that I formed with him has been kept up, and has ripened into friendship for many years now. You all know how steadfastly he has worked for the country and for the Liberal cause in this country, especially in the Central Provinces and Berar, where, as you are all aware, he is the leading figure. Ladies and Gentlemen, when the New Reform Scheme came into operation in 1921, Sir Moropant Joshi was one of those who like myself and my friend opposite, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, took up office, not because that office was going to bring us any gain, financially or otherwise, but because we thought that it was in the interests of the country that our best people should work the Constitution even at a sacrifice. (Hear, Hear). Sir Moropant Joshi is one of that band who with considerable sacrifice and in spite of public disapprobation, took office, in order to work the Constitution, and it is in the fitness of things that we should ask him to take the Chair today. (Loud cheers)

Election of
President

Sir T. B.
Sapru.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (U. P.) in seconding the proposal said :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal put before you by my distinguished friend Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. I hardly think that this is an occasion which requires any long speech. But there are just one or two observations which I would like to make in support of the motion. I am not so much concerned with the politics of other parties as with the politics of our own (Hear, Hear). So far as the other parties are concerned, I believe they in truth stand disillusioned about their methods, and the country itself is no longer under any delusion. But what I am most anxious about is—and I speak with all the candour of which I am capable—that we must do something to bring additional strength to our own party (Hear, Hear), and if Sir Moropant Joshi, who has always been recognised as a level-headed and practical politician, who with the independence which he cultivated in his non-official days brings now before you an additional amount of experience acquired in official life, can do something to bring strength to our party, to give a clear lead to our party, and through our party to the country, I think he will have rendered a service which will deserve recognition in this country.

Liberals may be weak, but the principles of Liberalism can never be weak and have never been weak in the past, and it is in that faith and with that conviction alone, that we can hope to acquire influence and power in the country. Indeed, our friends and foes remind us on every occasion that we have lost influence in the country. It is not necessary for me to go into the details of that question. But there is no doubt to my mind that so far as the country is concerned, it has been for the last five years under the spell of politicians of different school, and notwithstanding the fact that that spell has been removed very much by their own conduct and by their own deeds, the fact remains that the popular mind still prefers to cling to those illusions, and it is for that reason, to my mind, that one of the most important duties of the Federation is to do something, to bring your real convictions into the closest contact with the public mind, so that you may convince them that, although you may be by one party described as armchair politicians, yet your convictions are as deep and as strong and as powerful as any, and that you are prepared to abide by those convictions.

Therefore, notwithstanding the many misgivings that I have had, I have decided to come to this meeting of the Liberal Federation really in the hope that something may be done by Sir Moropant Joshi to add strength to our body, to our existence, and if Sir Moropant Joshi can contribute anything to the solution of that problem, if he can give a clear lead and speak authoritatively on behalf of the Liberal Party and not let the Liberals be divided amongst themselves, then I think he will have rendered a great service to the Party and to the country. I have no doubt he will rise equal to that occasion, and in that hope, and in that belief, I have very great pleasure in supporting Sir Moropant Joshi's nomination to the Chair. (Loud cheers)

Sir Pravash Chandra Mitter (Bengal) in supporting the resolution said :—

Sir Pravash
Chander
Mitter.

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in associating myself with this resolution. Sir Moropant Joshi's name is well-known to old Congressmen—old Congressmen who before the recent split in the Congress in 1918 knew how earnest a worker our esteemed President-designate is. From the early days of the Congress Sir Moropant Joshi threw his whole heart and his energy into the cause of the Congress. But it is not only in the sphere of politics that Sir Moropant Joshi made a name for himself. It is in the far more difficult but none the less far more important sphere of social work, work which does not bring a man into the limelight, that Sir Moropant Joshi made his name amongst those who cared for work of that kind (Hear, Hear). Sir Moropant Joshi, in the fulness of years, with his mature understanding and as a man of affairs, I am sure, will be able to give us light, will be able to lead us on, and today we are in need of light.

Gentlemen, times are difficult. But, as our esteemed Secretary Mr. Chintamani said the other day, the future is hopeful for the Liberal Party. Indeed the future is very hopeful for the Liberal Party; but if the future is hopeful at the same time we are at a critical moment. I say the future is hopeful because our politics has gone deep down into the hearts of the people (Hear, Hear). Even our political opponents, the Swarajists are proclaiming faith in principles which are nothing but Liberal principles stolen without acknowledgment. That great leader of the Swarajist Party, Deshbandhu C. R. Das, who is now no more, in his last great political speech laid down a policy which I assert is nothing but Liberal policy. If Chittaranjan in his greatness could afford to lay down that policy, it is not strange that those who had not the eminence of Chittaranjan may follow Liberal policy but may be ashamed to proclaim that they are following that policy.

We remember only last year Pundit Motilal Nehru refused to serve on the Muddiman Committee, but three of our distinguished ex-Presidents sat on the committee and their work there extorted the admiration even of our political opponents. But if Pundit Motilal Nehru refused to serve on the Muddiman Committee he is a wiser man today and he has agreed to serve on the Skeen Committee. Gentlemen, we are proud of these facts that even our political opponents impelled by logic of facts, have found out that our politics is the only true politics, our policy is the only true policy. Other prominent Swarajists, men like Mr. Patel and Mr. Tambe, had accepted office of the President of their respective Councils. What is that but co-operation with the Government? We have always taught and pleaded for co-operation with the Government—co-operation not to please anybody, but co-operation in the wider interests of the public, co-operation to do something good for our people, and by sacrifice of leisure, by sacrifice of convenience, to do public good.

Sir Provash
Chunder
Mitter.

Such a man is my esteemed friend Sir Moropant Joshi. Those who have known him know very well that it was no gain for him to accept office under the Government. He accepted office not because office meant any higher honour to him ; to a man enshrined on the love and admiration of his countrymen, office was no honour. On the other hand, the obloquy of office in 1921 is known to those who accepted office under public call. Sir Moropant Joshi not only accepted office, but for five strenuous years tried to do his duty to his country. We are in need of a man like him, a man of his ripe experience at a juncture like this. I would therefore ask you, gentlemen, to elect Sir Moropant Joshi to the Chair. (Loud cheers)

Mr. G. M.
Chitnavis.

Mr. S. M. Chitnavis (C. P.) said :—

I feel very great pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been so very ably proposed. The previous speakers have left very little for me to do. During particularly the three years during which I had the privilege of being Sir Moropant Joshi's coadjutor in the government of our Province, I had special opportunities of realising his great qualities of the head and the heart (Hear, Hear) and I can say without fear of contradiction that no better selection could have been made for the occasion. (cheers)

The proposal was carried with acclamation, and Sir Moropant Joshi was conducted to the presidential chair, and garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee amidst loud cheers.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi,

The President who on rising was given an ovation, then delivered the following address :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES,—When the Reception Committee asked me to preside at this year's session of the Liberal Federation I had a good deal of hesitation in accepting the responsibility. I fully realized the gravity of the present situation when the almost unanimous voice of Indian public opinion is being opposed by the highest authorities who are responsible for the governance of this country. I felt that in the difficult circumstances amounting almost to a crisis the best man representing the Liberal party should present our case, and attempt to give a lead to the country ; but I believe the reception committee have a strong belief in the potency of the Indian case for responsible government and their choice has fallen on me although I may not be the best instrument for the expression of the views of the party and the presentment of the Indian case from the Liberal stand-point. I thank all my fellow-Liberals for the opportunity they have given me to render them service in furthering the cause for which we all feel so deeply. I must ask you all to give me in a large measure your cooperation, good will and indulgence.

Before I proceed to express my views on the salient events of the year, I must refer to our recent losses. We have lost in Sir Surendranath Banerjea an old Congress stalwart—a typical old Congressman who worked undaunted and undismayed in the country's cause with not the least notion of surrender to the very last moment of his life. I have a vivid memory of his work in England when I was with him on a Congress mission in 1890. We have lost in Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar a profound oriental scholar, an intensely religious personality and a genuine social reformer. In the Maharaja of Gwalior we have lost a man of indefatigable industry who held patriotic views on the political advance of this country and who always endeavoured to promote its economic interests. In Mr. C. R. Das we have lost a patriot who set a noble example of self-sacrifice to the present generation of political workers. Sir Gokuldas Parekh was a veteran reformer and genuine Liberal who held a prominent and an honoured place among the public men of Bombay. We have lost very recently Queen Alexandra and all Indians share the sorrow of the King-Emperor and the royal family. His Majesty was deeply attached to his mother by a sentiment which Indians appreciate keenly and our sympathies and condolences go from our hearts to the royal family and the families of the departed patriots.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

The one theme of paramount importance to our and other political parties in the country in the possibility of the realization in the near future of responsible government and dominion status for India or as near an approach to it as possible. All of us have set our heart on the common goal and the existence of different political parties is based only on differences as to the methods of attaining the ideal. Expectant India awaited with extraordinary interest the result of the Viceroy's conference with the Secretary of State. This was the first time a Viceroy could, under statutory provisions, leave and did leave for England during the tenure of his office and the extraordinary step evoked a deal of curiosity and much speculation about its outcome. In India Lord Birkenhead's previous career was known: his opposition to Mr. Asquith and his strong partizanship in the Carsonian controversy was also known. But he was looked upon even by the late Mr. C. R. Das as a strong man from whom good might be expected. His lordship's intellectual gifts were also known and it was expected that he would be able to grasp and appreciate the Indian point of view as regards acceleration of the pace of progress.

Lord Birkenhead's Speech.

The theme having been the subject of conference and deliberation between the two highest authorities in Indian affairs, it was some consolation to know that no decisions had been or would be reached till the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India expressed their opinions on the vital issue. The Secretary of State spoke at last and so did the Viceroy,

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

and weighty pronouncements were made by them. Two provincial Liberal Conferences since held have expressed their views thereon, and the National Liberal Federation will in this session utter the considered judgment of Liberals of the whole country. Naturally, different people have appreciated Lord Birkenhead's speech differently. The Viceroy described it as a message of sympathetic encouragement to India—at least to those who are desirous of advancing to responsible government within the British Empire—and as a reiteration of the guarantee that England was firm in its Declarations of 1917 and 1919. The *Morning Post* at the other end described it as a frigidly pompous nullity. The speech strikes me as a curious blend of light and darkness, of half truths and fond misconceptions, of rays of hope and a dismal trail of disappointment. It lays extraordinary emphasis on the dismal trail of the Government of India Act and is obviously saturated with a mentality adverse to any acceleration of the pace of reform and largely influenced by the recalcitrancy, real or supposed, of the political party now dominant in this country in not cooperating with the Government in working the quantum of reforms effected by the Government of India Act. Strangely enough, it takes absolutely no notice of the reasons which led to this obstreperous conduct of the Swaraj party. The Swarajist mentality had for its foundation an almost complete mistrust of British policy and purpose caused by broken pledges and deferred hopes,—distrust which, I may say, has permeated not only the intelligentsia but the non-vocal strata of society. It was born of deep disappointment and desperation which found expression in non-cooperation and reached its adolescence in the attempt to create a constitutional deadlock by open though frantic obstruction in the Legislature. It was natural for people to expect that the highest functionary dealing with Indian affairs expressing solemn views on such a momentous issue, would be able to deal with the reasons which gave birth to the Swarajist mentality and would, if possible, show what scant justification there was for its existence. Lord Birkenhead might have argued to himself that it could not be out of mere cussedness that men like Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Das and Mr. Nehru opposed the Act and took up an attitude of hostility. A heavy burden lay upon his lordship not only to show that they could, and should wisely, have taken a different attitude but that the position taken by them was wholly unjustifiable. His lordship told us that no decision had been reached and none could be reached without expressions of opinion by the Government of India and the Indian Legislature. But when he said this a decision of paramount importance seems to have already been reached, viz., that the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee, which recommended a wider inquiry to propose a radical alteration of the present constitution, could not be accepted by the Government at this stage.

His lordship has authoritatively declared his view that the ten years' limit for the setting up of the statutory commission is not decisive against an earlier reconsideration for further advance and said that one of two conditions was essential to such a reconsideration—loyal and cheerful cooperation by all political parties in India in working the present system or the disclosure of grave and glaring defects in it. He has discussed the former condition but said nothing about the latter, which is much the more important—unless in-

deed his opinion is implicit in the conclusion reached by him that diarchy has neither failed nor succeeded. His lordship speaks of the high trusteeship of India as if it were a perpetual tutelage, though he no longer relies on the doctrine of holding the gorgeous East in fee, and calls upon India to associate with England in a fruitful and harmonious partnership. He asserts that India is not a nation and doubts if she ever will be, notwithstanding the fact that India is a recognized unit in the League of Nations and the Imperial Conference and her assent would be required if she with the dominions is to agree to the Locarno Pact. He wrongly imagines that India is asking for an immediate repudiation of Britain's responsibilities in India.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

I have said that Lord Birkenhead has laid undue emphasis on the preamble of the Act of 1919. His lordship is an eminent lawyer and so is the Viceroy. They know that a preamble can only be a recital of the circumstances, the occasion, the reasons, the motives for an enactment. But Lord Birkenhead insists that the preamble is the all important part of the Government of India Act and the Act itself is fluid and experimental. The feeling in India is that the declaration of policy in 1917 was the most important factor and was merely embodied in the preamble. Indians have a right to expect that the policy so announced would endure and the Act could only be changed in order to make a further advance in the direction of responsible government. Such a statement coming from such an authoritative quarter is liable to misconstruction and would hardly work toward 'expelling and exorcising the demon of suspicion'.

It would not be inappropriate to recall the opinions of the several parties in India on the Government of India Act. The Liberal party was never wholly satisfied with its provisions. In the provinces much less than it urged has been conceded while, contrary to its emphatic and repeated demand, no responsibility whatever was introduced in the central government. That the attitude of our party was not one of unqualified support, any one can see who would read the reports of our proceedings during the last seven years and the evidence of our representatives before the Joint Select Committee. The principle of diarchy was novel and apprehensions were expressed as to how it would work. We feared that it would be an imperfect instrument for the main purpose of training the Indian people for full responsible government. It may be mentioned that official opinion was even more opposed to it. The British officials with faith in their own superior efficiency and doubtful of Indian capacity, were also faced with loss of power and initiative, and stubbornly resisted the introduction of diarchy. As I have said, we who undertook to work the Act of 1919, were not free from misgivings. And after Lord Birkenhead's admission that he himself was not particularly enthusiastic about the results of the new experiment which was initiated by Mr. Montagu and that he had always been distrustful of the likelihood of the diarchic principle making a successful appeal to Indians brought up on the pabulum of British political institutions, the Liberals might well feel that as doubters they were in good company.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The other political party showed a disposition till after the Amritsar Congress to work the Reforms and to make the best of them. Non-cooperation with them came later for reasons which are too well-known and which it is not necessary to mention here except to remind them that it was not wholly or mainly due to the inadequacy of the Reforms. Work in the first Councils was carried on mainly by Liberals and Independents, the new Congressmen having put a ban on their own entry into them. And they did all that they could in the circumstances. But while our party has pressed from the outset for the introduction of responsibility in the central government, it has, since the fourth session of the Federation held at Allahabad in 1921, been insistent upon having complete responsible government in the provinces. Even after the advent of the Swaraj party in the second Councils the diarchical system has been worked in all the provinces except Bengal and the Central Provinces, the province to which I have the honour to belong. The charge of not working the Reforms in a spirit of good will cannot thus be laid at the door of the Liberal party. Indeed the contrary is frankly admitted in Lord Birkenhead's speech. Having worked them so far in the right spirit, the Liberals feel that the existing constitution is deplorably imperfect and requires to be overhauled not less in the interests of administrative efficiency than for the satisfaction of our just political and national aspirations. This derives additional weight from the two circumstances, that their demand proceeds from those who gave discriminating support to the scheme and is based on their experience of its working. Several Liberals who were members of the reformed governments have testified already that the system is not easily workable and I would add my humble testimony to the same effect. The Liberals are not wedded to a formula. With the experience they have acquired they honestly believe that the main purpose of the Act cannot be achieved without material changes in the Act of 1919. But they adhere to their policy of working the Reforms because they think that notwithstanding their inherent defects they can be utilized for advancing the public interest. Such powers as have been conceded under the Act to popular representatives can also be used for accelerating a further advance.

The party that opposed the Reforms, banned the Councils, adopted non-cooperation and later adopted the method of obstruction with a view to produce a constitutional deadlock and refused to undertake the responsibility of office or wherever practicable, to permit the formation of Ministries or the retention of office by Ministers. The charge against them is that they have not adopted more judicious methods of expressing their sense of dissatisfaction. The Swarajists can speak for themselves but from the platform of this Federation we are entitled to say that the attitude of one party supplemented merely by empty threats of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes is by no means a justification for the refusal to accelerate the pace of progress towards the accepted goal. The electors in the only two provinces where the Swarajists entered the Councils in large numbers have been watching the situation. The success of Swarajist candidates at the polls was due largely to the unpopularity of the Government and partly to their superior party organization and partly to the inexperience of the electors. They returned candidates who made glib promises of compelling Govern-

ment to advance or of wrecking council government itself. But the menace could not be effective without the active support of the electorates. The Swarajists have been repeatedly challenged to make their futile threats effective but they could not do so as they have never been given active support by the people. Can it then be said that the electorates in India, indeed the entire people of this country, deserve to be penalized because of the obstructive attitude, the use of desperate but futile tactics by one political party? Lord Birkenhead's enunciation of a clear and precise condition of no advance without willing cooperation by all amounts to this.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

Now it is obvious to the most casual observer that there is a remarkable change in the attitude of even that one party. Its members have been co-operating with Government nearly everywhere and in a large measure, even in Bengal and the Central Provinces. In Bengal they reconsidered the demands for grants for the transferred departments which they had once refused; they have taken their share in legislation and the ordinary Council methods of questions and resolutions. The last time the formation of a Ministry was tried, it was well known that the attempt proved to be infructuous because the Government backed the wrong horses. A more judicious selection of acceptable names would probably have secured a Ministry for Bengal.

In the Central Provinces—the only province which brought over 57 per cent. of voters to the poll at the last elections—the Swarajists who were in a large majority threw out the Budget in the first year, blocked legislation and would have no Ministers. During the present year much of this was changed. The Budget met with discriminating opposition and not wholesale rejection. The right of moving resolutions and asking questions was availed of and a Ministry was not formed only because the party was not unanimous. The section of the Swarajists now known as responsive co-operators is strong in the Maratha country and forms a strong minority in the Central Provinces Council. Individual members willing to form a Ministry are waiting in the hope that the Swaraj party itself will change its policy and adopt saner and more practicable methods. The revolt against the policy of obstruction has openly broken out in Bombay and has spread to the Central Provinces and only a truce has been arranged till the Congress session. Mr. Tambe's appointment as Home Member has been a veritable apple of discord and is likely in the near future to bring an influential section of the Swaraj party into the fold of responsive co-operation which includes the acceptance of ministerships.

In the Legislative Assembly they first succeeded in throwing out the Finance Bill, but in the second budget session they refrained from doing so. One of their leaders has accepted the Presidentship of the Assembly though his election had to be confirmed by the Governor-General and has given expression to sentiments which breathe a spirit of co-operation. Another leader showed signs of a complete change in his attitude in his Faridpur speech; and yet another accepted nomination to the Skeen Committee though he had previously refused to serve on the Muddiman Committee.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The other political party showed a disposition till after the Amritsar Congress to work the Reforms and to make the best of them. Non-cooperation with them came later for reasons which are too well-known and which it is not necessary to mention here except to remind them that it was not wholly or mainly due to the inadequacy of the Reforms. Work in the first Councils was carried on mainly by Liberals and Independents, the new Congressmen having put a ban on their own entry into them. And they did all that they could in the circumstances. But while our party has pressed from the outset for the introduction of responsibility in the central government, it has, since the fourth session of the Federation held at Allahabad in 1921, been insistent upon having complete responsible government in the provinces. Even after the advent of the Swaraj party in the second Councils the diarchical system has been worked in all the provinces except Bengal and the Central Provinces, the province to which I have the honour to belong. The charge of not working the Reforms in a spirit of good will cannot thus be laid at the door of the Liberal party. Indeed the contrary is frankly admitted in Lord Birkenhead's speech. Having worked them so far in the right spirit, the Liberals feel that the existing constitution is deplorably imperfect and requires to be overhauled not less in the interests of administrative efficiency than for the satisfaction of our just political and national aspirations. This derives additional weight from the two circumstances, that their demand proceeds from those who gave discriminating support to the scheme and is based on their experience of its working. Several Liberals who were members of the reformed governments have testified already that the system is not easily workable and I would add my humble testimony to the same effect. The Liberals are not wedded to a formula. With the experience they have acquired they honestly believe that the main purpose of the Act cannot be achieved without material changes in the Act of 1919. But they adhere to their policy of working the Reforms because they think that notwithstanding their inherent defects they can be utilized for advancing the public interest. Such powers as have been conceded under the Act to popular representatives can also be used for accelerating a further advance.

The party that opposed the Reforms, banned the Councils, adopted non-cooperation and later adopted the method of obstruction with a view to produce a constitutional deadlock and refused to undertake the responsibility of office or wherever practicable, to permit the formation of Ministries or the retention of office by Ministers. The charge against them is that they have not adopted more judicious methods of expressing their sense of dissatisfaction. The Swarajists can speak for themselves but from the platform of this Federation we are entitled to say that the attitude of one party supplemented merely by empty threats of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes is by no means a justification for the refusal to accelerate the pace of progress towards the accepted goal. The electors in the only two provinces where the Swarajists entered the Councils in large numbers have been watching the situation. The success of Swarajist candidates at the polls was due largely to the unpopularity of the Government and partly to their superior party organization and partly to the inexperience of the electors. They returned candidates who made glib promises of compelling Govern-

ment to advance or of wrecking council government itself. But the menace could not be effective without the active support of the electorates. The Swarajists have been repeatedly challenged to make their futile threats effective but they could not do so as they have never been given active support by the people. Can it then be said that the electorates in India, indeed the entire people of this country, deserve to be penalized because of the obstructive attitude, the use of desperate but futile tactics by one political party? Lord Birkenhead's enunciation of a clear and precise condition of no advance without willing cooperation by all amounts to this.

Now it is obvious to the most casual observer that there is a remarkable change in the attitude of even that one party. Its members have been co-operating with Government nearly everywhere and in a large measure, even in Bengal and the Central Provinces. In Bengal they reconsidered the demands for grants for the transferred departments which they had once refused; they have taken their share in legislation and the ordinary Council methods of questions and resolutions. The last time the formation of a Ministry was tried, it was well known that the attempt proved to be infructuous because the Government backed the wrong horses. A more judicious selection of acceptable names would probably have secured a Ministry for Bengal.

In the Central Provinces—the only province which brought over 57 per cent. of voters to the poll at the last elections—the Swarajists who were in a large majority threw out the Budget in the first year, blocked legislation and would have no Ministers. During the present year much of this was changed. The Budget met with discriminating opposition and not wholesale rejection. The right of moving resolutions and asking questions was availed of and a Ministry was not formed only because the party was not unanimous. The section of the Swarajists now known as responsive co-operators is strong in the Maratha country and forms a strong minority in the Central Provinces Council. Individual members willing to form a Ministry are waiting in the hope that the Swaraj party itself will change its policy and adopt saner and more practicable methods. The revolt against the policy of obstruction has openly broken out in Bombay and has spread to the Central Provinces and only a truce has been arranged till the Congress session. Mr. Tambe's appointment as Home Member has been a veritable apple of discord and is likely in the near future to bring an influential section of the Swaraj party into the fold of responsive co-operation which includes the acceptance of ministerships.

In the Legislative Assembly they first succeeded in throwing out the Finance Bill, but in the second budget session they refrained from doing so. One of their leaders has accepted the Presidentship of the Assembly though his election had to be confirmed by the Governor-General and has given expression to sentiments which breathe a spirit of co-operation. Another leader showed signs of a complete change in his attitude in his Faridpur speech; and yet another accepted nomination to the Skeen Committee though he had previously refused to serve on the Muddiman Committee.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The Swaraj party as a whole in the central Legislature co-operated in the matter of giving protection to the steel industry, the separation of railway from general finance, at the time of the last Budget and in the introduction of the Contempt of Courts Bill.

The answer that can emphatically be given to Lord Birkenhead is that the country as a whole is actually even now co-operating ; non co-operation has been officially suspended by the Indian National Congress, being merely hung up before it is solemnly buried. The talk of civil disobedience is a futile and empty threat. It was held to be impracticable by a special committee appointed by the Congress, of which Pandit Motilal Nehru himself was a most prominent member, and has lately been declared by Mahatma Gandhi himself to be impossible. It is now no more than an unmeaning shibboleth and no one takes seriously the occasional threats of the leader of the Swaraj party of preparing the country for it. Methods of obstruction have been barren of achievement and stand self-condemned. The present practice of the Swaraj party is at variance with their declared policy of obstruction pure and simple, and at last a strong body of dissenters standing out for responsive co-operation have pronounced against obstruction of the type advocated in the Swarajist programme. The evidence before the Muddiman Committee has demonstrated the defects of the present system. Lord Birkenhead's insistence on cooperation by all political parties in India before advance could be thought of thus loses a great deal of weight. It is more than doubtful if a demand for the complete surrender of an adversary is an act of statesmanship calculated to secure the willing co-operation of a people who are particularly responsive to real goodwill. Anything but co-operation was offered by the Boers, the Egyptians and the Irish but statesmanship in England never insisted on co-operation as a condition precedent for the conferment of responsible government. There is still time for his lordship to reconsider the position in view of the change that has taken place in the situation.

The occasion for such reconsideration will be the action to be taken by the Secretary of State for India on the Muddiman Committee Reports. If Sir Muhammad Shafi's opinion expressed after his relinquishment of office in favour of a more extended enquiry be taken into account the minority's recommendation for an enquiry by a Royal Commission or some other method for putting the constitution on a permanent basis becomes the majority recommendation. The Home Member moving the resolution in support of the Majority Report tripped in his speech about the majority and minority reports and so did one eminent Liberal speaker in the Assembly. That supplied merriment to the Assembly as regards which was the majority and which the minority report. It would not here be out of place to take a brief review of the history of the demand for the acceleration of progress as pressed by the Indian Legislature. In 1921 a resolution was passed by the Assembly expressing the view that there should be a re-examination and revision of the constitution. The resolution was then accepted by the Government of India. It was, however, turned down by Lord Peel. In 1924 the Assembly passed a resolution for a round table conference for settling the constitution of this

country. The Government in England sanctioned only the Reforms Enquiry Committee with a full consciousness of the then uncompromising attitude of the Swaraj party. Notwithstanding this, a distinct statement was made in the Indian Legislature that if the enquiry showed that with the scope and structure of the Act no substantial progress was possible, the question of revising the constitution would be a separate issue, in regard to which Government did not commit themselves. The most recent development was the motion carried by the Legislative Assembly last September. The opinions of local Governments on the working of diarchy were quoted by Lord Birkenhead in his speech. The general deduction that may be drawn from them is that diarchy can at best be worked with good-will and is being worked more smoothly where diarchy is least in evidence. The defects pointed out show that they are inherent in the system which cannot serve the purpose of advancing India on the path of responsible government. The Majority Report acknowledged the fact that mere changes in the rules so as to minimize occasion of friction would not satisfy anybody in India, but it kept within the limits imposed by the terms of reference and suggested minor amendments. But Mr. Chintamani, an ex-Minister of the United Provinces, mentioned in his address at Poona at least ten amendments which should have been recommended by the majority if only to make the working of the Act smoother. The mover on behalf of Government of the original resolution for the acceptance of the principles of the Majority Report could not even guarantee the eventual adoption by Government of all the recommendations of the Majority but still wanted the Assembly to set its seal of approval on them. The Minority Report found that there was hardly any scope for progress under the existing constitution and urged that the constitution should be put on a permanent basis with provision for automatic progress in the future and that for this purpose a Royal Commission or other suitable agency should be employed for investigation of the problem.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The Majority Report was disapproved by the Indian press and Indian public opinion generally and by the adoption of Mr. Nehru's amendment last September the Legislative Assembly has virtually set on it its seal of disapproval. Indeed there is no section of the Indian community which is opposed to advance. It is true that some communal organizations ask for special concessions for their separate communities but they all want progress, I know of none of them—I have not in mind the European Association—which is satisfied with things as they are. And differences among them can be adjusted on the basis of compromise, and suitable provisions inserted in the constitution to be framed. The Commonwealth of India Bill drawn up by Mrs. Besant's National Convention points to an almost unanimous public opinion in support of the principles embodied in the motion adopted by the Legislative Assembly. It is true that the Council of State has not agreed with it, but it is plain that the Assembly's demand has the support of the country.

Presidential
Address.

Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The Secretary of State's Objections.

Lord Birkenhead has suggested several reasons for making little or no advance. That India is not a nation is one of them, want of a national army to deal with the problem of external defence and internal peace and communal dissensions are the other two. It is significant that each time an advance howsoever small is to be made towards giving Indians political rights these same reasons are put forward. They were there when the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced and also when the Act of 1919 was passed. They are there still in full force. The objections have been repeatedly answered by Indians. The geographical area known as Hindoostan may be peopled by races of various creeds and different languages, but all of them have common interests, common aspirations and a common political ideal and a strong desire to act as one nation. We are certainly no less a nation than the Poles or the other recently created nationalities in Europe. The objection loses much of its force when it is remembered that India aspires to be a "United States of India", suitable and necessary changes being made of provincial boundaries, as far as possible on a linguistic basis.

That India has no national army at present is true enough, but British policy having been and still being one of preventing Indians from officering the Army, a national army was not possible. Distrust of the people has throughout been the British military policy in India and instead of frankly acknowledging the mistake, they fling the fact in our face as a plea for no further advance. This is to add insult to injury. Nobody says that the whole of the British Army with all the British officers should disappear at once ; all are content to wait till military experience has been gained by Indians. But all want the Government to make an honest effort on a scale which within the next 25 or 30 years will give India Indian soldiers and Indian officers ready to defend the country. The eight units scheme of Indianization upheld by Government is condemned by Indians and it is disappointing to find the Secretary of State determined to make no advance till this very scheme has succeeded to the satisfaction of the Government. The Sken Committee's scope of inquiry is so limited that it is very doubtful if it may not be as disappointing in its results as the Reforms Enquiry Committee.

Communal tension is an old and favourite plea of Government in power. When a national government comes into existence, it will be strong enough to uphold authority as is now the case even in the Indian States. All these are difficulties which are not incapable of solution and ought certainly not to bar the way to immediate further Reforms.

Diarchy.

The most crucial fact in this connection, however, is the answer to the question, Has diarchy failed or succeeded? Its failure is said to be a necessary preliminary to exploring avenues for advance. This is the

alternative stipulation made by the Secretary of State for advance before the expiry of ten years. In order to answer the question satisfactorily the test of failure or success must be first ascertained. Diarchy as a transitional measure was mainly intended to give valuable training to the people in responsible government so that they might be prepared for complete responsible government. Diarchy must be said to have failed if such training is not possible under it. The Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee has among other reasons given three reasons to support this conclusion :

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropan t
Joshi.

- (i) The position of the Ministers has not been one of real responsibility,
- (ii) There has been no collective responsibility of Ministers, and no joint deliberation between the two halves of the Government in most provinces.
- (iii) The close connection between the 'reserved' and 'transferred' departments has made it extremely difficult for Legislatures at times to make in practice a distinction between the two sections of the Government with the result that the policy and administration of the reserved half have not infrequently been potent factors in determining the attitude of the Legislature towards Ministers and have also prejudiced the growth and strength of parties in the Councils.

To my mind these are very serious objections and it is necessary to explain the position at any rate for the benefit of those who have not had the opportunity of knowing the working of diarchical government in practice. In the reserved departments of Law and Order, Land Revenue, and Forests, policies are adopted by Government which affect the daily lives of the vast mass of the people. It may be a question of excessive assessment on land, heavy irrigation rates, onerous and harassing forest dues, or a prosecution for sedition. Even in provinces like the Central Provinces where important questions on either side were discussed between the two halves of the Government, Ministers had only their voice to be able to influence the Government. They had no vote under the statute as regards matters relating to the reserved subjects. The result was the promulgation of unacceptable policies or measure in the Reserved half resulting in sectional or individual grievances. The people expected the Ministers to support the popular view but their obligation to vote with Government and against their own supporters caused deep resentment, the more so as the Ministers could not explain their attitude in open Council by obligations of official secrecy. The people's representatives saw that the Ministers were impotent and the Ministers lost their hold on the representatives. Whatever the theory, the people looked upon Government as one and in cases of trouble, found their Ministers unable to help. The resentment thus caused often led the Council to adopt an attitude of hostility, or, at best, of indifference to the Ministers. The Council had often to be reminded that the Minister was not responsible for policy in the Reserved half and that their resentment if any should be directed to those responsible for that half. The influence of Ministers was thus sapped and their power

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

for good was crippled. The sense of responsibility both of the representatives and the Ministers was lessened and the formation of parties on any known principle or policy became impossible.

The Nagpur Flag Agitation.

I may mention in this connection something about the Flag incident at Nagpur, which attracted the attention of all India to that province. It is admitted by all who knew that in the Central Provinces diarchy was least worked as diarchy. There were joint deliberations of Ministers and Members on important matters, though joint ministerial responsibility was not recognized. In the Flag affair Ministers were consulted almost at every stage except when the matter was finally arranged between the Governor in Council and the 'Satyagrahis'. The movement was set on foot by the non-cooperators as an essay in civil disobedience, but their leaders at Nagpur who are now in the Swaraj party as responsive cooperators were indifferent and cold. Towards the end of the struggle it was obvious that the 'Satyagrahis' could hold out no longer and public opinion became critical and expected the Ministers to help substantially. But the matter concerned Law and Order and the Ministers could do no more than what they did. Yet there was a good deal of resentment among the members of the Legislative Council on the ground that the Ministers were impotent to effect what the members conceived would be correct action by Government. In another case, one of the municipal regulations limiting cow slaughter in municipal areas, a matter in the transferred departments, there was a protest by the Mahomedan community and general resentment against the entire Government. The two halves of the Government had to bear the odium while only one-half of it was really responsible.

If diarchy is found to have failed in its main purpose, as it has failed, little doubt remains of its failure. Some good is undoubtedly done by an elected legislative council. Some beneficent legislation has been enacted in almost all the provinces and the ventilation of public grievances by means of questions and by the passing of resolutions has been made. The nature of the resolutions passed will show that the subjects treated were of general public importance and not in the selfish furtherance of particular interests. Both the electors and their representatives feel a certain sense of power, specially in finance. The resolutions of the Council, though advisory, carry weight and put upon the Government the onus of proof for not accepting them. The officials feel that the people are of some consequence; in all ranks of the official hierarchy the consciousness that officials might be called to account for their individual acts influences them in the discharge of their public functions, and a healthy tone is thus given to the administration. Scarcely a system can be conceived which cannot accomplish some good. But in deciding if diarchy has failed, I have already stated what the decisive test must be. Well-meaning advisers have said that even diarchy can be worked with mutual good-will. This may be true, but it could be said even of the Minto-Morley Reforms, and indeed of any other system of government. The emphasis ought necessarily to be on what may be looked

upon as the decisive test. The Secretary of State's verdict is that diarchy cannot be said to have failed or succeeded. Even the official reports quoted, however, show that the system is working "creakily" at the best and in Madras where the system is claimed to have worked best as judged by the relations between the Ministry and a majority in the Legislative Council, both the Ministers and the ex-Minister who recorded their opinions have pressed for complete provincial autonomy. It is apposite to quote here the testimony of Sir Frederick Whyte, the first President of the Legislative Assembly. Speaking at Calcutta to the European Association, he said in effect that enough cooperation had been rendered by the representatives of the people, certainly in the first Assembly and to a lesser but an increasing degree in the second, and that unless a more generous measure of Reforms was introduced in the provinces the training of the people in responsible government was not possible. There is thus influential opinion against a mere continuance of the system as it is. As between this and a move forward the former is by official opinion looked upon as the lesser evil and therefore to be tolerated and supported ; and it has been rightly observed that the value of this opinion is largely discounted by the fact that the scrapping of diarchy must mean a move forward and thus a further encroachment on exploiting interests, reversion to autocratic government or benevolent despotism being an unthinkable contingency.

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

The Civil Services.

The Secretary of State has praised the civil services in India. Nobody grudges them praise where they deserve it, certainly no Indian who had to deal with the services as a member of Government. Indians, however, want to be responsible for policies, and this causes resentment in a service used to take the initiative and to the formulation of policies, and this again reacts on the Indians. Nobody grudges the services just and fair treatment, but it is expected that they will perform functions similar to those of the civil services of other countries. What strikes people in India is the extraordinary rapidity with which the question of the interests of the services was taken up and decided. The Bill for securing certain advantages to the services has passed its third reading in both houses of Parliament. Not only have their emoluments been increased but allowances which have been subject to the vote of the Legislature have been made non-votable. Not only has the financial burden of the taxpayer been considerably increased but a backward constitutional move has been taken, the limited power of the Legislatures being further curtailed, and the 'steel-frame' has been further strengthened. While a comparatively small interest, because it is concerned with the continuance of British domination, is thus dealt with promptly and generously, large questions of great public importance which concern the entire Indian nation have evoked little sympathy and powerful opposition. The contrast is so great ; and it is painful.

The Demand : its Nature and Justification.

The motion carried by the Legislative Assembly last September may be said to meet all reasonable objections. It was an agreed statement of

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

claim made with the consent of Liberals, Swarajists and Independents. It requires the Government of India to be responsible to the Indian Legislature in all branches of administration except Military and Foreign and Political. The revenues of India should vest in the Governor-General in Council and not in the Secretary of State as at present. Expenditure on defence up to a fixed limit, expenditure on the political and foreign departments and payment of all debts lawfully incurred by the Secretary of State for the government of India will be controlled by the Secretary of State. The Military budget is to be submitted to the vote of the Legislature but the Governor-General can override it and may make appropriation up to the limit fixed ; in case of war all necessary expenditure may be sanctioned by the Governor-General. The Indian Army is to be nationalized within a reasonably short period by the throwing open of all branches of military service to Indians and the Army is to be represented by a Minister in the Executive Government. The Council of the Secretary of State is to be abolished and the position of the Secretary of State for India is to be similar to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions. All legislatures are to consist of elected members only returned on a wide franchise ; the provinces are to have unitary and autonomous responsible government, residual powers vesting in the central government in inter-provincial and all-India matters. After a limited period the Indian Legislature is to have full powers to amend the constitution.

Steps are to be taken to have a constitution framed at a joint conference of all interests in this country with due regard to minority interests and it has to be approved by the Indian Legislature and then submitted to Parliament for being passed into law. Lord Birkenhead in his speech stated that the intricacies of the problem have not been seriously thought of. Nobody denies that a deal of preliminary thinking will have to be done for adjusting the respective spheres of the provincial and central governments but the various points for decision can only be put forth by officials conversant with the difficulties to be encountered. Sir F. Whyte's efforts in this direction may take us a good deal forward towards a solution. At any rate, whatever difficulties there may be cannot be solved by mere efflux of time and if an effort is to be made the Indians claim that it may be as well now as hereafter.

Mr. Nehru's amendment implies that the constitution will be framed by all interests concerned in India and that the eventual sanction of Parliament to necessary legislation for legalizing the constitution framed will be taken. The finality of the powers of Parliament is thus acknowledged. The framing of the constitution by the parties concerned is exactly what has been several times done under British suzerainty and is by no means a novel procedure. The question is not about existing difficulties but about the will of the British nation to let Indians govern themselves.

Communal Disturbances.

Unfortunately, communal disturbances do take place in this country, music before mosques and cow killing being the two main heads of contention

between Hindus and Mahomedans. There is a strong Mahomedan sentiment about the first and a stronger one about the second amongst Hindus. Otherwise the two communities have been living side by side peaceably in this country for the last six or seven hundred years. The state of Hindu-Muslim relations is a very favourite plea with foreign rulers eager to show the dire necessity of their holding the balance in a disinterested manner between two contestants. The plea amounts to a justification of British domination over India for as long as the Sun and Moon endure as there is no hope of the two religions merging into one. No Britisher, I hope, expects to be here for all eternity. The fear of minorities being unfairly treated comes with ill-grace from the Britishers. What of the intolerable position of the Catholics in England for so long a time? A country that can undertake the responsibility of planting a Zionist minority amongst adverse Bedouin surroundings ought surely to be capable of securing provisions for the reasonable claims of minorities in this country. Moreover, both the Indian and Muslim communities realize that they have to live here in this country side by side and that Islam has made its home in India. After the Unity Conference between Hindus and Mahomedans efforts are being made in several places to settle the music question and it is due to the efforts of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Motilal Nehru that a solution has been found at Nagpur by the Hindus agreeing to stop music at prayer times before certain ancient mosques and the Mahomedans not objecting to music at other times. This is being followed in several places in the Central Provinces and is a good working compromise for other provinces to follow. There is, however, a suppressed feeling amongst the Mahomedans that a preponderance of Hindus may mean religious intolerance or their own political subordination; there is a feeling amongst the Hindus that Mahomedan fanaticism may suppress the mild Hindu and his 'Kafir' religion. Papers like the *Muslim Outlook* sometimes raise this demon of suspicion and once raised it will be difficult to lay. The questions of security and minority communities are not peculiar to this country and there is sufficient sense in both major communities in India to be able to create a sense of security in the minority. Leaders, both Hindu and Mahomedan, and editors of newspapers are not always as careful as they ought to be in their speeches and writings. One word in an unguarded moment by a Hindu party leader very nearly caused trouble in the Central Provinces until Pandit Motilal Nehru in a public meeting expressed regret for the incident and the leader concerned made an explanation. Neither Hindus nor Mahomedans have despaired of a solution and in any case the Legislatures and Executives concerned will know what action to take in emergencies and will have power to exact obedience to their orders.

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

Excise Duty on Cotton Goods.

For once, the Governor-General's power to promulgate ordinances has been employed for a beneficial purpose and the excise duty on cotton goods has been suspended. We ought to be thankful that the central Government was in a position to suspend the duty. This resulted in ending the strike in the Bombay mills. The impost was an unjust one and could always be

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

characterized as having been imposed for the benefit of British interests and to the detriment of Indian industry. It is inconceivable that the impost can be revived next year. In fact we have been assured that it will be repealed.

Indians in South Africa.

The latest step taken by the Government of India towards the amelioration of the condition of the Indian nationals in South Africa is the recent deputation of one Englishman and three Indians to that country. We have to wait and see what results are achieved by this deputation. 'A common Empire' becomes unmeaning to us here in India when Indians are treated as in South Africa. It is sought to deprive the Indians who have been there now for generations, of rights which they already enjoy, and England, 'India's self-appointed trustee', can do little to support our nationals. The susceptibilities of the white settlers in the dominions and colonies always carry undue weight with the British Government while Indian susceptibilities are but a negligible quantity. A few politicians like Lord Willingdon and a few pious bishops in England hardly count in the struggle to secure justice to Indian nationals within the Empire. Kenya and South Africa emphasize the need of Swaraj.

Non-political Work by Liberals.

The Liberals are doing constructive work in fields other than political. Co-operative and other social work, famine relief, and work for labour welfare are undertaken by many Liberals. The Liberals have throughout the year been acting on all convergent lines of national progress. Their sympathy for the depressed classes and their efforts for their uplift are anterior to the new emphasis laid on the uplift of these classes as political units. We must keep up these efforts so that the awakened consciousness of the depressed classes might result in their getting full justice at the hands of the higher Hindu castes.

Liberal Party and Government.

The Liberal party is the party which has all along put a discerning and discriminating trust in Government for taking suitable action to establish responsible government and in the people to do their part in the country's advance. They are disposed to make favourable presumptions in favour of the established government. They have worked the Reforms though they did not consider them wholly satisfactory. They have demonstrated that the people of India can administer subjects, transferred and reserved alike, and are able now after five years of experience in working the Reforms to show that their apprehensions have come true. Grave provocation given by Government during the last five years has naturally raised angry protests from individual members of the party, as well as from the party as a whole. But no one of us has ever been tempted to assume an attitude of non-

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

co-operation. Candidates of our party were routed at the last elections, partly because of our defective organization, no doubt, but chiefly because they were critics but not opponents of the Government. Has Government policy been such as to enhance the prestige of its friendly critics and to confound its opponents? The Government's attitude was for a time responsive, but what afterwards? The people judge by tangible results, and by the perceptible impression made by a party on the Government in furtherance of the ideal. When they see that political sanity does not appear to pay, that it does not yield results, what wonder that persons with an impressionable mentality resort to desperate expedients? Lord Birkenhead has expressed a hope that the Liberal party might yet be a force to fashion the country's future for the better. What have the Government done, however, so that the public may be inspired with confidence in the Liberal party? The Government may refuse to placate their adversaries but are those who hold moderate opinions treated any better? Behind the scenes a Lord Sinha may gain the ears of Government and may be able to advance the public interest but to all outward appearances the cry of the Liberal and the non-co-operator, the friend and the obstructionist, is treated with equal indifference by Government. I suggested to a Swarajist friend arguments for co-operation with Government for working the Reforms and he retorted by saying that the Swarajist methods fell far short of the Carsonian methods of which Lord Birkenhead had been an admiring supporter, and challenged me to show what the Liberal party working with sobriety had achieved for accelerating the progress of the nation towards responsible government. A reply could be given, but the fact is that the Liberal party is often sorely tried. It has become the target of adverse, even malicious, criticism for supporting the Reforms and a Government very little amenable to advice, and the charge of having merged themselves in the bureaucracy is often made against individual members of the party. We know at what value to assess such charges. But it must be said that for this state of affairs Government cannot divest themselves of their share of responsibility. And it is a large share. Government have certainly not strengthened, if they have not actually weakened the hands of constitutional reformers in influencing public opinion to take sober views and not to resort to extreme methods. A mentality which is antagonistic not only to co-operation with Government but to harmonious relations between the British and Indian communities, is created by the acts of Government amongst a not inconsiderable number of the intelligentsia.

The Liberal party has been variously criticized and one Swarajist friend described it by saying, "You are a train without engines; you have first, second and third class carriages in plenty, the old four wheeler in Bombay and a powerful brake in Bengal." I never forgave him for this; but it has served to arrest my attention and made me think of suggestions for improving the static condition of the party. I am suggesting towards the end of my speech methods for more useful work. The Liberal party is at the present moment expected to answer two very important questions. Why does it and how can it still ask the people of India to work the Reforms when the Liberals, having co-operated and done their best, have found by experience that the present system has failed to achieve its main purpose and

Presidential
Address.
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

therefore assert that a far larger measure of responsibility must be given to the people? How is it that Jallianwala, Rowlatt Act, certifications and ordinances notwithstanding, the Liberals can continue to advise co-operation with a Government so irresponsible and so callous to public opinion? The answer is simple. The Liberals were never enthusiastic over diarchy, but were desirous of working it to get all the good that could be got out of it. They have worked the Reforms and their experience makes their testimony very valuable. The Reforms have put powers in the hands of Ministers which even under limitations they could use and did use for constructive work in the nation-building departments. Ministers have in all provinces been able to achieve some good results in local self-government, education, excise, co-operation, indeed in almost all transferred subjects for the benefit of the people. Indian members of Executive Councils, though not responsible to the Legislative Councils, have behaved almost everywhere as if they were and have been largely instrumental in giving authoritative expression to the Indian point of view and thus influencing the policy of Government in the reserved half. The Reforms, though of little value in accomplishing the main purpose, have been and are of considerable value in enabling the Indian members of Government to achieve things which would have been well nigh impossible under the old constitution. The working of the Reforms has proved the ability of Indians to administer departments, reserved and transferred, and thus weakened if it has not demolished the argument, I trust for ever, of the administrative incapacity of Indians and their inaptitude to work democratic constitutions for the general benefit. So the Reforms have achieved some good. They can be and have partially been utilized for educating the electorates. More could have been done in this useful direction if the party which boycotted the first election and tried obstruction after the second, had also exerted itself to this end. The Liberals have felt as keenly as others their inability to achieve more, but they have never considered it prudent not to use what has been obtained under the Reforms. (The Liberals believe that the working of the constitution is a powerful factor in strengthening the Indian case for the quicker realization of full responsible government.)

Another question to which an answer is expected is what is the method which the Liberals are prepared to adopt to put pressure on Government and to enforce the national will to be free. The Liberals have always had an abounding faith in the people. They believe that it is quite feasible to bring adequate pressure to bear on Government to grant India dominion status if the electorate and the people as a whole take much keener interest in matters political. The will to be free must be infused in the masses and intensity of feeling secured by constant reiteration of the birth-right of Indian citizens. The Liberals have still faith in constitutional methods which they believe have not been adequately tried. As extreme measures nothing is ruled out for achieving political emancipation—not even revolutions, much less civil disobedience and obstruction. But the Liberals firmly believe that, without adequate preparation of the people, little pressure can be put on Government. Mere gnashing of teeth and stamping of feet is neither dignified nor expedient. As soon as we concentrate on the preparation of the electorates, a stage must arrive when the rulers must find it prudent to

yield rather than risk civil disobedience and revolution. Without adequate preparation of the people no compelling pressure upon Government is possible ; and once they are prepared, civil disobedience will be unnecessary. Other political parties who have stigmatized Liberal methods as mendicancy have felt themselves powerless to achieve more than the Liberals. The last five years' experience warns us of the futility of the suggested alternatives to constitutional agitation in the absence of preparedness of the people. Other parties have themselves realized this by now, and that is why the Liberals suggest unity and concentration of effort on the one common ground, *viz.*, preparing the masses for the struggle to be free.

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

Liberals and Other Parties.

The manifesto of the Liberal party published in 1923 has laid down the principles for which the party stands. With regard to reforms its attitude was one of criticism but co-operation in working them. (It has consistently acted on the principle of co-operation wherever possible and opposition wherever necessary.) In all measures affecting public interests the popular view has been upheld by the Liberals, so much so that many Anglo-Indian papers professed their inability to distinguish between Liberals and Swarajists. The Amritsar Congress adopted the same principles under a different name. Afterwards non-co-operation was preached by one party and attempted to be practised but with poor results ; it has since been suspended temporarily by the Indian National Congress before it is openly abandoned. Swarajism then took its place. It was first explained as a species of non-co-operation and then as a doctrine by itself with obstruction as its most approved and effective instrument ; and it has tried very doubtful experiments for two years. It has attracted notice but it has not only made no impression on Government but has provoked Government into rejecting its overtures with disdain and impunity and to treat its threats as unmeaning bluff. Both the non-co-operation and Swaraj parties promised large results in quick time and acted under the delusion that with their tactics they would make Government impossible and compel it to capitulate and yield to public opinion. The large amount of existing popular discontent afforded them an easy basis for working on the feelings of the people and sobriety and moderation in thought and action was at a discount. A large and influential section of the Swaraj party has at last rebelled against obstruction pure and simple and is returning to responsive co-operation, which is the Liberal doctrine with a camouflage. There could not be a better vindication of the Liberal doctrine. While other parties using desperate expedients have had to change their methods and policies, Liberalism is uniformly consistent.

Plea for Unity.

In briefly noticing the vicissitudes of the several political parties, my object is not to apportion praise or blame among them. I have no desire to be contentious. Whatever a Britisher may think, the Liberals have no reason to reckon themselves enemies of the parties that do not agree with them in the methods adopted to secure the goal. However unfortunate and

Presidential
Address
—
Sir Moropant
Joshi.

deplorable their methods might happen to be, the Liberals realize that all are working for a common objective. Circumstances which drive persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Messrs. Das and Nehru into a mentality that spurns co-operation and advises obstruction are certainly unfortunate and deplorable, and the Government responsible for them must reconsider its attitude. From our national point of view, the union of all political parties is extremely desirable at this juncture. It is quite conceivable that the Liberals, Independents, Conventionists and Responsive Cooperators would not find it difficult to have a common platform and the efforts that are being made in this direction will, I hope, prove fruitful. The greatest difficulty in achieving union is perhaps the desire of each party to have its own policy and methods adopted by the rest. A great deal of the energy that is now wasted in mutual recrimination and individual abuse is urgently required for the more beneficent purposes of common effort and common achievement. This must be realized by all, and it should not be impossible for all parties to unite by means of give and take. Obstruction is certainly not a method that has appealed to all in India. The proceedings of provincial Councils outside Bengal and the Central Provinces have failed to prove the universality of the feeling. Those who stood sponsors for the method had perforce to go back on it, and have in practice made as near an approach as possible to responsive cooperation which is really a Liberal doctrine though they may not like to own the fact. Obstructionists in the Bombay Council, hopeless of being effective, had to be a dumb show in the Council. Everywhere there is impatience of results. Civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes are the avowed sanctions behind continuous obstruction. But they are found to be impossible on account of the unpreparedness of the masses to make the sanctions operative. If the Congress at the present stage will declare that civil disobedience and the threat of non-payment of taxes are no part of its policy the way for all parties joining on the Congress platform will be easier. The Congress can then concentrate its attention on intensive political propaganda with a resulting pressure on Government. If this is impossible for any reason a combination of constitutionalists against those who are for direct action ought to be quite within the bounds of practical politics.

Party Organization.

In my opinion the Liberal party ought to be better organized for work. We have now a chance to go to the electorates such as we seldom had during the last five years, and party coherence and party discipline must be strictly enforced. We have to popularize the gospel of constitutionalism as against the creed of non-cooperation or obstruction. Younger men in larger numbers are required in the party and the freshness and vitality of youth must be combined with the experience and long vision of old age.

Here I would make a suggestion. Personally I am strongly in favour of getting in at the next election real representatives of the rural classes. They are the persons in whose interest we work, in them we want to awaken interest in political matters. Liberals in various centres should help influential rural representatives at the election and throughout their

tenure in the Councils. Of course this is not a plea to support reactionaries and others who disapprove of the Liberal policy. Matters of local interest affecting their daily lives should be taken up and the electors shown how to proceed to secure redress of local grievances. Confidence in small matters will beget confidence in bigger ones. Liberals should throughout act as advisers and may not oppose rural candidates unless the electors so desire or no suitable rural candidates are available. It may take some time to make up lost ground but this method ought to be effective in the long run. Meetings of electors of a particular group of villages can be addressed at convenient centres. The work of educating the electorates should in this manner be seriously taken up. Selflessness and earnestness in action must result in a wide acceptance of Liberal doctrines.

Presidential
Address.

Sir Moropant
Joshi.

Deterioration of Public Life.

I would like to refer to another matter of great importance, *viz.*, the deterioration of public life. We find a wrangle of political parties and an internecine war of mutual recrimination instead of united or at any rate confluent action towards the realization of the common political goal. In the eagerness to emphasize their own superiority of policy and method, fierce attacks are made not only on the policies and principles of rival political parties but upon individuals and there is very little attempt made to understand the respective view-points. In the attacks on the British Government one seldom finds any appreciation of the good points of British rule. Racial bitterness exhibited by the press deepens the layer of suspicion and widens the gulf between the British and Indian communities. This has its repercussion in attacks by Hindu papers against Muslim papers, in Brahman and non-Brahman controversies, and in skirmishes between the depressed classes and the higher castes of Hindus. Leaders of parties as also responsible editors of newspapers who are expected particularly to discourage such an attitude, are, I repeat, not always careful in guarding themselves against it. Again, very little sanctity attaches to age, experience, self-sacrifice, or recognized moral worth found in leaders of other parties. The interests of party are not unoften placed above national interests and this has made political life in this country a tangled skein of camouflage and dissimulation. Is it too much to hope that the evils of such tactics will be perceived and the tactics avoided?

Conclusion.

I do not possess the erudition to make a learned speech, nor have I attempted to intersperse my speech by quotations so as to present a self-contained case. I have assumed an appreciation by you of the sequence of political events as they have occurred. Argument, reason, justice, are on the popular side in our struggle for freedom. What I have tried to say on your behalf should be enough to convey a correct idea of the soundness of our case to the authorities who hold sway at present in political matters over the destiny of this country. I have not attempted to anticipate your verdict on the several matters that will be brought before you for discussion but

Dewan Bahadur D. Seshgiri Rao, (Cocanada), Rai Saheb Jagmandar Das, Najibabad, U. P., Dewan Bahadur M. RamChandra Rao, Ellore (Madras).

Subjects Committee.

On the motion of the President, the Federation resolved itself into the Subjects Committee. The President then adjourned the Conference till Tuesday the 29th December at noon and announced that the meeting of the Subjects Committee would be held at the Town Hall at 5. 15 P. M.

Second Day.

The Federation resumed its sittings on Tuesday the 29th December at noon under the Presidentship of Sir Moropant Joshi. There was a very large gathering of delegates and visitors. On the arrival of the President in a procession with the Chairman and members of the Reception Committee and volunteers, he received an ovation.

The day's proceedings commenced with the singing of the Bande Mataram and a song specially composed by Sreemati Sarala Devi, rendered by a Choir of ladies, to the accompaniment of Sitar and Esrajes.

The following resolutions which were moved from the Chair were unanimously carried in silence, the whole Assembly standing.

I. Death of Queen Alexandra.

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

Condolence
Resolutions.

II. The Late Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other Patriots.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India express its sense of deep regret at the death of Sir Surendranath Banerjea its first President, who, during an active and distinguished public life of half a century, rendered signal services to the country and whose honoured memory will long be cherished by the grateful people of India as one of their foremost nation-builders.

(b) The Federation records its deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the deaths of Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, His Highness the late Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, Sir P. Theagoraya Cetty and Babu Avinash Chandra Mazumdar of Lahore.

III. Constitutional Reform.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) then moved the following resolution :

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic service rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-Presidents.

(b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August, respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September, which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.

(c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below :—

- (1) Provincial governments should be responsible to the respective provincial legislative councils which should be wholly elected.
- (2) The Central Government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (3) The control of the foreign and political relations of the Government and of the military, naval, and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General, for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a Commission on which the Indian opinion is adequately represented.
- (4) During this period, a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor-General, who should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.
- (5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure, but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.
- (6) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision shall be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
- (7) The principle and conditions of recruitment for all All-India Services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Government of India, the actual

recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like a Public Services Commission.

Constitutional
Reform
Mr. Chintamani.

- (8) All subjects not specially vested in provincial governments should be under the control of the central Government.
- (9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.
- (10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered and adequate provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed, and labouring classes.
- (11) Alike in respect of franchise and eligibility for membership of legislative and local bodies as well as for the public services, women should be placed on an equality with men.

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

Mr. Chintamani in moving the above resolution said :

Mr. President and fellow Liberals, I have spoken several times during the last two years upon the subject of this resolution and although there have been developments in recent months, I find it no easy task to place before you any new matter on the subject. If, therefore, you find me repeating myself in identical or similar language, having had to speak several times upon this subject, I trust you will forgive me for that. In the first clause of this resolution, we expressed our decided disapproval of the Majority Report of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee and our equally emphatic approval of the Minority Report. These reports were published this year and since then they have been so much discussed that I may take it that one who is even moderately acquainted with the course of affairs is familiar with the principal recommendations made by the Majority and Minority. In a word, the Majority left the *status quo* unchanged. They consider that the terms of their reference precluded them from making any recommendations inconsistent with the policy, purpose, and structure of the Act. They considered that the system brought into being by the Act of 1919 and the rules made thereunder had on the whole worked well, and they thought that to the extent that it has not worked well, it has not had a fair trial owing to unfavourable circumstances. They conclude that with minor amendments of the rules or the establishment of convention in a few matters and in more favourable circumstances, the system can be worked well enough and should be worked longer before any fundamental change is introduced. It was within their competence to recommend changes in the rules to any extent but the changes they have actually recommended leaving out one or two points, did not amount to anything appreciable. I think I do no violence to the sense of the substance of the Majority Report when I say that even

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. Chinta-
mani.

if every single one of their recommendations should be carried into effect, we shall remain very much where we are. It is for these reasons that the resolution invites you to accord your approval of the proposition that we are absolutely dissatisfied with the Majority Report.

The Minority were as dissatisfied with the condition as they are under the present Act as the Liberal Federation has been during the last four years, and after a minute examination of the evidence placed before them and of the materials submitted to them by provincial governments and public bodies, they came to the conclusion that no changes of rule, no minor amendments of the Act, in a word no tinkering with the Act as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has put it, would meet the requirements of the situation. They are of opinion that a radical revision of the constitution is an essential condition of an efficient and satisfactory government, but as the terms of reference to their Committee precluded them from making specific and detailed recommendations of the features of the new constitution that is to be established and as the evidence placed before them did not go into that aspect of the matter in sufficient detail, they recommend that steps should be taken without delay to put the constitution on a permanent basis with provision for automatic progress in the future either by the appointment of a Royal Commission or otherwise. In this resolution, you are asked to express your approval of the conclusion which the Minority of the Muddiman Committee reached.

One of the Members who signed the Majority Report after ceasing to hold office in the Government of India, has let it be known that while he adheres to the specific recommendation which the Majority made, he is entirely at one with the Minority in the operative part of their report and therefore he must still recommend that a Royal Commission, should be appointed without loss of time ; and in the messages which I read to you yesterday afternoon was one from Mahomed Shafi whom we claim as the President of the Punjab Liberal League, in which he urged the Liberal Federation strongly to press for the early appointment of a Royal Commission. In so far as the principal recommendation of the Minority goes, the fact therefore is that it is really a Majority recommendation and it is the recommendation made by the majority of the members which is generally known as the Committee's recommendations and we are therefore entitled to regard this recommendation as a recommendation of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee, the opposition to this recommendation which expressed satisfaction with things as they are, being the opinion of the Minority of the members of that Committee. That Minority consisted of the Home Member of the Government of India, a former member of the Executive Council of Bengal, a European Merchant of Bombay and a former Secretary in the Legislative Council of India, whereas the five members who urged the appointment of a Royal Commission included two former law members of the Government of India, a former member of the Executive Council of Madras, a former Minister in Bombay and a very distinguished man who has not held office but whose experience of public affairs entitles him to be heard with respect. No Indian audience, whatever may be the political aspirations of its members, requires persuasion to believe that the opinion of

Sir Mahomed Shafi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and Mr. Jinnah is entitled to any less respect than the opinion of Sir Arthur Froom, Sir Alexander Muddiman and the Maharajah of Burdwan. But it is not merely the weight that attaches to the names of these gentlemen but the argumentative part of the two reports and of the facts that are marshalled there with such convincing force, from which irresistible inferences can be drawn justifying our recording our warm support to the Minority Report. But it is only too natural and right and proper that we should express our high and grateful appreciation of the valuable public services rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report of that Committee. It was my good fortune or misfortune to be examined by them as a witness and no one who has sensed the atmosphere on that committee can fail to appreciate the high courage and tenacity which the Indian members of that Committee brought to bear upon their task notwithstanding the forces of reaction.

They rose above every adverse circumstance and did their duty as brave and wise patriots that they are. I therefore invite you to express your sense of admiration of the four signatories of the Minority Report.

After publication of this report, His Excellency the Viceroy went to England, conferred with the Secretary of State and after weeks of cogitation we were favored with a well stage-managed, elaborate, richly phrased, studiously moderate utterance of the Secretary of State in the House of Lords. We were taken to task by His Excellency the Viceroy in the speech which he delivered in the opening session of the Legislative Assembly at Simla, for not having accorded a more favorable response to Lord Birkenhead's oration. I have considered the Viceregal admonition with all the respect which utterances of the representative of the Crown are always entitled to and a diplomat of the talents of the present Viceroy demand, but I confess I am not prepared to plead guilty to the charge of either thoughtlessness or ingratitude for the opinion which I have formed of the nature of Lord Birkenhead's utterances. That utterance is not without its good points. No one of the talents of the present Secretary of State for India can after weeks of preparation make an elaborate statement totally devoid of good points. His speech amounts to this : "Dyarchy—he confined himself to provincial governments—cannot be said to have worked either well or ill. Provincial governments have expressed certain opinions upon the working of this system. It is true that I am not precluded from instituting an enquiry before 1929 and it is conceivable that in certain circumstances I might order such an enquiry but as a condition precedent to my taking such a step, I insist upon the present system being worked in a spirit of co-operation. It has not been so worked. Let it be so worked, and then it will be time for me to consider whether I shall exercise my power to institute an enquiry before the expiry of ten years from the date of the passing of the Act". I demur to the Secretary of State's description of the working of the present system. He has based his opinion upon the Majority Report—a summary of the opinion of that part of the reserved provincial governments which consisted of European members. It is incorrect to say that these opinions were the opinions of the provincial governments for ministers are

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. Chinta-
mani.

also parts of provincial governments and nowhere has a minister identified himself with the opinion of the Governors-in-Council on this question. The provincial governments are therefore reduced to Governors-in-Council and nearly every one of the Indian members of the Governors-in-Council has dissented from the opinions of the Governors-in-Council whose opinions are based on the English executive members of Council and these with the exception of the Governor of Madras have had the opinions of our friends, the members of the Indian Civil Service. We need not stop our statement of the case against the Secretary of State at the point which I have reached. You have read in full the opinions of the British Governors and their I. C. S. colleagues. You will find that you are not justified in summarising these opinions as amounting to an admission that the system has worked well. It would be nearer the truth that in their own opinion the system has worked fairly well but we say that dyarchy has not been observed in practice. ✓ Dyarchy has been successful where there has been no dyarchy. In the best of circumstances it has only worked tolerably well. We have heard a mighty deal of the singular harmony with which the two halves of the Government of Madras have conducted their business under the present system. The Ministers in Madras have been as loud in their complaints against the working of the system and without exception they have all clamoured for complete responsible government in their provinces. If, indeed, you are to hold that it is correct to describe the opinion of the provincial governments as an opinion in support of the view that the system has worked well and no change should be introduced, then I can only say that you are very far from being accurate and your description of what they have said is very loose indeed.

The Secretary of State first, the Viceroy next and the Government of India later on, have all asked us to dismiss the Minority Report as of no consequence whatever and to accord our support to the principles of the Majority Report. I decline the invitation without thanks. I do not feel either intellectual admiration or political appreciation for the point of view of the Majority or for their actual report. I have read a few documents known by the stately name of Reports on Commissions, etc., which are more thin and which are less entitled to appreciation or admiration than the report of the majority of the Muddiman Committee and in this opinion, substantially at any rate, I am upheld by our late Secretary of State, Lord Olivier who even the Anglo-Indian papers cannot dismiss as an impossible theorist and radical after the support he accorded to the Bengal Ordinance. We entirely agree with the Majority of the Legislative Assembly which has rejected by a decisive vote the proposition which Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member, placed before it asking them to accord their approval to the report of the Muddiman Committee. We accord our general support to the propositions embodied in the amendment which was moved in the Assembly by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraj party, with the concurrence of the Independent members and Liberal members of the Assembly with the support, amongst others, of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, a signatory to the Minority Report.

The charge has been brought against us by many in authority, and it has been echoed by others in a more or less gramophone manner, that we have not produced our own scheme. We are told "You tell us that you want Swaraj and Home Rule, but what are the conditions of your Swaraj, what is the kind of Home Rule you want? Have you any ideas about it, are you all agreed about it? If so, why don't you produce your scheme?" My first reply to this criticism is that the function of non-officials is to state what they want and it is the duty of Government to produce a detailed scheme. Non-officials are not in possession of the materials upon which any detailed scheme can be based. I am reminded of a conversation between Lord Balfour when he was Prime Minister and Mr. Bryce, afterwards Viscount Bryce in the House of Commons when Mr. Bryce was criticising mercilessly Mr. Balfour's Educational Bill and he wanted the Opposition to produce their own scheme. Mr. Bryce who was then leading the Opposition upon this subject, immediately got up and quietly said "If you will vacate your place and make room for us, we will produce our scheme." I do not think non-officials anywhere will be showing that they are astute politicians if they accept the invitation of the other side to commit themselves to details without being primed with the actual details without which a scheme cannot be easily produced. But all that we are called upon to do is to state in clear and unambiguous language in the form of a series of propositions what are the lines upon which we wish the Reforms to be undertaken. There our responsibility ends. Up to that point we have a duty to discharge. Speaking for the Liberal party, I say that that duty has been adequately and abundantly discharged by our party during the last three years. You have read the resolution of our Provincial Liberal Conference and that passed at the last Session of the Federation at Lucknow and if you tell me that on perusal of that resolution you are not quite clear in your mind what it is we want, I can only say—"I sympathise with you." It is mere moonshine for the other party to contend that they have yet to know what it is the Indian reformers want and now that the Swarajists and Independent party have in the Legislative Assembly set their seal of approval upon the resolution of the Liberal Federation passed last year at Lucknow in all its vital parts and essentials, it may be said that the progressive political parties in India are all agreed on the lines upon which they want a constitutional reform to proceed. Placed by the side of the resolution, the commonwealth of India Bill drawn up by the National Convention, I think even the authors of that measure will without hesitation agree that it is not a perfect piece of workmanship. There are few things perfect done by human hand. There may be points in that Bill upon which constitutional reformers can legitimately disagree, but take its main provision and I have no hesitation after having read our own resolution on the Bill, in stating that they proceed upon parallel lines. They do not disagree upon fundamental points. You have the Swaraj party, the Independent Party, the National Convention and with it the National Home Rule League and the Liberal Party—they are all agreed upon the Reforms which in my judgment the country requires, and they have all stated with sufficient clearness and precision and in sufficient detail what should be the main provisions of the amendment of the present Government of India Act or of the new

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. Chintamani.

Government of India Act, and if still the Secretary of State or any other authority affects to believe that they are still in ignorance of what Indians want, you may take it that that affectation of ignorance is only a cloak for constitutional disinclination to introduce changes which are no less in the interests of England than they are of India. I have no time to take you through the eleven propositions embodied in Clause 3 of the resolution. Broadly speaking, we want dyarchy in the provinces to be done away with and a complete unitary Government established instead. We want that complete unitary Government to be responsible to the provincial Legislative Councils ; we want the Provincial Legislative Councils to be wholly elected and we want it to be elected on franchise wider and lower than the present franchise. We want the numerical strength of the Councils to be increased so that there may be adequate representation of the various classes of interests in the country. We want special provision to be made to secure adequate representation of the depressed classes and of the classes who in Bengal prefer to be styled "backward classes" and of the labouring population. In the Central Government we want that in the sphere of internal civil administration the Government of India should be responsible not to a distant and absent Secretary of State who is alive to his responsibilities only when British interests are involved, but to a real alive Legislative Assembly on the spot, elected by the people, responsive to the people and responsible to them. If we make a reservation in respect of the Central Government and of the three subjects—the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and the military defence of the country—it is because this is in consonance with British Policy and also on account of the just necessity of consulting the interests and opinions and susceptibility of the rulers and subjects of the Indian States. It is not time for us to ask that the Government of India should be made accountable to the Assembly in these spheres. Where the control is reserved to the Governor-General, it should be for a definite term in the first instance and at the end of that term the position should be reviewed by a Commission on which Indian opinion is adequately represented. During that period, we are of the opinion that the Governor-General shall have power to spend upon the Reserved Departments up to a limit which shall be agreed upon by a competent body. Matters will be discussed by the Legislative Council but the Governor-General shall be free to spend up to that limit. Of course, when there is an emergency such as war, we do not tie his hands at all. It is right that he who has the responsibility, shall have the power without which he cannot discharge that responsibility, but that will be a transitional arrangement in respect of those departments only, and we agree to this arrangement not because of the original sin we committed but because of the policy of the British Government which has made us unready to take over these departments.

The spheres of the Provincial and Central Governments being demarcated, we suggest that the residual function should rest in a Central Government so that we may have a strong Central Government. We hold that the subject of recruitment and control of the Public Services cannot be separated from the subject of Constitutional Reforms. We have a deep grievance against the Government in England and in India for having appointed the

Lee Commission and for having carried out into effect the recommendations of that body in the teeth of almost unanimous public opinion and for having passed the Civil Service Act through both Houses of Parliament. We say that it should be part of the new system of Government that the conditions of recruitment to the Public Services shall be determined by the Government of India acting in response to the Legislative Assembly. All these matters can no longer be determined by a Secretary of State in London. We passed a resolution last year in Lucknow and I am of the same opinion and I think the overwhelming majority in our party are of the same opinion that the recruitment of the Civil Service should henceforth be in India and not in England. The proposition as it has been placed before you leaves it open to the Government of India—don't let your mind be prejudiced by what the Government of India is—but by the Government of India constituted as the resolution urges that it should be constituted and the Government of India responsible to a wholly elected Legislative Assembly, I say this resolution leaves it open to that Government of India acting with responsibility to such a Legislative Assembly, to determine the principles of recruitment. I think it is six of one and half a dozen of the other and I am quite safe in assuming and taking it for granted that such a Government and Legislative Assembly can and will only resolve that recruitment shall be in this country and not outside.

The charge is made against us that when we get into Government we are all for exercising patronage and that we are guilty of jobbery. The man who has been loudest in making this charge is Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He has brought the specific charge against Indian members of Government without any qualification or reservation, that they have been guilty of nepotism and jobbery. I fling back the charge in the teeth of the man who has uttered it. I aver with confidence that the record of Indian members of the Government in respect of appointments made to public services within the very narrow limits within which they could make appointments, will stand comparison with the record, past or present or possibility prospective, of the official Government in the country, which has to consider family antecedents alias loyalism, bribery to one section of the community in order to keep them away from the political life of the country, and various other devices and expedients by means of which to buttress the strength of the bureaucracy acting against the interests of India. I repeat, therefore, in answering the charge which Sir Michael O'Dwyer has brought against Indian members of executive Governments and Indian Ministers that I fling back the charge in the teeth of the man who has uttered it.

With regard to arrangements for Government in England, we ask that the Council of the Secretary of State shall be abolished. We have been asking for it since the year, 1885. Whatever justification, real or plausible, there may have been for the maintenance of that effete body until now, there cannot be even a colourable pretext to keep it up. Once the Government of India is made responsible to the Legislative Assembly and the nominal control of the Secretary of State is removed or withdrawn, the Secretary of State in his relation to the Government of India should occupy a position, except for a temporary period for the reserved subjects,

analogous to the position which the Secretary of State for the Dominions occupies in relation to the Government of the Dominions.

✓ Lastly, we urge that there should be equality between man and women in respect of franchise and eligibility for membership of Legislative and local bodies as well as for public services. Several Legislative Councils have adopted resolutions, either unanimously or by substantial majorities, in support of this proposition, and we may congratulate ourselves that, thanks to the benefits of English education and to the work of social reformers, opinion has been so far advanced that there will not be any serious opposition to the claim that we make on behalf of our sisters.

✓ Finally, we say that without delay a commission should be appointed to report upon the proposals which we make. This is really a repetition of what is said in the first part of the resolution. It is a repetition of the recommendation of the Minority Report.

If the President will permit me, I would like to take a few minutes more to answer one question that is frequently put to us, a question to which the President himself in his address yesterday has given an elaborate reply. We are asked by our Swarajist friends and by those who either agree with them or really disagree with us, "You say you want all these things. What is the sanction behind them? (How are you going to enforce your demands?" My reply is—the sanction behind our proposals is the sanction of the national opinion of India. The sanction behind our proposals is the sanction of right. How are you going to enforce this? How are the Swarajists, the no-change Non-co-operators, if any representative of that species is still found outside museums—how are they going to enforce their demands? By the spinning wheel? Let Pundit Motilal Nehru answer that contention (hear, hear). By the triple boycott? Not even in museums can we find a trace of that thing! By continuous, uniform, consistent obstruction? Where is it? (A voice—Nowhere). Where is it outside election manifestos issued with a view to deceive the electorates (hear, hear) so that votes might be cast against Liberal candidates? Where is that indiscriminate obstruction? In Madras, in the U. P., in the Punjab, in Behar, in Bombay? They have become dummies in Bombay. In Bengal? In the Central Provinces, our President has given full information upon that point yesterday. In the Legislative Assembly let the Steel Protection Act answer (cheers). Let the reference of the contempt of Court Bill to the Select Committee answer. Let the Hon'ble Mr. Patel answer. Let the Skeen Committee answer. In the Central Provinces the Hon'ble Mr. Tambe, who has succeeded our President, will tell you. Indiscriminate, continuous, consistent obstruction—there is no indiscriminate obstruction; there is no uniform obstruction; while as regards consistency the leader of the Swraj Party has told us that it is an asinine virtue. We have heard that by means of non-violent non-co-operation we shall achieve freedom. But the 31st of December 1921 is left four years behind! Non-violence has degenerated into violence. Non-co-operation has become a hypocritical God for a species of co-operation. Observation which co-operates, non-violence which becomes violent, civil disobedience which does not obey and

is not civil, passive resistance in which there is neither resistance nor passivity—are these the sanctions by which you will obtain Swraj ?

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. Chitama-
mani.

Every species of extremism that has been employed in India during the last 30 years has only resulted—I have stated this many times before and I will repeat it any number of times in future, because it is a historical truth—every species of political extremism that has been attempted or practised by Indian politicians during the last 30 years has had for the net result merely a new repressive campaign and a new series of repressive laws in the Statute Book, resulting in the curtailment of the liberties we enjoy. Whereas if in the year 1925 we are a more politically advanced people than we were 50 years or 25 years or 10 years ago, if we have attained a position from where we can plead for Swraj, we have attained that position wholly and entirely because of the pursuit of constitutional agitation as our political method. If anyone tells us that that is a bankrupt method, I should like to be a bankrupt of that description. I think it is a bankrupt method which many a bankrupt will like to adopt. If anyone tells us that constitutional agitation will no more succeed in future than it has succeeded in the past, I will say boldly and with the force of conviction that I shall be happy, that I shall be contented if in the future constitutional agitation in India shall achieve the same measure of rich success as it has attained in the past (hear, hear). We have come from the councils of 1861 to 1925 with our present system of Government, our present legislatures and our demand for Swaraj, because of this constitutional agitation (hear, hear). If constitutional agitation fails, it is because of the misleading prescriptions which Swrajists, Non-co-operators and others like them place before the people. It is because they mislead people and because they weaken the strength of the constitutional party in the country. If in future we devote ourselves to persistent organised constitutional agitation with strength, with force, with conviction, as we have done in the past, if we are not unworthy successors of Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Gokhale and others who have led the part of nation building, then I say that the present Liberal Party, strengthened, better organized, more active, doing more work from day to day, will succeed in future in a richer measure than the constitutional parties have succeeded in the past. It is not we who indulge in idle dreams of Swaraj but those who tell the people that they will quicken the advent of Swaraj and are doing the very utmost in their power to delay, to obstruct, to hamper progress. I ask you therefore not merely to accord your support to this resolution, but every one of you within the sphere of your own opportunities to do his human best with all the energy and conviction which he can summon to his aid to strengthen the forces of constitutional progress, in other words to strengthen the Liberal Party in order to accelerate the advent of Swaraj (hear, hear).

Sir Provash Chandra Mitter (Bengal) said :

I will follow my friend Mr. Chintamani in not reading this lengthy resolution because I take it it is in the hands of all of you. But I propose to take you through some of the salient features of this resolution.

Constitutional
Reform :
Sir Provash
Mitter.

Constitutional
Reform :
Sir Provasah
Mitter.

In clause (a) you will notice that one of the points on which the resolution lays stress is that the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it, and that we desire to approve of the Minority Report because it is in accordance with the weight of evidence. I hold a copy of that Report in my hand, and I may draw your attention to the fact that the Minority, with their usual care, has in Chapter XI analysed the evidence of altogether 31 Indians who were either Ministers or members of Provincial executive Governments, and out of those 31 persons only three Indians, who were members of the Provincial Governments, have opposed provincial autonomy and the abolition of diarchy. Twentyeight of them from their own experience have supported immediate grant of provincial autonomy and abolition of diarchy at the earliest possible time (hear, hear). Some of the names are names of eminent public men of India. Our revered leader, now no more, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, supported the immediate grant of provincial autonomy. My esteemed friend and your indefatigable Secretary Mr. Chintamani in his illuminating evidence and speaking with all the authority of his personal experience, demonstrated before the Committee that provincial autonomy was the only possible solution of the difficulties of this transitional constitution. Our esteemed President Sir Moropant Joshi, who was then the Home Member of the Central Provinces Government, expressed his opinion that that and that alone was the remedy. The Hon'ble Raja of Muhummadabad, Home Member of the U.P. Government, expressed that as his opinion. I will not multiply names, but if you would go through Chapter XI of this report, where the names of these gentlemen have been carefully collected, you will find that practically the unanimous opinion of every Indian connected with the administration of any Provincial Government is that in the very interests of better feelings between England and India, in the very interests of the attainment of the goal which we all desire, we must have provincial autonomy, we must have responsible Government, without any delay.

I do not forget the fact that amongst all the members of the Executive Government of the different provinces, there is the single dissentient voice of Sir Abdur Rahim, but even he has to admit that educated opinion, Hindu and Moslem, demand provincial autonomy at the earliest possible opportunity (hear, hear). Nor do I ignore the fact that two Muhummadan Ministers of my province, whose experience was rather shortlived, were the only two dissentient ministers (shame, shame) among the whole body of ministers who gave evidence either orally or by written memorandum. Therefore, when we say that the Majority Report is against the volume and weight of evidence, we certainly are on firm and sure grounds.

In the last three lines of clause (a), we ask you to record your appreciation of the patriotic service rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, we note with gratification, are amongst our ex-Presidents. A perusal of the Minority Report will convince any one of the care and anxiety with which they have approached the question. If they have approached the question with care and anxiety,

they have not brushed aside the opposite view, as the Majority has attempted to do. They have carefully considered the views of permanent officials, English as well as Indian, and they have given cogent reasons for coming to their conclusion ; and we, the members of this Federation, feel it a matter for legitimate pride that three of our ex-Presidents were there to uphold the name of Liberalism in India (hear, hear).

Constitutional
Reform :
Sir Provash
Mitter.

Brother delegates, as Mr. Chintamani has spoken to you at length I shall try to be brief, but as the resolution is one of great importance and as it is divided into various clauses, in my attempt at brevity you may perhaps be to some extent disappointed.

In clause (b) we express our deep disappointment at the position taken up by Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India. I will take up the question firstly from the point of view of Great Britain, and then from our point of view. From the point of view of Great Britain, we know that the British Parliament has laid down responsible government for India as the goal of Indian politics. I am therefore entitled to say that Lord Birkenhead must be loyal to the Parliament of his own nation. If he is loyal to the Parliament of his own nation, as undoubtedly he is, then he ought to realise that it is one thing for a Parliament to lay down the future goal of a country, it is quite a different thing to make the realisation of that goal a reality. Lord Birkenhead, if he is a statesman, as we hope he is, ought to have remembered that it is one proposition for Great Britain to gather into its bosom a country like Australia, which is of the same race as England, even a country like Canada where you have the British element and the French—no doubt, but still of the same European stock—with the same outlook on life as England, even a country like South Africa where the Boers but a few years ago were fighting Great Britain, but even there you have the common European stock, the common outlook on life and the common civilization. But having laid down as the goal to be realised by England that India is to be gathered to this parliament of free nations, to this brotherhood of the British Empire, Lord Birkenhead ought to have remembered that the problem here is far more difficult than the problem of bringing Australia or Canada or South Africa as an equal partner in the British Empire. We belong to an ancient civilization, more ancient perhaps than the great but modern civilization of England and Europe. We have amongst us two great communities, the Moslem and the Hindu, each proud of his past, each with a different outlook on life. If Lord Birkenhead remembered his duty to his own country and his own parliament, he should have realised that it required great delicacy, it required far greater earnestness to bring India into the brotherhood of the free nations of the British Empire. He would then have realised that merely laying down something by way of command is not perhaps the best way to deal with an ancient and great people like the Indians (hear, hear).

But if he has forgotten his duty—I have no doubt he has forgotten it perhaps unwittingly or perhaps because of want of necessary knowledge—there is no reason why we Indians shall forget ours. There is no

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Sir Provash
Mitter.

reason why we should not be true to our ancient civilization. There is no reason why we the people of India should not speak as with one voice. There is no reason why the Moslem and the Hindu should forget that they are brethren. There is no reason why out of patriotism for our motherland we must not proclaim that we owe a great deal to England. We proclaim that not because we want to please England but we proclaim that because we Indians are a grateful people. We do not want any favours from England. But as a grateful people, we are free to admit that it was by an accident at a critical time of our national history, when India was disrupted, not because of any inherent faults in Indians, but for pretty much the same causes which in the dark ages of Europe was disrupting Europe, it was by a Divine dispensation of Providence—a dispensation so well described by our great literary man Bankim Chandra—it was by a Divine dispensation of Providence that England came to India and brought peace. Along with peace, it also enabled us to revivify our ancient civilization. But we have paid a good deal as price for the peace—peace brought about not by our own people but by another people—and we have suffered a good deal. We do not forget that we are today in modern India because of that peace, and if we are not grateful to England for anything else we are grateful to England as being the Divine instrument which brought that peace to my land (hear, hear).

But if we are grateful to England for that, it is up to us as nationalists, as patriotic Indians, to tell England: "You are forgetting to do your duty" (hear, hear). The self-interest of England demands that India should be made a component part of the British Empire, not by any misguided attempt to enforce the "steel frame" in India, but by silken bonds of love, by helping India to gain her liberty. I maintain that Lord Birkenhead has failed to realise his duty. Let me hope he has failed to realise that duty through ignorance, and let me hope as he gathers more experience—he is never wanting in courage as his controversy with our journalistic friends tells us as—he gains more knowledge of India, I hope and trust he will see the error of his ways and will rise to the height of statesmanship and do his duty to India, and in doing his duty to India, he will do a greater duty to the land of his birth.

Now clause (b) also emphasises that this opinion is against the unanimous opinion of all parties. It is hardly necessary to dilate upon that point. The Swarajists have proclaimed their opinion, the Liberals have also proclaimed their opinion, so also have the Independents, and therefore there cannot be any doubt that it is against the unanimous opinion of all Parties.

Clause (c) has been dealt with at length by the proposer of the Resolution. I will only draw your attention to clauses (1) and (2) of clause (c). Clause (1) relates to the grant of responsible government to all the Provinces and clause (2) relates to the grant of responsible Government in the Government of India in its Civil Administration.

Brother Delegates, to my mind there is no greater panacea for peace and contentment than responsible Government. What does it mean?

It means that the people of this country are dissatisfied with those who have governed the country for the time being. There is an automatic constitutional method for removing their Governors and replacing them with others. That is the essence of responsible Government. Now, if at the present moment we are not satisfied with our rulers, what are we to do? Some of us feel a sense of hopelessness and the more ardent of us desire to find some remedy in civil disobedience; others even go further and suggest anarchy and murder. But who is responsible for this? The people who stand in the way of responsible Government and the automatic dismissal of one set of Governors replacing them with another set of Governors, it is those people who are responsible for this. We Liberals, in spite of obloquy and in spite of criticism and in spite of cross fires from the Government benches as also from those more ardent members amongst our countrymen, have never wavered in our faith and if Government is really anxious for the good of the Government as indeed I personally believe many individuals who form the Government are anxious I have the high honour and privilege of knowing many of them personally and I ascribe their action more to ignorance than to any other motives (I know it is not a nice thing to say but I must speak out my mind) I say if they know more about India and if they had more confidence in themselves and we Indians had more confidence in ourselves, responsible Government is within our reach. If instead of Liberals quarreling with their brother Swarajists and if instead of Independents quarreling with Liberals and Swarajists, if we made up our minds to sink all our differences—the differences are so trifling on essentials—if we made up our minds to be as strong as possible increasing in numbers rather than in personalities, then we shall find we shall gain that national strength, and the necessary sanction of the national demand will be behind our backs, and then it will not be possible for the British Bureaucracy to say “how can we grant you responsible Government, you are a house divided amongst yourselves, you have no common demands”, therefore it is up to us to sink these differences and if I disagree with my Swarajist brother about proclaiming that Civil Disobedience is the only true path to the attainment of Swaraj, I shall not be a fit son of my Motherland if I hesitate for a moment to proclaim aloud and with conviction “you my brother are leading the country astray”. But that is a different matter; if there are 20 points of agreement and two of disagreement, let us lay stress on the points of agreement.

Now this second clause relates to responsible Government in the Central Government. The grounds which are good enough for giving us responsible Government in the provinces are surely good enough for giving us responsible Government in the civil administration of the Government of India. I will not trouble you with many of its details and I may say that in some of these details I have my small differences also, but we are here to approach the question from the broader point of view. These small differences will all disappear if and when we succeed in inducing the authorities to make a pronouncement embodied in clause (d). Clause (d) runs as follows :

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Sir Provas
Mitter.

"The National Liberal Federation of India urges that His Majesty's Government shall make an early pronouncement of the appointment of a Commission to report on the aforesaid proposals and that Indian public opinion should be adequately represented thereon".

Sir, if Lord Birkenhead and the British Cabinet will only see the error of their ways and are really anxious to bring India into the Brotherhood of Nations, I trust a very early opportunity will be taken to make this pronouncement. We are going to have a new Viceroy shortly. If that Viceroy wants to do his duty properly, he should study Indian public opinion while he is yet at Home and if he studies Indian Public opinion, it will not be difficult for him to realise that politically minded Indians are all of one mind about the grant of responsible Government to India and that it is not possible to govern a peaceful and great Indian people like ourselves by going against their cherished wishes and cherished convictions. In his own interests and in the interests of the great charge which he on behalf of his country holds, let him strain his utmost and make the announcement of a commission before he comes out. But if the British Parliament does not accede to our demands, what are we to do? That is a question which causes so much difficulty and so many splits in the ranks of Indian Nationals but we all agree, whether Liberal or Swarajist or Independent, that constitutional agitation is a forceful factor. I say we are all agreed because the Swarajists, in spite of the fact that they do not like to proclaim the efficacy of constitutional agitation, have all agreed to go into the Councils and have thereby given their silent accord to our principles. Let us organise this country on this point of agreement. Let us send a deputation of our best men to England not to beg but to proclaim to England as one set of men to another set of men, our demands. Let our best men go to England and proclaim to England there and the Democracy there about the justice of our case, and in that deputation, there is no reason why all the different sections of Indian public opinion should not be represented. I feel I have trespassed too long on your kindness and I will now ask you to support this Resolution which I have the honour to second.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

Mr. B. S. Kamat in supporting the Resolution spoke as follows :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My friend Mr. Chintamani the proposer of this Resolution as also our distinguished townsman Sir Provas Mitter, the seconder, have analysed this proposition in such close details that I think it would be unwise of me to detain you at great length over many of the points which they have made clear to you. I shall therefore only take two or three points and try to show you that when we demand constitutional rights on lines embodied in this Resolution we are on fairly safe grounds. Mr Chintamani has explained to you the nature of the Majority and Minority report. I will not go over that ground but if you analyse the speeches of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, there are three outstanding features, three outstanding conditions, which they expect us Indians to comply with before they think it would be reasonable to give us any sort of

political advancement. What are these three conditions? The first is, as my friend Mr Chintamani told you, that there should be fair and ✓ reasonable chance of agreement between Indians of various sections of opinion over what they want. The second condition on which a great deal of emphasis has been laid by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, ✓ is that there should be a visible sign in India of genuine good will and co-operation to work the scheme and thirdly, what the Viceroy particularly has emphasised is this; Supposing a Royal Commission is appointed tomorrow, as a friend of India His Excellency has admonished us to consider whether this is a favourable time from our point of view to place this matter before a Royal Commission and whether the amount ✓ of data is sufficient to convince the Royal Commission that India is in need of political advancement.

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

As regards the general agreement which is expected by the Secretary of State, I say if there is an impartial judge and if he is prepared to penetrate beneath the surface of the present political situation in India, there can be no two opinions so far as what we Indians want. There is absolute ^{un-} unanimity in the country so far as that is concerned. All Indian witnesses before the Reform Committee have with one voice told the Government the general skeleton of the scheme which they want. I do not wish to apportion credit as to who framed the general skeleton, whethet it was the Swarajists or Liberals or anyone else,—we all know that it was done by the Liberals but now it has been accepted by the leaders of the Swarajist party in the Legislative Assembly. It was supported there by Sir Sivaswami Iyer on behalf of the Liberals and it is a scheme given to Government approved by all the political bodies in India. That is so far as the first condition is concerned.

The second condition which they expect us to fulfil is:—Is there any signs of good will and co-operation visible amongst the various sections of Indians? We know that during the last three or four years certain excesses have been shown in the Punjab which may be construed as if beneath the surface there is no co-operation and good will to expect in a scheme which the British Parliament may give us. I say, you have to penetrate beneath the surface—Mark these words—Barring certain events during the last 4 years for which the people cannot be entirely to blame, if an impartial tribunal were to come out to India, I say, is there any real sign that if a scheme were given all India would not co-operate? It goes without saying that during its regime the Liberals who were in ✓ power have given nothing but unstinted co-operation towards the scheme and towards the Bureaucracy. I say, if you are a Government with your eyes open and if you have powers of close observation, are there not unmistakeable signs in India at the present moment of co-operation with the Government in working the scheme? We have produced here a skeleton of the scheme. We Liberals can fairly say that what we want is a constitution based on Parliamentary models. Let there be no misgivings or confusion in the mind of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State about that point.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

Secondly, we have been asked, do you repudiate the preamble of the Government of India Act? We Liberals at any rate do not wish to repudiate anything which is contained in the Preamble of that Act. What does that Preamble say? There are two points emphasised on behalf of the Government of India in that Preamble. I say we are in a position to fulfil the conditions in the Preamble when we demand further political advancement. What are those two conditions? First there must be a fair amount of co-operation on the part of the people of the country to whom this scheme was being given in 1919. Secondly, they must show themselves worthy of the confidence and that sense of responsibility when so much power is being given to them. I say there are unmistakable signs at the present moment that the country is now going back to co-operation. If the entry of the Swarajists into the Councils is not a sign of that co-operation may I ask what is it a sign of? If the aspirations of Mr Patel to be Speaker of the House is not a sign of Co-operation—a clear indication to Government that we want to work the Constitution as it is, may I know what is it a sign of? As far as the sense of responsibility which we must show and prove to their satisfaction is concerned, let us leave aside the Liberals and go to the other Provinces. The Government of your province, Sir, has to my mind a far greater confidence in that sense of responsibility in the Swarajists. The President of your Legislative Council was an erstwhile Swarajist. May I ask on what grounds did Sir Montague Butler ask an erstwhile Swarajist to occupy the responsible post of Home Member of that Province? That shows that still there are men in the Swarajist camp who can satisfy that condition. I therefore say that we are in a position to prove that even by the very action of the Government of India, even amongst the Swarajists there are men who can and will satisfy the conditions of the Preamble of the Government of India Act, and the second condition which the Secretary of State wants that there must be shown a fair amount of responsibility shown by the Swarajists is also capable of fulfilment.

Now I come to the third point. The Viceroy has asked us in our own interests and he has shown great solicitude for our interests; he has asked, Is it wise if you have a Royal Commission at the present moment? I assume that that question involves two or three points. What he perhaps meant was that even at this present stage, have you sufficient data to place before the Royal Commission which will help you for further political advancement and secondly what was at the back of his mind was perhaps—"Don't you see clear signs of trouble in the present political sky from which a Royal Commission may come to an adverse decision about Indian Political conditions of today?" I for one am not afraid of the verdict of the Royal Commission if it is composed of impartial British statesmen. What are the data? The Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is in the first place sufficient data for us to prove if not to the satisfaction of Sir Alexander Muddiman, at any rate to the satisfaction of an impartial British Tribunal coming out to India, that the evidence contained in the Report of that Committee is sufficient, ample, and convincing to carry conviction to an impartial Tribunal like a Royal Commission and I am not afraid, I repeat again, of their verdict.

During the last four or five years elections have taken place to the Provincial Councils and Legislative Assembly and it cannot be gainsaid that those who have been elected, whether Liberal or Swarajist or Independent, have shown that amount of commonsense and practical interest in the working of the Constitution which will not only do credit to the Indian electorate of this country but perhaps to the electorate of any civilised country such as Australia, Canada etc. So we can prove to the satisfaction of this Royal Commission that beneath the surface of political opinion in India there is a strong desire to work the Constitution. No less an illustrious personage than the Hon'ble Mr Patel who is in the responsible position of Speaker of the House has told us in a public declaration that he will not be afraid to approach the Governor General 10 times a day to work the Constitution. That is the spirit of India today. For these reasons we ask that a Royal Commission be brought out to India and we shall not be afraid to place the facts before a Tribunal whose impartiality and veracity can never be questioned to whom we shall show that the present scheme given to us namely Diarchy, is absolutely unworkable, and must be scrapped immediately and in its place there should be given to India a scheme which will be really workable and give real responsibility.

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. B. S.
Kamat.

Before I close, I have been asked to bring to your notice for your approval and concurrence a change in this Resolution. In sub clause 7. Instead of the printed sub clause (7) the clause should read thus—

“The principle and conditions of recruitment for all Statutory Civil Services shall be laid down by and the control over such services shall vest in, the Government of India, the actual recruitment being made by an Indian Statutory body like the Indian Civil Service Commission in England”.

You will notice the change is not of very substantial character and I do hope that you will have no objection to this slight alteration in this clause 7. With those words I commend the Resolution which I have placed before you for your acceptance.

Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, in supporting the Resolution said :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, The proposition before you has been very lucidly and exhaustively dealt with by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and very little has been left for me to add.

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. S. M.
Chitnavis.

The present Constitution has been worked honestly and in a reasonable spirit. Its many defects have been found and it has been disclosed that it cannot be worked satisfactorily, that it does not give responsibility to the legislature, and does not allow us to develop a party system of Government or a unitary system of Government, and so on.

I may lay a fair claim to be in intimate touch with a large and influential class of people at least in my own province, I mean the stable elements who are still sincerely loyal to the Government and are not

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. S. M.
Chitnavis.

oblivious to the good that has resulted from it in the past, and I can say without hesitation that there is deep dissatisfaction among them with the present Constitution and great mistrust as to any advantages to accrue from it in future,

The only remedy, therefore, for Government is to take a bold and courageous step by giving full responsibility to the provinces and introducing an element of responsibility in the Central Government, and for this purpose to get the present Constitution examined by a Royal Commission which will lay down a stable and progressive Constitution for the future.

With these words I support the proposition which is before you.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. Hara-
dutt Sarma.

Mr. Haradutt Sarma (Lahore), in supporting the Resolution, said :

Ladies and gentlemen, I heartily support the resolution which has been so ably moved by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Most of you will remember that in the Punjab Legislative Council when the Reforms Enquiry Committee's Report was under discussion, all the Indian elected members and the Indian nominated members condemned the so-called Majority Report and supported the report of the Minority. I can say therefore that public opinion in the Punjab supports the principles underlying the present resolution.

But permit me, Sir, to make a passing reference to the serious situation in the Punjab which has been brought about by the communal differences and bitterness prevailing there. The most important and difficult problem in the Punjab at present is how to adjust the rights of the various communities there and how to bring about a mutual understanding between the communities, specially between Hindus and Muhummadans. This subject is so closely connected with the attainment of Swaraj that I thought it my duty to refer to it. It is feared that unless this problem is satisfactorily solved, conditions in the Punjab will not be conducive to the attainment of Swaraj. I would therefore ask the Liberal leaders to study the peculiar difficulties of the situation in the Punjab, to go there and try their level best to bring about a compromise and a permanent understanding between the communities, specially Hindus and Muhummadans.

With these words I support the resolution.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. K. P.
Iyengar.

Mr. K. Parthasarathi Iyengar (Madras), in supporting the Resolution, said :

There are just two or three points on which I wish to touch. The first appertaining to my province in particular, and that is with regard to the attitude of the depressed classes. It is said sometimes that the depressed classes in my province do not want a change of Governmental system at present. It might have been true perhaps five years back, but during these years they have learnt that it is best for them to have a scheme of self-Government where they can have their own representatives and have their grievances redressed. As evidence of that, I have only to mention that one of the leaders of the party—perhaps the very gentleman who took up that attitude five years back when the Secretary of State was here in-

this country—has now signed the Commonwealth of India Bill giving it his support. Of course he has made a condition that the representatives of his class should have adequate representation in the councils.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. K. P.
Iyengar.

I may also mention that he and the other leaders of the depressed classes do not want nomination, but they want that their representatives should be elected by themselves. At one time some of them at least stood for nomination. They have now come round and have come to see the unwisdom of having nomination in the councils. They feel sure that they can send their own representatives to the council.

I would just like to refer to another point before I close, and that is the circumstances under which Dyarchy had come to be worked. We all know that it was not that our leaders were enthusiastic about Dyarchy, so far as I was able to see as a man in the street, but they undertook to work it because it was the best they could get at the time and they wanted to make the best use of it. Now, these very leaders tell us that they have tried their best but find the scheme unworkable. Dyarchy is not a scheme made by us, but made for us by others, and we have consented to work the scheme simply to show our spirit of co-operation and to see what good there was in it, and now we come out and say we have tried our best and have found the scheme unworkable. I have therefore no hesitation in giving my support to this resolution.

I may just mention that these questions are being discussed not only in the inner councils of the Federation and by the leaders, but also by every educated man all over the country, and so far as I am able to see, the scheme as embodied in the Commonwealth of India Bill or in the resolutions of the Liberal Federation receives general support. Even the Swarajist friends of Madras, with whom I am in close touch, want some modification of the present Constitution.

On behalf of Madras, therefore, I have no hesitation in giving my hearty support to this Resolution.

Mr. P. N. Ghua (Bengal) who spoke in Bengali in support of the Resolution, said that up to now no clear interpretation of the term "Swaraj" was attempted, but the proposition which was under consideration clearly stated what the Liberals meant by the expression. It was a pity that the Liberals were very often accused of being place-hunters, and that the reason why they supported the Reforms was that they wanted Minister-ships, which was not a fact. So far as Dyarchy was concerned, they had amongst them present at the meeting one or two gentlemen who had worked as Ministers or Executive Councillors and who from personal experience were in a position to testify to the unworkability of the scheme. Liberals did not want Dyarchy, nor did the Swarajists, and on this point there was no difference between the two parties. But the Liberals did not agree with those who believed that Swaraj was impossible of attainment by means of constitutional agitation.

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. P. N.
Ghua.

Mr. Guha then explained the resolution clause by clause and expressed his disappointment that the Government should have thought it

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. P. N.
Guha.

fit to brush aside the considered opinion of men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, as embodied in the Minority Report.

Mr. Guha then said that although he was himself a nominated member of the Bengal Legislative Council, he did not favour the system of nomination and urged its abolition. He said from personal experience that nominated members were not always able to express their opinions fearlessly and independently and thought that those who could not express their opinions independently should have no place in the Councils.

The
President.

The President in asking Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal to speak on the resolution said :—

Almost every province had its chance of saying something about this very important proposition. But as an augury of future co-working by different parties to which I had made reference in my address, I have requested Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal—although he does not happen to be at present standing with us in our League to address you on this proposition and he has kindly agreed. I now call upon him to address the meeting.

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. Bepin
Chandra Pal.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, who on rising to speak received a great ovation, said :—

I thank you, Sir, for the honour you have done me by this special dispensation. Special dispensations come under special circumstances. But I do not take it as a personal honour to me. I take it, as you have suggested already, as the indication of your desire to help the unity of the different political groups now working isolated from one another towards the same object (hear, hear) and as such I have not the least hesitation in responding to your call.

I will not refer to old history except very briefly in a few words. We worked together, I was a humble camp follower of the Congress until 1908. Then we separated. The party or the group with which I had the honour to be associated went into wilderness for seven years. We came back in 1916, and then for reasons which we will not consider here, we separated again. You left us and we were left in a very feeble minority in the Congress of 1920 which turned the wheel again of the fortunes of Indian politics. Since then you have been working along your own lines as the Liberal Federation of India. We, most of us, have been driving a lonely furrow along the arid desert of contemporary politics.

I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, in one cause and effect. The progress that we have made cannot be claimed by any one particular party. I understand the priest says "nothing like his Scripture". The cobbler says "nothing like leather". So you will say "nothing like Liberalism". I will say "nothing like Extremism". But we have all worked together under the guidance of an inscrutable Providence to produce the result which we see before us. I will remind you of a little bit of zoology that we are familiar with in this country. When the jackals want to take away the pups of the house dogs, what they do is this. Two or three come before the door of the dog and start barking from the front, and when the dog

goes at the jackal in front, one or two come by the back door and carry away the pups. I think I need not labour the point (Laughter).

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. Bipin
Chandra Pal.

But now the situation is very serious. We have not only to fight the Government but we have to fight those who are lending strength to the elbow of the Government by a policy which is disastrous to the cause of the country (hear, hear). If I could understand that we could get Swaraj in the sense of democratic self-government by following the Swarajist policy of persistent, consistent obstruction, I would be the first, regardless of all costs, to throw my lot with the Swarajists and there is very little cost either (cheers).

We have no chance of getting anything by following the Swarajist futility, by trying to bluff those who have been the greatest bluffers in the world and in history. You cannot bluff the British. It is a vain attempt. I do not believe in bluff. I do not believe in bluster. If they could carry out their threat, there might be something. But they have not only the means, but I make bold to say, not even the honest desire to carry it out. They know in their own hearts that mass civil disobedience is absolutely out of the question. My friend pundit Motilal Nehru has in private confessed that mass civil disobedience will not come within his life time, and it is very doubtful whether it will come during the life time of his son or his grandson (applause). So you see, it is all a game of bluff. And do you think the Government do not know it? They know the situation in the country far more than you and I do. There is a place for bluff in politics, I admit that, as there is a place for stimulant and anti-toxin injection in medicine. But the measure must be correct. You must inject the serum in a strictly correct measure. If you inject it in a smaller quantity, it is likely to produce a reaction which will not help you. If you inject the serum in a bigger quantity, it will produce more than the necessary reaction—you kill the patient. That is what my Swarajist friends have been doing.

We have been told that we must destroy before we can construct. As I reminded them in another place, those who talk like that are still in the mechanical plane of thinking. They do not understand that society is not like a house. If you want to build a new house in the place of an old one, you have to pull down the old house first and then build from the plinth and the foundation. But society is an organism, and every medical man will tell you that he never tries to kill the patient first and then improve his health. Therefore I do not want to destroy. I want to construct, and construction must proceed in consultation with the condition of the patient. You must keep the patient, and here the patient is civil society. You must preserve civil society before you can build up your Swaraj Government. If you go in for violence, what will be the result? If you succeed—and I take it you can only succeed in expelling the British by a violent revolt or revolution—but what next? It will not give me the Swaraj that I want. The inevitable result of it will be military dictatorship, and my son and grandson will have to bleed to get rid of the new shackle which will come through revolt or revolution. What then? More rigorous repression which will demoralise the people.

Constitutional
Reform :
Mr. Bipin
Chandra Pal.

We are told now that people have become courageous, that the prison has lost its terror. Prison would never have its terror if it were like the house of the father-in-law which it is now (hear, hear). There is no terror in prison now. You can do anything. Political prisoners can do anything when they go to prison. I understand that on one occasion when our prison was filled with political prisoners, the alarm bell rung suddenly in the prison, and the warders went for their rifle and every prisoner was locked, because they feared that there was a mutiny. But it was found that it was only an argument between one non-co-operator and another. I do not draw upon my imagination. This is a fact testified to by those who had been in the prison during those days. Now prison has lost its terror, but if there is revival of the repression of which we knew 18, 19 or 20 years ago, then we would see whether the prison has lost its terror or not.

The Government has become very mild and why? Because they do not consider the whole thing seriously. They do not take the Swarajists seriously. They may throw out the Budget but the law has provided the Viceroy with ample weapons to restore it. They can therefore do anything but the Governor can certify to the contrary. These provisions are meant to meet exceptional cases but if that which is meant to be exceptional is deliberately made to be regular, you lose the virtue of the very constitution which you have got. We have not got what we wanted. We have not got what the situation demands. The Government have failed to take an adequate measure of the situation before this. They can never give us anything with a good grace and here lies the real root of the present trouble. We are not satisfied with the Reforms. We declared them to be inadequate in view of the situation before the country and the Government itself, and unsatisfactory in view of our desire to get what we want, and disappointing because the great expectations that were roused in the public mind by Mr. Montague's announcement in Parliament have not been realised. But at the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that the present constitution however imperfect it may be, is an advance upon the old constitution. You may destroy the Councils but what next? We are all thinking of India in the terms of Russia and in the terms of South Africa, and in the terms of Ireland. When the Duma of Russia was destroyed by the order of the Tsar in Russia, the Prime Minister in England got up in the House of Commons and declared the Duma is dead, long live the Duma. So here we think the Council is dead, but long live the Council. But this is a misapplication of the history of another country without any parallel to the conditions of our country and to the situation before us. If the Councils go, bureaucratic government comes in and if the bureaucratic government comes in, we do not get a Swarajist government. What have we got in Bengal—an absolute bureaucracy. Every department which was in charge of ministers has gone back to the charge of the Executive Council. We have never had a proper measure of the rights which we have under the new law. If the ministers refuse to do anything unless they were allowed to sit along with the executive members and consulted upon the public policy, the governor then would have had to yield, and if he still refused, a clear case for Reforms would be with us and not against us. As I say, we did not take a proper measure of the rights that we have

under the new constitution. Then again, what could we not do if we were allowed to work the constitution ; if Mr. C. R. Das whose death we all deplore, whether Swarajists or not, had taken up the Ministry as he was asked to do, what could we not have done in Bengal ? He was a man of forceful character who worked politics with an abandon which we all admire and it was this abandon of Mr. C. R. Das which never looked at the cost of consequences of anything and which said that this must be done at all costs. I consider that he threw away the public cause when he refused to accept the Ministry. I told his friends that the proper course would have been for him to have accepted the Ministry, and after six months he could have resigned and come back to his constituency and told them now that we have got it, we must work it and this is my plan and programme. From the Opposition, he declared that if the Government had Rs. 6 crores, then a great deal could be done to ameliorate the condition of the rural population, why ? If, as Minister, he had gone to the Governor and told him I want your permission to borrow or to do something whereby I can get these Rs. 6 crores for working the departments which are in my charge, and if the Government refused this permission, then Mr. C. R. Das would have made an absolute case in his favor and was entitled to throw up the Ministry and go back to the country ; and you may be sure the British electorate and British statesmanship would stand aghast at the cunning diplomacy and statesman like craft he had displayed. But, as I say, he threw away his supreme opportunity. We have lost a great deal by refusing to work the constitution, but let us not talk of the past, what are we to do now ? We must work the constitution, otherwise we shall suffer judgment by default. We cannot overlook this fact that we cannot get Swaraj except by constitutional means. The course is open to us by the exercise of legitimate means. And what is the meaning of legitimate ? It is not used in a moral sense but it is used in a political sense. It means by law and by changes in the present law defining and governing the constitution through the British Parliament. You must get your constitution from the British Parliament. The Boers had to get their constitution through the British Parliament. I remember I was in England when the Boer constitution was before the British Parliament. General Botha and all the public men of the Boer Republic came to London to get their constitution from the British Parliament. The Liberal Government was then in power in London and I met a representative of the Boer Republic in the House of my esteemed and late lamented friend Mr. W. T. Stead. They were all there. What Stead did was this—and in a short speech he said “Gentlemen we have conquered you, but you have come today not as our vanquished but as our benefactors. You have come here with a constitution, some of the provisions of which we do not like, which outrage our liberal sentiment and the traditions of liberalism, but we are helpless. You force it down our throats and we have got to take it down.” That is what Stead told them. Have you that situation here ? You have not—Are you ready with your constitution ? That is the only way in which you can show Government that you are ready to work the constitution and Government is bound to give it. We hear a great deal now about party conflicts between Swarajists and non-Swarajists, but the question before

Constitu-
tional
Reform :
Mr. Bipin
Chandra Pal.

us is a far more serious one. What is the real root of the success of the Swarajists? Why they claim to be the liberators of the people and the real reason of their success is the deep universal seething discontent in the country. Government ought to take note of it. If Government neglect to take note of it now, and if this discontent grows, what will be the result? The inevitable result is the social convulsion such as are known in other parts of the world. It may not break out in my life time or in yours, but it will be bound to break out in the life time of my son and surely in the life time of my grandson. Discontent is divine but it is divine up to a certain point and when that discontent oversteps that limit, it ceases to be divine and becomes diabolical. Government ought to take warning. This discontent must be fought by Government in their own interests and it is the duty of the Government to see that the discontent does not grow. The people have lost hope and all faith in Government, and they are rushing to quacks for ordinary medicine, just as everything is welcome to a patient who is dying, when there is no hope for ordinary remedies; that is the situation here. It is the duty of the Government as much as of the people to remove the discontent, and if the Government will co-operate with us in removing this discontent, I think the time is not far off when it may be given to us to co-operate with them effectively in the future. I thank you Mr. Chairman for the honour you have done me by asking me to speak on this Resolution. (*Loud Cheers*).

The Presi-
dent.

Mr. President—I want to mention a fact before I put the proposition to the vote that in connection with sub-section II of this proposition, namely, about the franchise of women that has appeared with that of the men, I have received a request to allow an amendment or separate proposition for wider extension of the present franchise of the ladies. I have thought it best not to frame it as an amendment to this proposition because all these are suggestions for a skeleton scheme for the consideration of Government. I propose placing that matter before the Subjects Committee to be taken up by them if they so desire as a separate proposition. I will now put the proposition to your vote.

The Resolution as amended was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

IV. Internments, Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulations.

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. C. C.
Biswas.

Mr. C. C. Biswas (Bengal) proposed the following Resolution :—

- (a) "The Federation protests against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges in the interests of justice that they should either be set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.
- (b) The Federation is further of opinion that the said Act should be repealed.
- (c) The Federation urges once more that the Regulations of 1818, 1819 and 1827 which empower the Government to deport any persons for reasons of State should also be repealed."

He said Mr President, and Brother Delegates, In obedience to the call from the Chair I beg to place before you the Resolution which you find in item IV. I need not read it. I think it a great honour to be asked to move this Resolution for your acceptance but I had no idea that I would be called upon to speak. As I came into the House this morning, our esteemed leader, the President of the Reception Committee, requested me to take charge of it as he was not in a position to place it before you. The request came as a surprise but I took it as a great honour and I readily agreed the more so because I felt that this was a Resolution which required only a few words from me to commend it for your acceptance. It is not the first time that the Liberal Party have recorded their protest against the repressive laws which still disgrace the Statute book. It is not the first time that they have recorded their protest against the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act under which thousands of our young men have been deported without trial. The Resolution is an important one from one point of view and it is this. The charge is often made against us that we have entered into a sort of pact—unholy pact—with Government to support them in every measure they may take in the name of law and order. I say on behalf of the Liberal Party that this is a foul calumny (Hear, Hear). It is a charge made by our enemies for the purpose of abusing us, and for the purpose of winning away votes from the Liberal candidates. I do not propose to detain you long because we are pressed for time this afternoon and it is unnecessary for us to emphasise in detail the reasons why we are against this unparliamentary measure. We are often reminded that the spirit of anarchism is still abroad and anarchists are still here, and they have got to be laid by the heels. I do not know if there is anyone in this hall who has more reasons to detest these anarchists than myself. I lost my father at the hands of an anarchist. Whatever my personal feelings may be, my soul rises in protest against the idea that people can be got hold of and deported without trial and without any charge being preferred against them. I can never reconcile myself to such an inhuman proceeding. It is not only an unparliamentary proceeding but an inhuman proceeding. It is opposed to all canons of civil administration. I donot think I need say more on this subject. All parties in Bengal and in the provinces are unanimous in their protest against such a measure. Government makes it a grievance and the Viceroy and Secretary of State have declared that the people of India have not extended to them that measure of co-operation that they desire. The fault is not ours. If the Government persists in adopting measures of this kind against the unanimous wishes of the people, you could not in all fairness expect that amount of co-operation which we might have otherwise extended to them. By measures like this, they weaken our hands and it is difficult for us to go to our electors and tell them to co-operate with the Government in spite of these measures. With these words I commend the Resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. R. R. Jayavant (Nagpur) in seconding the Resolution, said ;

I feel it a great honour to be called upon to support this Resolution. As the mover of the Resolution has told you, this Resolution was proposed last year in Lucknow by Mr. Pundit H. N. Kunzru, and there is very little

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. C. C.
Biswas.

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. R. R.
Jayavant.

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. R. R.
Jayavant.

for me to say. It will be necessary for me to go into some details to show you how iniquitous this measure has been. You will notice the dates which have been given in the Resolution. The acts dealt with were passed in the days when the Government of India was not in the hands of the Crown but in the hands of the East India Company, but in the year 1924 His Excellency the Viceroy has thought fit to make use of the extraordinary powers he possesses of enacting this Ordinance, which is better known as the Bengal Ordinance. What was the reason for it? Why was it enacted? These are very pertinent questions. It is an undoubted fact that Government of Bengal for a year before this Ordinance was enacted, had been in communication with the Government of India for a good long time, and immediately before the promulgation of this Ordinance, the Legislative Assembly sat and yet the Government of India did not think it right to take into their confidence that Assembly. It was no excuse to say that they were afraid that the Legislative Assembly would deny them that power, or that body was always unreasonable; but even if it was, it was the duty of the present Government, who ask us to co-operate with it in working the Reforms, to say to the people that the Legislative Assembly had rejected our proposal or was unreasonable; and therefore by enacting this measure without consulting that body, the Government of India have given a weapon in the hands of those who opposed the Statute. That is not all. The Government has practically said that the end justifies the means. That argument is wrong. If you once accept that principle as a principle of Government, then any measure on the face of this earth whether constitutional or not, may come in. Any kind of immoral or illegal thing can be done. It has been said that if the Legislative Assembly had been taken into their confidence by Government, then the suspects would have been warned and they would have done things which might have destroyed whatever evidence the Government had against them. This is one of the strong arguments advanced by Government for putting forth this Ordinance as an end justifying the means. One word Gentlemen, will satisfy you that the end has not been justified by the means. The suspects have been got hold of, and their houses have been searched and not one scrap of evidence, nothing whatsoever, which can be said to incriminate them, has been found. This shows that the Government of India was not justified in discarding the rightful means, the ordinary means of legislation which the Government of India have adopted in all other measures. The hearts of all the people have gone out to these people, the hundreds of detenus and more who have been detained without any cause. Our hearts go out to them, and though we may differ from them in political matters, in as much as they have been detained without any trial, our hearts must go out to them. We must take it for granted that the men are innocent. Last year, we were told that there was some provision made for enquiry before at least two High Court Judges or before two judges of equal standing. This procedure has been reduced to a farce by the action of the Government itself. Two High Court Judges have never sat together, they have never discussed the evidence, and they have never asked the accused persons to prove their innocence.

Indeed, when we analyse the whole situation, it comes to this that there is perhaps a report by the constable in the street. That has been the

origin of the detention of these 100 men. The British Government may ask us to place reliance on the reports of these officials, backed as they undoubtedly are by reports of higher, and higher and still higher officials, but the origin is the report of the constable or Lumbardar or whoever it is that corresponds to that office in these parts ; and we have known how on similar information, some of our best men have been interned or prosecuted by the Government in the old days. Even the late Mr. Gakhale was shadowed by the police on the report of such men, and I believe the President of the Liberal Federation was also shadowed on similar reports. Therefore, how can the Government ask us to place reliance on such reports ? My friend who proposed this resolution in such eloquent language—and his eloquence was still more heightened by the fact that he is the son of a man who had been assassinated by an anarchist—has referred to some of these things. The Ordinance has been described as inhuman and I endorse that description of it in the fullest measure.

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. R. R.
Jayavant.

One thing more, and I shall stop. The Liberal Federation passed a resolution last year. I understand the Legislative Council of Bengal also passed a resolution on the subject and attention was drawn to it by the Legislative Assembly also. What is the answer of Government to that ? We find it in the latest report which the Secretary of State placed before the Houses of Parliament very recently. We have had the advantage of reading that report which says that, although several Associations or Federations like ours have passed resolutions condemning the Ordinance, still after all there has not been much of a public protest. This is adding insult to injury. We here pass a resolution. The Legislative Assembly passes a resolution, and the Government say in this report, which is a solemn document presented to the Houses of Parliament, that there has not been much agitation in the land as regards the Ordinance. The Government of India invites an agitation, and when there is an agitation, they say there is a violent agitation. This is, as I have said, adding insult to injury. It is also a call to the whole of India to take up this question in right earnest and agitate so that the 100 men now in jail may be released as soon as possible.

Principal J. R. Banerjee (Calcutta) in supporting the resolution said :

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. J. R.
Banerjee.

The motion that is now before the House does not require many words from me to commend it to your acceptance. The motion lays down a principle which is admittedly a correct principle and is recognised as such throughout the length and breadth of the civilised world. I take it, Sir, freedom is the birthright of every individual belonging to a civilised State. It is true that every scheme of Government, every system of Government should be regarded as founded on compromise. Freedom can be enjoyed by individuals in a State only on one condition that the freedom of others should not be encroached upon, but with that limitation, the principle is writ large on the pages of the history of the world that every one that runs may read, and if in that light we address ourselves now to the work before us and consider the motion before the House, what is it that we find ?

We find that the motion insists upon one thing and that is this. That men under British administration of justice, which certainly is broad-based

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. J. R.
Banerjee.

upon the principle of freedom, should claim that if they are accused of any offence, they should be tried in an open court, and if found guilty, they are to be sentenced. The existing law of the land is ample in its provisions for meting out punishment to people who are really guilty of offences, even offences against the State. I daresay there is no need of this new provision of law. The very fact that old Regulations which happen to be 100 years old were put into force would go to prove the truth of my contention.

The Government was nervous. Government did not feel, as it ought to have felt, that the existing law was quite sufficient for the purpose. But what made Government nervous, may I ask in right earnest? There was nothing that really ought to have made the Government nervous. Government no doubt put forward the plea that in such cases if they were trying these men in open court, witnesses would not be willing to come forward because they might be molested. That is a lame excuse which no one for a moment can seriously believe (hear, hear).

What is it that the motion has in view? It proposes something which is exactly on the same lines as the view of the Swarajist, and therefore we can claim for the motion this that here all are on one and the same platform, wether we be Liberals or Swarajists it does not matter. That certainly goes to show that there is a volume of following behind this matter, and if Government is really alive to the interests of the people, as Government ought to be, then Government ought to follow that noble maxim which was laid down by a great British statesman. That statesman raising his eloquent voice in one of his best political pamphlets, in which he condemned the double cabinet system that then prevailed in England, said that the true statesman is he who consults the temper of the people. Here the unanimous sentiment of the people is in the direction in which the motion before the House is. The people with one voice may be said to claim that these men should be set at liberty, and if they are not to be set at liberty let them be tried in open courts, so that Britain may retain her fair fame and the cause of British justice may not be impaired. A great man—a Russian by nationality, who visited India and whose lectures on legal subjects which he delivered within the walls of the Darbhanga Buildings in the University of Calcutta I can never forget—said: "I was a native of Russia but I had to leave it and come to Britain because I knew, because I felt, because I realised in vivid and intense manner, that Britain is the home of freedom", And is it British justice, justice associated with the name of Britain, the home of freedom, that people should be deported under these old Regulations or under Ordinances without trial in an open court? (Shame, shame), Is it really consistent with the fair name of of Britain or consistent with what is called British administration of justice? Let us therefore wake up and be alive to the situation, and let us impress upon the Government the great fact that if British justice is to be administered and if the British are to continue to have the confidence of the nation and the people at large, this blot on British administration should be removed and the fair name of Britain should be restored thereby.

With these words I support the resolution. (applause)

Mr. G. K. Gadgil (Poona) in supporting the resolution, said :—

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. G. K.
Gadgil.

I am the fourth speaker on this Resolution, as representing Bombay. This Resolution seeks to do three things. First, it asks that the internees at present detained under the Ordinance which expired and was succeeded by the Criminal Law Amendment Act should be released, or, in the alternative, they should be tried. Secondly, it asks that this piece of legislation should be expunged from the Statute Book. Thirdly, it asks that certain old Regulations which cannot possibly be of any use or application in the present conditions of the country should also be removed from the Statute Book.

With regard to the first, I may say that even to people who are not so intimately connected with the life of Bengal, it does appear strange that these people should still be incarcerated without trial ; there must be something wrong in that piece of legislation which makes it necessary for Government to detain them for such a long time without trial. In the ordinary course of law, if the police are making enquiries, you get postponements from a magistrate and they are granted in the interests of justice. But that procedure is not adopted in the case of these men.

We Liberals try to appreciate the position of the Government. We are to reason out and convince the hard-headed Englishmen that the argument is in our favour, that there is a case which cannot be challenged. The argument on behalf of the Government, so far as I have read in the public press, is this : "Well, here we have people whom we hate. We have taken care of our lives. We have taken care of the lives of those who are pro-British and whose lives are in danger." You have heard from Mr. Biswas that his father lost his life because he was a Public Prosecutor. Englishmen and Civil Servants have got to do their duty as long as the present administration endures, and if you make it impossible for them, then how are they to discharge their duty ? The Government says, Won't you under these circumstances concede to Government special powers ?

I ask you if you had been in the position of the Government today under Swaraj, and if you had apprehended such a danger, what would you have done ? That will give an answer to the Englishmen who are suspicious and have rushed into this legislation and perpetuated the Ordinance on the Statute Book.

But sufficient time has elapsed since the promulgation of the Ordinance, and the question is whether there is any justification for detaining these men any longer without trial. You know that under the ordinary law, sometimes in complicated cases magistrates grant adjournments to the police for even two months. If after that, you cannot get evidence you must confess that you have arrested people against whom there was no case. Our friends in Bengal say many of these internees are very good men and that they are clapped in prison on mere suspicion. In these circumstances, I think Government ought to face the situation, and I hope they will see their way to repeal this enactment.

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Mr. G. K.
Gadgil.

There is, however, a duty on the people as well. We must do our best to nip all revolutionary activities in the bud. Any one of us who seriously thinks of Swaraj and who will one day be expected to take up the Government of this country, must see that the lives of foreigners in this country are protected and that any revolutionary or anarchist conspiracy is nipped in the bud.

With regard to the latter part of the resolution, these are really antiquated Regulations dealing with a set of circumstances which cannot possibly exist now. I remember some of these were allowed to remain on the Statute Book when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was in charge of the legal portfolio, because under certain circumstances, it may be necessary to have recourse to them. But most of the repressive legislations have gone, and so far as these Regulations are concerned, the Congress have been fighting for their repeal since 1908—since the Rand murder case, the case of the Nathu Brothers. The Government have not learnt a lesson from these cases. The Government had to admit that their suspicions were unfounded, and it was a pity that they did not go into the matter more deeply than the C. I. D. The C. I. D. may be a very useful department and we may not be able to dispense with it even under Swaraj. But the question is how are you going to look into the working of the C. I. D? I may tell you from personal experience that I myself might have been an internee in 1910. There was an absolutely unfounded report against me that I delivered a most seditious speech. That was the year when I had defended the conspirators in the Nasik Conspiracy case. That report went through Collectors, right up to the Government. The member of Government at that time happened to be a friend of mine. He asked me "Here is a report of this kind. You made seditious speeches. Government is thinking of taking some action". I said "Where?" He said "On the sands of Ratnagiri". I said "I did not know where the sands of Ratnagiri are". The whole matter was eventually dropped. Now, if a European was in charge, he would have started proceedings against me without any enquiry, because the omnipotent C. I. D. is their eyes and ears and everything.

Therefore, I would ask you to accept the proposition which is self-recommendatory. (Cheers)

Internments
and Regu-
lations :
Dr. A. G.
Siddique.

Dr. Abdul Gaffur Siddique (Bengal), supporting the resolution in Bengali, said that the relation between the subject and the sovereign was a very pleasant one and that anything that militated against that relationship should be removed at the earliest possible opportunity. He thought that the continued detention of so many persons under the Ordinance without trial was creating a feeling of discontent in the minds of the subject and therefore urged the immediate release of the internees and the repeal of the Ordinance and the other Regulations mentioned in the resolution.

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

V. The Cotton Excise Duty.

The following Resolution was put from the Chair and carried unanimously.

Cotton
Excise Duty.

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

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

VI. Judicial Reform.

Rao Bahadur S. N. Brahma (C. P.) moved the following Resolution.

Judicial
Reform ;
Rao Bahadur
S. N.
Brahma.

"The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits".

He said :—

Mr President, and Brother Delegates,

The Resolution which I have to put before you is so self-evident that I think I can wind up my speech with only one remark that this proposition should be accepted without debate ; but it is the fashion of these days that a proposer must make a speech and I must follow that fashion. This subject is at least 35 years old—somebody says 135 years—I accept the amendment. If it is 135 years old in the beginning of 1926, let us at least expect this that those in the Ministry will give us this reform, and why? Because the work of a square can never be done by a circle, as my esteemed friend and mathematician sitting on my left (Mr. Paranjpye) will tell you. The rough and ready justice meted out by the executive officer can never be done by a judicial officer. It is for this reason if not for more, that we want a separation of the judicial from the executive. I have no hesitation therefore in saying that all of us will accept this part of the Resolution which deals with this matter. Side by side with this question, comes the question of recruitment of the judiciary and it is our firm desire that the judiciary should be recruited from the Bar. You will agree I am sure that special training is needed for every department in life and if you want the prompt disposal of suits and sound justice, you cannot hope to have it from one who has not been trained from the beginning in judicial ways. It is for that reason that we uphold the second part of the Resolution that there must be recruitment of the judiciary from the Bar. I do not close the door against provincial or judicial services. I do not say that the whole of the judiciary shall be recruited from the Bar but that substantial recruitment should be from the Bar.

Coming to the last part of the Resolution which may be open to some dispute, the proposition I have to put before you is that immediate

and prompt effect should be given to the Civil Justice Committee. Every one of us reads nowadays of this and that Commission or Committee appointed by the Government and Government is so willing to appoint a committee or commission for the mere asking, because they know that they will not necessarily result in anything beneficial. The Civil Justice Committee I say is not one of that character. It was initiated by one of the highest in the land. You all remember how Lord Reading said that the laws' delays were disappointing to anyone who landed on the shores of India. That Committee has sat and has deliberated over this vital question and they have suggested certain means of getting over the present difficulties and they have made certain recommendations to which we want immediate effect to be given. When I say that we should carry out this Resolution without further comment, I stand on very sure ground, because I know that the time is now favourable for these recommendations to be given effect to as the Legislative Assembly have adopted a Resolution of this nature and the Government of India is in favour of it. In fact the Provincial Legislative Councils have framed definite proposals for a reform of this kind. Speaking of my own province, the President of that legislative body was in favour of this Reform and they put four schemes before the Central Provinces Legislative Council. Unfortunately for us we were in a tight corner for money and we were then engulfed in a financial crisis, due to failure of crops. Unfortunately therefore our President could not carry out this very urgent measure of our Central Provinces Legislature, merely because we were in the throes of a financial crisis. Under these circumstances, I have no hesitation in placing for your acceptance the Resolution which I have the privilege to put before you and I hope you will carry it unanimously. (Cheers),

Judicial
Reform ;
Rao Bahadur
S. N.
Brahma

Mr. R. K Doss (Bengal) in supporting the Resolution said :—

I have only just now been asked to second this motion but I do not make any grievance of that, because the principles involved in this Resolution are well known and admitted on all hands. In fact, it is so very non-contentious that it might as well have been put from the Chair. We have been insisting on this since a long time, and I think in a matter of this kind, all the political parties in India are united in asking for this little concession. It is so obvious and so fair that one should get it for the mere asking. But it must be said that as the result of this agitation, Government has done something. It cannot be said that Government has been totally indifferent with regard to this point for in some of the important districts we find an additional magistrate has been appointed in addition to the District Magistrate, and the District Magistrate in those districts discharges executive functions and the additional magistrate is known as a judicial magistrate whose only duty is to hear cases both original and appeal. Therefore in a sense, Government has listened to this agitation to a limited extent. It is so small a concession that after all it means little. The Additional Magistrate is either one of the senior Deputy Magistrates or a member of the I. C. S., and his promotion and prospects are regulated in the same manner as any other Executive officer, and although I am afraid he is called judicial officer, his functions have been

Judicial
Reform ;
Mr. R. K.
Doss.

made a little different from the executive head of the district. So practically the spirit of this Resolution is lost sight of. So that in order to give full effect to this Resolution what is wanted is that Judicial officers should be appointed by the Judicial Tribunal namely the High Court, and unless and until this is done, no good can be expected from this arrangement. Those who are interested in this Resolution will kindly consider that whenever any such question is mooted in either the Legislative Councils or the Assembly they will make it a point to see that all these details are decided, otherwise it may be given out by Government that Indians wanted this separation and we have given effect to it ; it is a plausible reply no doubt, but as a matter of fact no such separation has really been made. Without further comment I would urge that the House accept the Resolution unanimously.

Judicial
Reform :
Mr. R. K.
Doss.

Raobahadur V. M. Kelkar (Nagpur) in supporting the Resolution, said :—

Judicial
Reform :
Mr. V. M.
Kelkar.

Mr. President, and Brother Delegates,

My position is similar to that of the gentleman who has preceded me in seconding the proposition, in that I have only just now been called upon to support this Resolution. But the mover and the seconder of the proposition before you have made my task comparatively easy and it is the more so because of the fact that the proposition is not of a controversial character and I shall endeavour to put the matter in a different light from that in which it has been placed by the two gentlemen who have preceded me. If you require a carpenter to do some woodwork for you, you do not employ a man who is not trained in that art. Similarly, no one would dream of appointing a man who has had no medical education to be a Civil Surgeon of a District but the Government did not think twice of appointing a raw graduate or a Deputy Commissioner or Collector to decide and dispense criminal justice where the liberty and lives of its subjects are in danger. This argument needs no repetition, that for a judicial job you want a man who has had a legal training and this is well recognised. The disadvantages of the system now prevailing in the Central Provinces are too well known and those who are against the separation which we ask for in the Resolution before you, urge in support of their view that the usefulness of an administrative officer is impaired if his judicial powers are taken away from him. In all the major provinces and in the Central Provinces, this is the case and still there is no loss of prestige. It is said if you take the criminal power from an executive officer then the usefulness of the executive officer will be impaired. Every executive officer wants to use the power which the criminal law allows to the judiciary and I for one fail to see where the loss of power comes in. In the old days if a Deputy Commissioner wanted to do anything, he would give certain instructions to his subordinates to be on the look out. They may overlook certain things vitally affecting the very thing they want to do and in this way the judicial powers were abused. But we have passed that stage long ago. In the Central Provinces now an executive officer's authority is well defined. We have been delaying too much over this important question and it is high time that there should no longer be any delay over this

Judicial
Reform :
Mr. V. M.
Kelkar.

reform which we advocate. Why has it been delayed? One reason is the question of expense. I think if a proper scheme is prepared matters could be adjusted. With regard to the third part of the Resolution, the law's delays are proverbial. It is imperative that the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee should be given immediate effect to. With these remarks I heartily support this Resolution and commend it for your acceptance.

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

Backward
classes :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye in moving the following Resolution said :—

Mr President, Brethren,

The proposition that I have the privilege of moving before you reads as follows :—

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

During recent years this question of untouchability has been usually considered in political conferences. We of the Liberal persuasion are particularly keen on this question and have been so not only during the last few years of political struggle but we have considered it always as an integral part of our movement for freedom. If Liberalism means anything at all, it means the full enjoyment of freedom to every person irrespective of his age, class, creed or caste, and if that principle is to be followed all through, I submit that the disabilities at present imposed upon these depressed classes should be removed and simultaneously an agitation for their removal should be carried on as vehemently and as strongly as our agitation for political enfranchisement. We are not dealing at present with the social reform aspect of the question. What we press for now is an even more improved condition of political reform. The repercussion of this question on political matters is extremely important. Take the case of Indians in the Colonies ; we are told throughout that Indians suffer

from disabilities of various kinds of almost the same nature as those which the depressed classes in this country suffer from and when we claim equality of treatment in the colonies, the condition of the depressed classes is closely linked with that question and their amelioration is thus of paramount interest. It is no good simply talking about sympathy for these depressed classes. I think it is the bounden duty of every member of the advanced classes to do as much as they can possibly do towards their improvement. The one thing required is not only mere words, but actual sympathy shown in actions not only in words. Let their be the fullest possible sympathy for these depressed classes: Go out of your way to make friends with them and treat them as human beings and not as something rather worse than our domestic animals. We treat our dogs and cats much better than we do these unfortunate classes. We touch our dogs and cats, we fondle them but when it is a question of these depressed classes, we ask them to keep far away from us. It is not only question of untouchability in some of the provinces, but a question of unapproachability in other provinces. I know that under the conditions of modern soceity, the position is slightly improved but we cannot allow that position to go on any longer, if our intention is to advance these depressed classes in all directions. I remember in my childhood, where I came from, we always used to look upon the shadow of a man from the depressed classes as polluting. If their shadow fell upon us, we had to take a full bath. The position became so bad and the depressed classes were so sensitive about the matter that if a Brahmin happened to walk in the same street as a member of these depressed classes, he used to shout out "Brahmin, go to one side because our shadow may fall on you". With modern conditions things are a little improved, but we must not simply let this condition improve by the effluxion of time and circumstances beyond our control. We shall be wanting in our duty towards our fellow men if we did not conscientiously and actively try to ameliorate the condition of these depressed classes. One remedy for this is to educate these classes; go out of your way to provide all possible facilities for the educational advancement of these depressed classes. Missions and social workers have been doing a great deal towards helping these depressed classes to live, and every single person in this country ought to feel ashamed of the treatment meted out to these depressed classes, and unless that feeling is fully imprinted on every Indian, we cannot expect that the condition of these depressed class will materially improve in the near future. In what direction is their condition to improve? In some cases the depressed classes are deprived of the ordinary amenities of life. Take the case of drinking water. In ordinary villages there are generally one or two wells; the depressed classes are not allowed to touch them because the well water will be polluted. Occasionally there is a well kept apart for them which is very dirty and insanitary. In other cases they have no separate well. They have got to depend upon the kindness of people and not infrequently they have to pay them to get water for them (Shame, Shame). In schools we find the same conditions appearing. In many cases the children of the depressed classes are not allowed to enter school for fear of their polluting the other children and in cases, which are very rare indeed, where they are allowed to enter school, they are not allowed

Backward
classes :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

Backward
classes :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

to enter the school rooms but must sit far away in the verandah (Shame, Shame). When I was in charge of education in Bombay, I issued a notification that all public institutions which are helped by public funds or which are carried on by public funds should be open without any discrimination to these depressed classes. I remember I was told at that time that I had put a ban on education because it was an indirect means of reducing the income of educational institutions. The children of the advanced classes will be removed, they said, from those schools in which the depressed classes are allowed to enter. But people have come to see the necessity of education and the benefits of education. The opposition to that notification of mine died down and I was glad to find that the social reformers have only recently complimented me on the effect of such a circular.

As regards representation of the depressed classes, we have in this Resolution emphasised the need for these depressed classes to have representation in the Councils by election. I fully agree with that, although I am generally opposed to communal representation. I feel sure that they should have a representative of their own to voice their needs and improve their interests. Can you say that they are not an important factor in the life of this country? They form one-fifth of the whole population. If these depressed classes were to disappear from the face of this globe, I really cannot see how the advanced classes would be able to live for a week because they help in the very sanitation of our country; they are an essential part of our well being; without their help we could not live for a single day. These depressed classes must receive proper and adequate representation. You will find that in the Report of the Reforms Committee a suggestion is made that these depressed classes are generally poor and as the right of voting is based on the possession of property, very few will be able to satisfy that condition. The only remedy is to widen and lower the franchise so as to permit these depressed classes to vote and send their representatives to speak for them. My proposition before the Reforms Committee was that several districts should be grouped together and the voters from the depressed classes should be asked to send an additional member so that at any rate they will get two votes, one for the general election and another for the special election; they will be able to exercise their influence to get their representation by means of a general election. As regards educational facilities I think it is only right that our general society should make up for the past treatment that we have given to these depressed classes, by affording them special facilities for education even at a sacrifice if the situation requires it. I know the great difficulty for educational advancement of these unfortunate people is their extreme poverty. In Bombay one of the first steps that we took was to start a Hostel for boys from these depressed classes attending secondary schools, in which everything was found free, food lodging etc. The Hostel accommodates 50 boys from the depressed classes and it was intended that if this proved a success, more hostels of this nature should be opened in the headquarters of each District.

It is only by paying for the full expenses of students from these depressed classes that we can get them to come to high schools and possibly to colleges, and thus provide future leaders for these depressed communities

(hear, hear). I am strongly of opinion that small scholarships, small doles will not be enough in this case. We must have comparatively big scholarships in order that the full expense of their education should be paid by means of these scholarships, and at least in Bombay, in every district 3 or 4 such scholarships have been instituted, which will last for the whole period of the secondary education of the boys and for a portion of their higher education.

Backward
classes :
Dr. B. P.
Paranjpye.

As regards services, I know that services should ordinarily in a reasonably constituted society be manned by open competition without favour or partiality. That is the ideal according to which services should be manned, but I am prepared to make an exception in the case of these depressed and backward classes. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that Government service generally is one of the ways in which a person and the community to which he belongs gets influence not only among his own people but in the eyes of the people in general. Government service is a passport to influence and prestige. We must therefore relax these rules somewhat in order to enable these members from the depressed classes to attain the position wherein they will have influence by means of which they will find their self-respect increased. Therefore, in the recruitment for such services, while a certain amount of minimum qualification should be required, when that minimum qualification has been obtained, there should be no competition in the case of these classes, but they should be admitted in preference to people of other classes with higher qualifications. I do not say that this should be for all time to come, but this is a legitimate demand for the depressed classes until they are on the same social footing with the other classes.

I am glad to find that at least verbal sympathy is being expressed on behalf of these classes everywhere. I want that sympathy translated into action not only on the part of the Government but on the part of the people generally, and I hope this Liberal Federation will not be content by passing a resolution, but that every member who calls himself Liberal should do his utmost to better the position of these classes. I do hope that when you go away from this Hall, you will not only pass this resolution but do something to carry it out by making friends with them and by treating them as human beings and not as something worse than dogs and cats.

With these words I have great pleasure in proposing this resolution for your acceptance. (Loud cheers)

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay) in seconding the Resolution, said :—

Backward
classes :
Mr. N. M.
Joshi.

The problem of the depressed classes has three aspects, the social, economic and the political. It is necessary that all Liberals in the country should try their very best to solve this problem in all these three aspects. It is no longer possible for us to blame the British Government for the existence of this problem. I admit that the British Government has done nothing to solve it, but let us remember that with the limited power that we have got to-day, it is not possible for us any longer to throw that blame

Backward
classes :
Mr. N. M.
Joshi.

upon the Government. The Departments of Government which can deal with this problem are now transferred—the Education Department, the Local Self-government Department, the Department of Sanitation—so that if the people of this country want this problem to be solved, if they want untouchability and other disabilities to be removed, it is in their own hands to do so. I therefore want you to remember that it is our duty as Liberals and Indians to do everything in our power to remove the disabilities of the depressed classes. Let us first of all remove untouchability, which is the social aspect of this problem. We need not go and tell the people that the depressed classes will be admitted in their homes, but it is not right or just for us to deprive the depressed classes of the advantage of public institutions which receive aid from public funds. We, therefore, must insist that every Legislative Council, every Local Board, every Municipality must forthwith pass resolutions and carry them out as regards throwing open public schools, public wells, public roads, and every other public place to the depressed classes.

In the same way, let all offices in the country be thrown open to the depressed classes. The social disability brings in the economic difficulty. You can easily realise how difficult it is for a man of the depressed class to get a job in any office, the other people combine to oust him. We must therefore do everything in our power to improve the economic condition of the depressed classes.

With the economic disability, comes the political disability. Unfortunately, to-day the political franchise is based upon the possession of property. The economic condition of the depressed classes is such that they cannot get franchise. Many a member of the depressed classes have not got votes. We must therefore do everything in our power to give some political power to the depressed classes. Let us first of all, widen the franchise so that every man, whether he possesses property or not will, get a franchise. If we cannot do it to-day, let us try and give them representation by special representation. We cannot wait to give representation to the depressed classes till all the people are educated or possess property qualifications.

I therefore suggest to this Conference and all Liberals that they should do everything in their power, by private efforts and by efforts of the organisations with which they may be connected and through all Local bodies, to see that the disabilities of the depressed classes are removed at once. If we do that, we shall not only be serving the cause of the depressed classes, but we shall be serving our own cause. Let us remember that our progress depends upon the progress of the people that surround us. If we do not improve the condition of the depressed classes, let us remember that our condition will not be much better than that of the depressed classes. With these words I second the resolution. (Cheers)

Backward
classes :
Dr. P. K.
Acharji.

Dr. Pran Krishna Acharji (Bengal) in supporting the resolution in Bengali said that although all the provinces of India followed the same Scriptures, it was inexplicable that different treatment should be meted out to the depressed classes in the different provinces. Madras crowned all

in this respect, since it was not only a question of untouchability there but it was a question of even unapproachability and "unseeability", as Dr. Paranjpye has put it. Bengal was more considerate in her treatment towards the depressed classes, but still the disabilities which they suffered from here were sufficiently painful. Our treatment towards them was extremely ungodly and we were supporting unreligion in the name of religion. All that the depressed classes wanted was that their self-respect should be restored to them, and it was up to every true Liberal to see that these so-called depressed classes, who complained that we had broken their back-bone by our oppressions, were treated with more humane considerations, Brahmins and others belonging to the higher classes of India had been segregated to one isolated corner of South Africa and and were looked upon as untouchables by Englishmen there, which the speaker thought was in the nature of a punishment from Almighty God for the inhuman treatment we accorded to our own countrymen.

Backward
classes :
Dr. P. K.
Acharji.

Mr. G. C. Banerjee (Allahabad) in supporting the resolution in Bengali said that it was a matter of great shame that eighty percent of our people who belonged to the depressed classes should be relegated to a worse position than cats and dogs. The members of both the higher and the depressed classes were children of the same God and therefore there should be no distinction between the two classes in society. It was no use expressing a pious hope that the existing disabilities under which the depressed classes laboured should be removed. What was wanted was more of action and less of profession. Speaking of himself, the speaker said that although he came from Brahmin parents he had a cook who belonged to the Chamar class, and was in this and other ways atoning for the sins committed by his forefathers.

Backward
classes :
Mr. G. C.
Banerjee.

Pundit Dwijendra Narain Bhattacharji (Bengal), in supporting the resolution in Bengali, enquired why the people of this land, which was the birth place of saints and Rishis, of Budhha, Chaitanya and others, should be a subject nation. The answer lay in the treatment we accorded to the members of the depressed classes whom we had relegated to a humiliating position in society. It was not for nothing that the British came and conquered India. It was for nothing that the Moslems came and conquered India. They came that we of the higher classes might feel for ourselves the stings of humiliation and indignities which we have heaped on the depressed classes. It is they who constituted the nation, and if we were not prepared to spread the message of freedom amongst them, it was idle to expect that God will help us to attain freedom.

Backward
classes :
Pandit D. N.
Bhattacharji.

The resolution was then carried unanimously with acclamation.

The conference then adjourned till Wednesday the 30th December at 12. 30. p. m.

Third Day.

The Session of the National Liberal Federation of India resumed its sitting on Wednesday the 30th December at 12 Noon. The President, who was escorted to the *dais* by the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee, was given an ovation. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the Bandemataram and of a song by Rabindranath Tagore, rendered by a choir of ladies.

Financial
settlement :
Sir Chiman-
lal Setalvad.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said :—

I beg to move the following Resolution :—

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

No question has assumed the importance that this question in its practical working of the Reforms has assumed with regard to almost every province. It is a somewhat technical subject and people have not followed it in all its details in the manner that they should. You will remember that when the Reforms came and the devolution of power was made in favour of the provinces with elected majority Councils, it was felt that the Provincial Governments should have their own sources of revenue to work their administration. For that purpose it was decided that instead of having as before divided heads of revenue some adjustment was necessary to be made in order to separate the Provincial finance from Central finance, and for that purpose what has been known as the Meston Committee was set up to go into the question and recommend division of the sources of revenue between the Central Government and the various Provincial Governments. The Meston Award, as it has been called, which is now in force, has curiously enough satisfied nobody. Not a single province is satisfied with it, and rightly so, as you will understand when I put before you very shortly, as I propose to do, the effects of that Award.

Now, the fundamental blunder, if one may so call it, committed by the Meston Committee was this that they paid no regard to the varying circumstances of the provinces and they adopted one formula for all, which was I say a great initial mistake, because the circumstances of different provinces vary so differently that you cannot have the same division of the sources of revenue with regard to each province without creating very glaring injustice, as in fact it has done.

One factor which they forgot was this that certain provinces are agricultural provinces, if one may so describe them. Other provinces are

industrial provinces. That is to say, their sources of revenue, both of the people and of the Government, depend upon industries, while in the others they depend upon agriculture. What the Meston Committee did was this. Land revenue was before the Reforms a divided head of revenue, i.e. one half of the revenue went to the Central Government and one half to the Provincial Government. Income tax was also a divided head of revenue. What they did was this. They said land revenue should thereafter be a purely provincial source of revenue, while income tax should be wholly a Central source of revenue. As I said, they adopted this general formula for all the provinces with results which are absolutely startling.

What happened will be very clear if I give you a few figures showing the result of this division of sources of revenue. By making land revenue a purely provincial source of revenue and taking income tax as Central revenue, the actual result that has worked out is this. Madras got an additional revenue of 5.8 crores, that is, an increase of 66 percent. over its normal revenue. The U. P. got an increase of 4 crores, that is, an increase of 51 percent. The Punjab got 2.9 crores. Bengal got only an increase of one crore, which works up to 14 percent. as against 66 p. c. of Madras. Bombay got an increase of 92 lakhs and this is an increase only of 9 percent. So you see how unequal the amount of additional revenue was to the various provinces ranging from 66 p. c. increase to 9 percent.

We have merely to state these figures to show how inequitable the division of sources of revenue was. As I have said this result was brought about because of the ignoring of the distinction between agricultural provinces and industrial provinces. Provinces like Bengal and Bombay are industrial provinces where the great source of revenue is the income tax, and that having been taken over by the Central Government, they were left only with land revenue which is not an expanding source of revenue, so far as those two provinces were concerned, while with regard to Madras, the Punjab and some other provinces land revenue is a progressive source of revenue. Therefore Madras got an addition of 5 crores of revenue as against only 52 lakhs of the Central Provinces and 92 lakhs of Bombay.

The other blunder that was committed by the Meston Committee was this that they took as the datum line for fixing the necessary revenue and the necessary expenditure as estimated by them for each province, the year 1920-21. We all know that year was a very very exceptional year, and to take that as the standard of revenue of any province was absolutely wrong, with the result that with regard to almost every province the revenue that they had estimated never materialised, while the expenditure calculated by them had far been exceeded in almost every province.

The result, therefore, was, as I have said, no province was satisfied with regard to the arrangement made by them, and the Meston Committee's report, if you read it, practically admits that the division they proposed

Financial
Settlement:
Sir Chiman-
lal Setalvad.

was not made on the financial requirements of the provinces but absolutely in a haphazard manner by laying down one formula to govern all provinces when their circumstances were entirely different. This is what they said :

"It is of importance to realise the nature of this transaction. In the first place it implies no judgment on the merits of previous financial settlements with any province. The increase in revenues comes to the provinces as a windfall, or as a bye-product of a constitutional change. It is not due, as financial settlements have been in the past, to consideration of the financial needs of individual provinces. It cannot properly be quoted as an admission of financial inequalities or as an act of tardy justice to the provinces that gain by it. Clearly it has come about from political and not primarily from financial motives."

There again lies the blunder that the adjustment of revenue must be made on the financial needs and necessities of each province and must be so elastic as to make it possible for the province to work out its own salvation.

The Report goes on :—

"It originates in the desire to secure a greater measure of devolution in the Provinces, and in the endeavour to draw for this purpose a defensible line of financial partition between Local Governments and the Government of India. While we consider that a windfall of this nature affords a suitable basis for initial contributions by the provinces, it is not surprising to find that its application requires some modifications in view of individual circumstances.

As I have described to you, the result has been most unjust as between the provinces. While some provinces have profited, other provinces have not profited at all, and the result is that provinces like Bengal and Bombay have been left much worse than they were when the Reforms came in 1921, because, as I pointed out, before 1921 both Bengal and Bombay having had a share in their income tax revenue they shared in that progressive source of revenue. That has been taken away entirely by the Central Government. It has gone out of their hands, and while Bengal and Bombay ever since the Reforms have been paying more and more in income tax, for instance in Bombay from 2 to 3 crores we are now paying 9 crores to the Central Government, all that is swept away by the Central coffers and nothing is left to Bombay to use for its development and advancement, while land revenue has not even progressed according to the estimates made by the Meston Committee.

I am drawing these contrasts between the various provinces not with a view to complain that any particular province has benefitted more at the expense of the others, but what I am trying to point out is that the whole basis of the Meston Settlement was a mistaken one in trying to adopt one formula for all the provinces. They ought to have taken each province for itself and having regard to its conditions and requirements, given it a source of revenue best suited for its purposes. The principle underlying

this division of the sources of revenue should have been that every province should get an elastic source of revenue, and that could only be done by letting different provinces have different sources of the revenue suitable to their circumstances, and till this is done there is absolutely no hope for the provinces to work out their own salvation under the Reforms. It is therefore that we in this Federation strongly urge upon the Government the desirability of considering the matter. All the provinces are agreed that the Meston Award should be scrapped, that a further investigation should be made into the financial relations between the Central Government and the provinces, and an equitable system of division of sources of revenue should be arrived at suited to the requirements and needs of each province. For that purpose we need an independent authority to be set up to examine the question. No committee appointed by the Government of India will be satisfactory at all, because in this matter there is a conflict of interest between the Government of India and the various provinces concerned. What we do want is an independent committee to go into the whole question and make an adjustment which will be equitable to all parties.

Financial
Settlement :
Sir Chiman-
lal Setalvad.

With these words I have great pleasure in moving the proposition.

Dr. Dwarknath Mitra (Calcutta) said :—

Financial
Settlement :
Dr. D. N.
Mitter.

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been so ably and lucidly moved before you by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

The resolution aims at urging before the people and the Government the speedy and immediate revision of what is known as the Meston Settlement or the adjustment of financial relations between the different provinces. It is now admitted on all hands by officials and non-officials that the Meston Settlement has created an inequitable adjustment in regard to the financial relations of the different provinces. In replying to a debate in the Council of State last September session the Financial Secretary to the Government of India admitted the inequitable nature of the settlement. I will quote the words of Mr. McWatters in reply to the debate :

“At the outset I should like to say that the Meston Settlement was undoubtedly made at a very difficult time and there is no doubt also that a great many of the assumptions on which that settlement was based have not been borne out in practice. That we all admit; we admit that practically every province has suffered. They have had to impose additional taxation. They have had to retrench much more than was expected.”

In view of this clear admission on the part of Government, I think time has come for the revision of the Meston Settlement and the examination of the question, as has been suggested by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, not by a committee appointed by the Government but by an impartial tribunal.

That the basis of the Meston Settlement is radically wrong will appear if you just examine for a while the reasons for the assumptions on which that settlement is based. By this Settlement it is intended to effect, as it

Financial
Settlement:
Dr. D. N.
Mitter.

were; a separation for all time between the provincial and the Central revenues. It determines the tax jurisdictions, and it effects a separation between the Central and the provincial revenues once for all in the same manner as it obtains in countries like the United States of America. But the analogy of the United States is wholly misleading, for there it is the States Government that came into existence first and the Central Government was created afterwards. In India the position of things is just the reverse. I think for analogy in this respect you might look to the colonies, and if you look to the colonies and to the Australian Commonwealth, where the separation of revenues obtains in a more pronounced form than in other colonies, you will find that instead of provincial Governments making any contribution to the Central Government it is the Central Government that furnishes contribution to the Provincial Governments.

It has been said by a very great financier that the tests with regard to the separation of tax jurisdiction and the real considerations involved in the choice of revenues are three: First, efficiency, second, suitability, and third, adequacy. Judged by these tests it might be said that the Meston Award satisfies the first two tests. But it falls short when examined by the test of adequacy. So far as my province is concerned, the Meston award has committed a complete blunder in ignoring a very well known historical circumstance, namely, that the Permanent Settlement obtains in Bengal and it has existed in Bengal since 1793—a sufficiently long time—and we cannot now go back upon the Permanent Settlement, the effect of which in Bengal is inelasticity of land revenue.

Therefore, by arbitrarily marking off the sources of revenue as provincial and Central for the purpose of attaining a certain symmetry, it has ignored the varying circumstances of the different provinces, and the result has been, as pointed out by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, that the two industrial provinces of Bengal and Bombay have suffered the most.

People of my own province will recognise that it has become very difficult for the administration of Bengal except without a grant from the Imperial Government, and the Imperial Government have been giving us a remission of 63½ lacs of rupees every year and it has promised to do so for the next three years in order that Government under the Reforms might be carried on.

Another reason why the Meston Settlement cannot stand examination or scrutiny is this that it is based on budgets which have been ruthlessly cut down on account of the War to figures which would leave very little margin for meeting the expenses of administration at a time when any emergent expenditure was required. That should not have been taken as the basis of the settlement. That is not really an expenditure which would be regarded as normal expenditure. That is one of the considerations which make me urge before you that time has come for an equitable redistribution of the financial arrangements, or in other words for the revision of the Meston Settlement.

There is one other thing which I desire to put before this meeting and that is this. I can understand that land revenue and stamps would

Financial
Settlement:
Dr. D. N.
Mitter.

fall as provincial revenues, whereas revenues obtained from railways or Customs would be regarded naturally as Imperial revenues. With regard to income tax, it was a provincial revenue at the time the Meston Committee made its award, and every province may fairly claim—at least Bengal can fairly claim—that that should be regarded as a provincial revenue. If that is the view which is taken by the committee which may be appointed to enquire into this question, the result will be as has been pointed out in an admirable note by Sir Pravas Chandra Mitter addressed to the Government of India, that it would mean a remission to Bengal of a sum of Rs. 6¼ crores, with which not only could we carry on the Government under the reforms quite liberally but we will have a large surplus.

These are the considerations which will have to be dealt with with reference to the different provinces. I am not suggesting that Bengal alone has suffered. It is not in a spirit of provincial jealousy that I am suggesting that Bengal's case is very hard, but because I am familiar with it. Every province has complained that the effect of the Meston Settlement has not been favorable to it. It is not a thing peculiar to Bengal, but permit me to put before you what was recommended with regard to Bengal by the Joint Parliamentary Committee which considered the report of the Financial Relations Committee. They said: "The committee desire to add their recognition of the peculiar financial difficulties in the Presidency of Bengal which they commend to the special consideration of the Government of India," and it was because of this recommendation that under sec. 45 of the Devolution Rules the Government of India have been making a remission of 63 lakhs a year.

The needs of other provinces such as Madras and the United Provinces has been laid before the Legislative Assembly, both in the Council of State and Legislative Assembly and the matter has been prominently brought forward before Government. With these few words I would therefore second this Resolution and urge the swift appointment of a committee to reconsider the division of the sources of revenue and taxation between the Central and Provincial Governments.

Mr. Bijoy Prosad Singha Roy (Bengal) in supporting the Resolution said :—

Financial
Settlement:
Mr. B. P.
Singha Roy.

In moving this Resolution Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has given you certain figures and in seconding it Dr Dwarkanath Mitter had tried to go into the genesis of the recommendations made by the Meston Award. I must confess that I am not very good at figures. I shall only confine myself to the effect of this Award on the revenues of the various Provincial Governments. Dyarchy which we, members of the Liberal Party, endeavoured to work out, I think the concensus of opinion is, that it, has failed though not fully at least partially in almost all the provinces and this view is endorsed by all the friends and supporters of the Reforms and by gentlemen who actually shouldered the responsibilities of Government and devoted themselves with commendable energy and vigour in making the Reforms a success. Under the Meston Award almost all the great Provinces have begun their career with huge deficits and the result was that immediately after the meeting of the first

Financial
Settlement:
Mr. B. P.
Singha Roy.

Legislative Councils, the legislatures were faced with a most undesirable, I may say, unpleasant but unavoidable duty of making retrenchments, drastic retrenchments even at the cost of efficiency in some cases and by imposing heavy taxation on the people. If I remember rightly Bengal taxed herself to the extent of Rs 65 lakhs, Bombay to the extent of Rs 60 lakhs, Madras to the extent of 78 lakhs and even a small province like Assam to the extent of Rs 3 lakhs. But in spite of these retrenchments and heavy taxation there is very little left to the provinces to carry on the nation building departments and this is because of the unpopularity and failure of the Reforms. This view is held not only by the great critics of the Constitution but also by the friends and supporters of the Constitution. I am not familiar with the state of things in other Provinces and I do not pretend to speak about the conditions prevalent in them but so far as Bengal is concerned we have our special needs, I may say very urgent needs. Besides the question of sanitation and education, there is the very urgent need of rural sanitation and water supply in rural areas. When Sir Surendranath Banerjee accepted the portfolio of the department of Local Self-Government in the year 1921, great hopes were aroused in the minds of the people that it was expected that something would be done to give relief to the suffering peasantry of this Province. It was expected that a sanitation loan would be floated but nothing could be done for want of money. Sir Surendra Nath in his utter disappointment said "let me have money and I shall drive away Malaria". This was the state of things and there has been no change since then. Things are going on in the same way up till now. If the Government of India want us to work the Reforms and if the Government of India want to silence the discontent prevalent in this province and in the other provinces too, because they have their special needs, either in the way of sanitation, education or irrigation, they must be prepared to help the Provincial Governments and place their finances in a sounder basis and unless they do so I should say that the Government of India do not want us to work out the reforms. Even if provincial autonomy is given to us tomorrow I should say it is not worth having unless the Provincial Governments are given money, sufficient money to carry on the nation building departments. With these few words I support this Resolution so ably moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

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

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Poona) then moved the following Resolution :

Military
Policy :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

IX. Military Policy, Education and Expenditure :

- (a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianisation of eight units of the Army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that the opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee on Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.

- (b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence for all ranks.
- (c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.
- (d) The recommendations of the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefor in the Budget for 1926-27.
- (e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia, and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.
- (f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination should be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

Military
Policy :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

He said : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I stand before you the second time to move a most important resolution on the subject of Military Policy and other similar matters in general. People like us who take an interest in the general public questions of this country are at a peculiar disadvantage when speaking on military matters. The intelligentsia of this country have been kept away entirely from all contact with such holy matters as the Army and Navy and Defence. They are informed that the ordinary ranks of the Indian Army, the Sepoys and Subedars and Havildars are recruited from among Indians and that the ranks of two-thirds of the Indian Army is recruited from Indians only but these are people who are generally uneducated and who are unable by their education to lead on matters of general policy. We have always been told that we have been making a demand for political advancement, either self-government or Dominion Status, when we are unfit for any such advancement, because any such self-government in India would not be worth a month's purchase because India is unable to defend herself without the aid of the British. On the other hand, we are unable under the present constitution to take necessary steps to make us able to defend ourselves. We are within the two horns of a dilemma. On the one hand we are told that we cannot get any political advancement because we cannot defend ourselves and on the other hand we are unable to make any preparations for defending ourselves because we have not got self-government. We must provide some means of getting rid of this dilemma. Persistent agitation and persistent demands from Indians of all political shades of opinion have made it clear that India demands with one voice sufficient and proper opportunity to undertake its own defence and the

Military
Policy :
Dr. E. P.
Paranjpye.

necessity for that was peculiarly felt at the time of the great War ten years ago. At the time when England had its hands full in all quarters of the globe it was then Indian army that was drawn out and as Lord Hardinge at that time said, India was bled white. Its defence was left practically to a very few units of the Army. The other ranks were sent to the battle-fields of France, Flanders, Mesopotamia, East Africa, and various other theatres of War. Even at that time it was found that there was a great deal of difficulty in the recruitment of the necessary people required for the Army and the Punjab troubles culminating in Jalianwala-Bagh riots have been attributed by unanimous Indian public opinion to the measures taken for the recruitment in the Punjab and to the disabilities caused by it much as Sir Michael O' Dwyer may assert to the contrary. The reason for this difficulty of recruitment is plain. When in my own province recruiting agents were sent out to recruit people for the Army, these recruiting agents were often told—you lead us and we are prepared to follow in as much numbers as you like, but there was no place for such recruiting agents in the present organization of the Army as the people were merely intended as food for powder. The Indian people, many of whom had great military traditions were left without the slightest place in the military organization. Is it any wonder, therefore, that in such a country with a population of over 30 crores it would be difficult to recruit only about a million people for the Army? I should think that with a population like that of India, if properly organized, there ought not to be any difficulty whatsoever in enabling India to defend herself properly against all comers whatsoever. This question has been agitated by our public men for many long years and in the circumstances of war Government had to make at least some pretence—it was only a pretence and nothing more—to accede to the demands of the Indian people; and in what way have Government acceded to their demands? The demands were first of all that Indians should be recruited in India for the ranks, not only non-commissioned ranks but also for the commissioned ranks so that in future any Indian could rise to the rank of General and Commander-in-chief and Government will not have to look to people from other countries from abroad to defend the country. This demand was the most fundamental demand of Indians and at a time when our Government wanted to conciliate our people they with great flourish of trumpets said that Indians will no longer be debarred henceforth from getting into commissioned ranks. They said if we take ten people every year and send up to Sandhurst for training as officers this will meet the requirements of the situation. But every difficulty was placed in the way of these ten men who actually went out to Sandhurst. What actually happened was that out of these ten Indians only about five or six came out really as officers in the Army. The way in which these young men were selected is very curious. First of all, our young men had to go abroad to get the necessary training; the cost of training, as you know, is very high and our Indians are generally not very rich and there are only a few people who could afford to send their young sons of eighteen and nineteen to Sandhurst for training as regular officers. Then it was said that recruitment could only be made from people who had military traditions. Now these vague generalities mean nothing at all. It means that the choice fell upon those people who have the good fortune to have some influence behind

them or who were born of rich parents. Is it any wonder then that many of these young men sent abroad for training in England proved failures? They either did not pass the necessary examinations or were unfit and of those ten young men who really came out as officers their lives were made so difficult that I am told that several of them were about to resign if some of them had not resigned already. I am putting these facts before you to show you that the whole scheme of recruitment for Sandhurst and the pretence of the Government to give commissioned ranks to Indians is a mere farce and one of the means of camouflaging Indian public opinion. I may say plainly that on this point Indian opinion is not going to be camouflaged. It will go into the actual facts of the case and the people will not have the slightest hesitation in dubbing the scheme as mere eyewash. A few years ago a plan was started whereby it was felt that all these difficulties and disabilities in the way of Indians acquiring commissioned ranks in the Army would be removed and it was felt that the Indian officers who were attached to regular Units would in time to come obtain higher ranks. They would not always be lieutenants and the time may come when Indian officers will be superior in rank to the British officers imported directly from abroad. But that would have meant that the imported British officer would have to salaam his superior Indian officer and obey the orders of a black Indian officer and so it was felt by Government that something had to be done in time to prevent such a state of things in India and so a scheme was adopted whereby they segregated all Indian officers and found what is called the Eight Units Scheme as though it were a kind of infectious hospital in which the blacks were segregated from all contact with the European. I think public opinion in India is distinctly in favour of the view that this Eight Units Scheme is based entirely on wrong principles. What we want is the Indianisation of the Army in as rapid a pace as possible and for that purpose any and every necessary measure should be taken to accelerate its consummation. It was suggested before the inauguration of this Eight Units Scheme that if this Scheme was found to be successful, further developments would be made. Now before we can say whether even this scheme is successful or not, we would probably have to wait twenty-five years because in the absence of any war an ordinary man would take at least twenty-five years before he rose to the position of a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army so that it meant that no further progress was to be made in the direction of the Indianisation of the Army so far as the commissioned ranks of the Army were concerned for the next twenty-five years. We are by nature very long suffering but we are not prepared to wait for twenty-five years in order to see whether this scheme is successful or not. It is our firm conviction that this policy of sending Indian officers to train in different parts of England is absolutely unsound in principle. We ought to be able to train all the officers necessary for our needs in our own country and for that purpose we should have the necessary training facilities in our own country and we would strongly urge Government to appoint a Committee not for the purpose of making plans for having Indians sent to Sandhurst but for the purpose of considering whether it was feasible to make plans for having Indians trained in India. What we want therefore is that this pace of Indianisation be accelerated very considerably and that all facilities in India should be

Military
Policy :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

afforded to Indians for training our own Indian officers. We know that such an institution will cost money but I am more than certain that Indian public opinion will not flinch from defraying any expense necessary in order that Indians may have facilities for training in their own land. After all you must understand that a military career is not so very paying a career as the I.C.S. Very often the training which Sandhurst has given is a blind alley for an unsuccessful student and the people of India take a great risk in sending out their boys of eighteen and nineteen to England with the off chance of coming out as regular commissioned officers and with the risk of being worth nothing at all. The fact remains that failure is risky which very few parents will be able and will be prepared to face. I say that in the report of the evidence before the Skeen Committee some of the English witnesses were asked whether if they were in a similar position they would face this risk of sending their sons at the age of eighteen and nineteen to Sandhurst and with one voice they all said they were not prepared to face the risk but they expect us Indians to face this risk. What we therefore want is that all the eyewashes of Government should be given up and that an honest attempt should be made to train Indians for the commissioned ranks of the Army in India itself. Now the army has got various branches of service. The Defence Force of the country comprises not only the Army and Navy but various branches of both services. At present we have got no commissioned officers in the rank of Commander—there are any number of Indian officers in the minor services. So far nobody has said that these Indian officers in the minor services have proved failures and I feel that if opportunities are given to Indians in the higher ranks of both branches of service that Indians will prove successful. Indians have had great military positions before and it has been the experience of war that anybody with intelligence and proper physique and good character can make a successful officer. During the great War when England wanted officers not by the tens or hundreds or thousands but by the hundreds of thousands, a large number of people from the streets of London whom nobody would suspect of any military connections or traditions in the history of their families came out and became successful officers. One requires education, brains, and of course good physique. It is impossible to lay down that everybody must have military traditions before he can become an officer and I have no hesitation in saying that Indians will not be found wanting if proper measures were taken and proper facilities were given for selection and if the selections were made on proper lines with the object not of excluding as many Indians as possible but with the object of taking in as many of them as possible.

We quite admit that it requires some time, and, in fact, in the third resolution passed by this Federation last year we had, very unwillingly though, to make an exception in the case of the control of the Military in our demand for self-government, because at present we are quite ignorant of it. But we do not wish long to remain ignorant of these matters, and therefore a beginning and a great beginning has got to be made immediately.

I have spoken on the first three clauses. I will just make a few remarks about the non-Regular forces. I happened to be a member of the committee appointed by the Government of India for the consideration of the question

of the Auxilliary and Territorial Forces, and the committee has made a recommendation of far-reaching importance which has not been given effect to. The Regular army is for use in ordinary times and to bear the very first attack if a war broke out. But as soon as a war breaks out immense casualties take place and recruits are immediately required. In fact no country can conduct any war of any magnitude without having these reserves and these non-Regular forces to draw upon in order to fill their ranks. At present we have got no such reserve. I mean that the ordinary small reserve for the Regular army is there, but there is no general military training among the people of this country from whom recruits could be easily obtained. These are called non-Regular forces in the country.

Military
Policy ;
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

These non-Regular forces are divided into Territorial Forces and Auxilliary Forces. The Territorial Forces are supposed to be a second line reserve for the Indian army, and the Auxilliary forces are supposed to be a second line reserve for the British Army. These forces which were first of all organized as the Indian Defence Force are now called the Indian Territorial force and were organized about 5 or 6 years ago. Their number was very limited. The Territorial force was limited to 20,000 only and the Auxilliary force to something like 30,000 over the whole of India. The Auxilliary and the Territorial Forces Committee were appointed to consider how these forces could be expanded and their position improved to secure an adequate second line. There were also certain distinctions based on colour and community which this committee had to consider. Now, the committee, seeing that these forces were to be the second line reserve of these different classes of the army, have agreed nominally to keep these Auxilliary and Territorial Forces distinct, but all communal distinctions have been taken away. At present the Auxilliary force got King's Commissions, and Territorial force got what are called the Viceroy's Commissions with Honorary King's Commissions. The Committee has recommended that these Commissions should be given by the Viceroy on behalf of the King in both cases, as is the case in Australia or South Africa.

Again, the committee has recommended that a third unit should be constituted, the University Training Unit, which will be altogether of different nature. The University Unit is intended as a kind of educational measure in order to acquaint our young men with military matters, to give them all the educational benefits to be derived from a military training, and later on, if necessary, to be a source of supply of officers in time of war. The recommendations of that committee, so far as the University Training Corps are concerned, are absolutely what general public opinion requires, and I do hope that the authorities will give immediate effect to them. They have not distinctly recommended that this training of University students should be compulsory, but it has been distinctly mentioned that if any University required any compulsion on its under-graduates, Government should not raise any objection but should give adequate facilities. I hope, therefore, that those gentlemen here and outside who may have anything to do with organization of University and the discipline of University students, would take advantage of this recommendation and insist that very young man coming out of College and aspiring to a Degree should get military training

Military
Policy :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

and should not get his Degree without it. I consider it is of the utmost importance that our educated young men should be familiarised with military ideas, because otherwise we shall always be helpless, the defence of the country will not be in our hands, and we shall always be told that we were not fit for self-government.

The fourth clause says that the strength of the defence forces should be determined only on consideration of Indian requirements and not on extraneous considerations. In fact, although it is a secret document, I believe it is a recommendation of the Military Requirements Committee itself that the strength of the Indian Army and other defence forces should be limited only by Indian considerations. At present what happens and what happened in the great War was that the Indian Army was supposed to be a reserve for the needs of the Empire in all parts of the world. Let there be trouble in Mesopotamia, the Indian Army is drawn upon. Let there be trouble in China, the Indian Army is drawn upon. If the Indian Army is drawn upon in this manner, it means that the Army in India in peace time is more than is required for her needs, and that India is required to pay more than she need pay for her own requirements.

The fourth part of the resolution, therefore, says that the Indian Army should be only of such magnitude as is required for her own needs, and if the British Empire thinks that the Indian Army should be greater than what is justified by such needs, we have no objection, but Great Britain should pay for it.

Lastly, we all know that India is a poor country and that military expenditure is a great burden on our national finance. I am not one of those who say that we must do without any army, that we shall be quite happy without any soldier at all and that our policy of non-violence will carry us through all our troubles. I say we must have a proper amount of soldiers and all our defence arrangements should be properly adjusted. But I am not an expert on military matters and I cannot say how much money is required for an army that is just sufficient for the needs of India, but we have got the very considered opinion of the Inchcape Committee, presided over by such a financier as Lord Inchcape, that the expenditure on the army in India can be considerably reduced. Out of 65 crores of rupees at which figure it stood when the Committee made its recommendation, they proposed a reduction of something like 5 or 6 crores, and that in the course of a very few years it should be reduced to at least 50 crores. The last part of the resolution lays down that this conclusion arrived at by such an expert committee should be given immediate effect to and that the military budget of this country should not exceed 50 crores. As we are not experts, we also ask that repeated consideration of the army expenditure should be undertaken at regular intervals to see whether further retrenchment could not be effected in this department. A Federation like this is not competent to go into the details of the military budget and I am not the person to face any risks. But it is always the habit of all kinds of professional men to give special importance to their pet needs. Ask a lawyer and he will insist on small details which to an outsider appear irrelevant. Ask an engineer and he will say this and that must be done which ordinary common sense will

say is absolutely unnecessary. From a common sense point of view we want our military budget considered from time to time to see whether India is spending more on its military than she need spend for resonable safety. We cannot provide for any and every conceivable contingency. All we can do is to provide for reasonable contingencies. I therefore think that the recommendation that the military expenditure should be reduced to 50 crores, as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, will recommend itself to your acceptance, as also the further recommendation that this amount should be considered from time to time in order to see whether any extravagance or wastage is finding its place in our military expenditure. Military expenditure is the most unproductive expenditure from the point of view of nation building. Although it is a kind of insurance, it is still a kind of unproductive expenditure in the narrower sense and we do not wish more money to be spent on it than is absolutely necessary.

Military
Policy :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

Therefore I hope this proposition which is of such vital importance from the point of view of our development will commend itself to this Federation and I hope it will be accepted.

Rao Bahadur A. S. Bambawale (Nagpur) in seconding the resolution said :—

Military
Policy :
Rao Bahadur
A. S. Bamba-
wale.

The proposer of this resolution has very lucidly put the proposition before you and has nearly exhausted all the arguments that need be put forward in order to recommend the resolution to your acceptance. However, I will just say a few words on the subject.

This resolution is in my opinion the most important of the resolutions that we have discussed at this Conference. It is, I think, the bedrock on which we have to build the Swaraj that we so much wish to attain, because unless we are prepared to defend our country it is madness to ask for Swaraj.

But who is responsible for the existing conditions? It is not the people. It is the Government who had the reins of every Department in their hands. They have not, from want of foresight, taken proper measures when they should have taken. What is the result? The result is that when a great emergency like a war arises, they find it very difficult to get men, and if they get men at all they get such men who only serve as powder for the guns, as Dr. Paranjpye has put it. If they really want that Indians should be really helpful, they must take proper measures to improve the condition of Indians in regard to military matters.

Another point in this connection is that the military expenditure has risen to a very large extent. In the beginning the military expenditure was only 12 crores or thereabouts. It has now risen to 68 crores, and we find it very difficult to bring it down even to 50 crores.

When the British what they call "conquered" India, it was with the help of Indian soldiers. They trained them, they organised them. At that time there was not that distinction which has since crept into military affairs. An Indian Sepoy was then a friend of the British soldier and of every body else. These conditions have now changed, and as it is often the case with all

Military
Policy :
Rao Bahadur
A. S. Bamba-
wale.

human beings they now kick the ladder by which they got on to the top, so the Indian Sepoy has now been relegated to a very backward position.

Another mistake which has contributed to the increase in military expenditure is this. It is supposed that the proportion of British soldiers to Indian soldiers was not high enough, and therefore that proportion was raised. This brought in an addition to the expenditure on the army. If the Government Indianises the Army, it will help to reduce the army expenditure. At present the British Navy should do. A European friend once said to me that India wants a Navy. I told him that if by an Indian Navy it was meant a Navy for which the Indian Exchequer paid, nobody wanted such a Navy. On the other hand, if it meant that Indians would be employed in the naval defence of their country, then alone it would be called an Indian Navy and Indians will take an interest in it. Unless Indians are recruited to all ranks, it is not possible for Indians to be proud of the army.

The resolution deals with so many branches of the subject, and they are inter-dependent, so to say. If you Indianise the Army, then you will lower the expenditure on the Army, and if you lower that, it would be easier for you to find money to educate Indians in military matters.

Occasionally a complaint is made that Indians do not respond to the call for military recruitment. It is a very wrong charge, because sufficient facilities are not given. We have seen in other countries when recruitment is necessary, proper inducements are offered. But here no such inducements are offered, and on top of that there are many difficulties. It may be that those small difficulties may not have been created by the Government itself, but the people who administer the laws occasionally put some difficulties in the way of Indians taking advantage of the small opportunities that are now afforded. Two or three young men in my province wanted to be enlisted into the Territorial Force. But there was some difficulty as to what was wanted and whether any better arrangements could be made for them. Their difficulties were altogether ignored and they were told that such and such were the arrangements and they could avail themselves of them or not, just as they pleased. One difficulty, for instance, is that the Training Camp for Nagpur is Poona, which is a long way off, and students who wish to join the Territorial Force cannot possibly leave their colleges and go for 2 or 3 months to such a distant place as Poona. Then, a friend of mine is an officer in the Auxiliary Force. I asked him about his experience when there was a camp of exercise. He told me that there was very great difficulty in his making two ends meet, particularly when he had to live in the same way and in the same fashion as his European colleagues in the Auxiliary Force. I wish they were solitary instances, but I fear they are not. It is my firm conviction that if the youth of India were given proper facilities and opportunities, they would be able to give a good account of themselves. I can hardly imagine a youth of India who would be so unmanly as not to be ashamed that others should take care of his hearth and home. Similarly I do not think there is any woman in India who would be so unwomanly as not to be ashamed to see her husband or father or brother not taking any part in the defence of his country. The only difficulty is that we

have not got proper facilities and proper opportunities. They say that they do not get proper Cadets for Sandhurst. I do not know what they mean by "proper". I know of one instance where a man was told that he did not come of a sufficiently high family to be admitted to Sandhurst. I do not know why this family qualification should be insisted on. Take the men who have got education, tenacity and endurance and other qualities that are necessary. The object of bringing forward this resolution before the Conference is that these difficulties should be removed. I therefore commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Military
Policy :
Rao Bahadur
A. S. Bamba-
wale.

Mr. Sachindra Nath Mukherjee (Bengal) in supporting the Resolution said :—

Military
Policy :
Mr. S. N.
Mukherjee.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates,

I rise to join my voice in support of the proposition which has just been placed before you and commend it to your acceptance. In this Resolution a strong and powerful plea has been put forth for the development of military training, for the curtailment of military expenditure within reasonable limits consistent with the resources of this poor country and again for the adjustment of the military policy to meet the requirements of this country. For years the military policy as pursued by the Government has amounted to a colossal wrong perpetrated by the Government upon the people. It has left the people weak, feeble and disorganised. It has paralysed the whole nation. The right of carrying arms for the purpose of defence is the birthright of every man in every civilised country but it has been denied to us for reasons best known to Government. We find today we are not in a position to defend our own hearths and homes. Again and again we have brought forward schemes for the limiting of military expenditure but it is a cry in the wilderness. My friends, in days gone by, Bengal supplied soldiers to the army who shed their blood in the fields of Plassey and other battlefields. The Gorkarwallas have wielded their lathis from time immemorial and have learnt to look upon it as a weapon of defence, but the process of emasculation has gone so far as to put a ban on lathis just as the industries of the country have been trampled upon by means which make our blood boil with indignation. The lathis have been banned by measures which we cannot contemplate but with feelings of shame and resentment. That is the state of things in Bengal. It is an anomalous state of things. We have heard so much of the Indianisation of the services; it is only too true that the principle of Indianisation has been accepted but there is a great difference between acceptance and performance. We have heard that a promise is a good dog but performance is still better. We have heard much of the bow bow but we have yet to see a deal of the latter. We find however that means are being invented to work out this promise of Indianisation but that is being whittled away and we find that the process is being adopted in such a way that it will take Doomsday till our hopes become realised. We want therefore that the process of Indianisation so far as the Indian Army is concerned be accelerated in such a way as is consistent with the demands and wishes of the people. We want again that the Indian Army should not be earmarked as a sort of British reserve. As our friend Dr. Paranjpye

Military
Policy :
Mr. S. N.
Mukherjee.

has put it, whenever Imperial demands are made the Indian Army is sent out for Imperial Defence; whenever there is trouble in Mesopotamia or other parts of the world the Indian Army is sent out as a sort of reserve, as during the war various units of the Indian army have been drawn away for the purpose of Imperial Defence. The Indians do not grudge that service but we want that the Indian Army should not be regarded as a sort of British reserve but should be earmarked for the purposes of Indian defence. We want again that the training of our young men should proceed in such a way that all branches of military service should be thrown open to them. We have seen how the Military expenditure has gone up by leaps and bounds for years and years. The Government of India prefer to throw away millions upon the arid deserts and bleak regions of mountain passes on account of this so called scientific warfare. We want that military expenditure should be curtailed within reasonable limits and the nation building departments should not be starved in the abject manner as they have hitherto been done but that they should have adequate resources to fall back upon. We must rise to the full stature of our being and we must rise to the full development of our manhood if we want to show Government that we mean what we say. We want to stand on our legs. In the morning of the days when history was not yet written there rose a cry from the Banks of the Ganges, and from the mouths of the Rishis, that those who are strong and those who are powerful, to them belong life and to none else. That is the voice of India crying. That is our ideal. We want to be strong, powerful and puissant for that purpose. We want that military careers should be thrown open to our young men without distinction so that they may be strong and powerful and true followers of the Empire and true patriots to their motherland.

Mr. G. C. Banerjee then addressed the meeting in Bengali, after which the Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously,

X. The Civil Services Act.

The Civil
Services Act,
the Presi-
dent.

The following resolution was put from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

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

Development
of Agricul-
ture : Rai
Dr. H. D.
Dutt Baha-
dur.

Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur, Calcutta, then moved the following resolution :—

XI. Development of Agriculture and Industries.

(a) The Federation again impresses upon the people and the Government the great importance of measures of economic development, including not

only the improvement of methods of agriculture but the stimulation of agricultural, manufacturing and cottage industries, the organisation of capital and the encouragement of co-operation.

Development
of Agriculture : Rai
Dr. H. D.
Dutt Bahadur.

(b) The Federation also desires to impress upon the people and the different governments, Central and Provincial, the importance of establishing educational institutions, higher as well as secondary, for imparting agricultural, commercial, technical, and industrial education.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, the two aspects of our national development are so intimately knit together that the subjects committee is perfectly justified in keeping them in one and the same resolution. The latest pronouncements of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy foreshadows strenuous activity on the side of agriculture. The appointment of the late Minister of Agriculture in the British Cabinet as the Viceroy-Designate confirms the great desire on the part of the authorities to take up the matter in real earnest. Lord Irwin is not merely an academic head of the Agricultural Board, but is reputed to be a practical agriculturist and as a son and heir of Lord Halifax is intimately connected with extensive agricultural farms and various agricultural concerns.

It is very probable that with the advent of the Viceroy-Designate a large influx of foreign experts will be employed to improve the condition of our agriculture. Attempts on those lines were not unknown in the past and efforts and exploitation of Indian soil for raw products on the part of the British Government is no new venture. Those who want to go through the history of those attempts should go through the despatches of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General beginning from August 20th, 1788.

To my mind the attempt to improve the staple agricultural industries of India by inexperienced foreign experts disregarding the accumulated knowledge of over thousands of years is a vain attempt. In this connection we ought to carefully read the excellent pamphlet of Mr. James McKenna, sometime the Agricultural Advisor to the Government of India, published in 1915. I cannot resist the temptation to make a small quotation from it :—
“Any attempt to teach agriculture in India before thorough investigation has provided the materials is a fundamental mistake which has seriously retarded development and this mistake has affected not only elementary, but to a much greater extent, collegiate education.” In the past when these imported foreign experts learnt the methods and experience of the accumulated knowledge in the country and by the time they gathered sufficient experience to advise they became due to retire from the services of the country. In the early eighties a step was taken to send to England well known general scholars to study agriculture. They were sent to Cirencester and came back as excellent experts but the Government employed them as judges and magistrates. We hope the same mistakes will not be repeated. Both Dr. Voelaker and Sir Frederick Nicholson have advocated methods to foster indigenous agency well versed in the local methods to be perfected in foreign advanced methods after being in the first instance well trained in the country in indigenous methods prevalent here.

Development
of Agriculture : Rai
Dr. H. D.
Dutt Bahadur.

The much talked of Pusa has not yet brought out any visible fruit for us. The one man who made some advance in practical investigations, namely, Dr. Howard, had to leave Pusa and is now working in the service of the State of Gwalior where the late Maharajah found for him a suitable berth outside British India. The local colleges are now few and far between—Coimbatore, Lyalpur, Nagpur, and Poona are the seats of agricultural colleges. In Bengal we have not got one single institution. The last was Sabour but even that has been abolished. The Director of Agriculture in Bengal keeps his headquarters away from the capital city of the province and shines in the jungles of Manipur near Dacca. He is away from the reach of the representatives of agricultural interests in the country.

Government could not even continue to manage a small school at Chinsurah which has lately been made over with an extensive farm to a body of volunteers, while Japan and Germany, two intensively industrial countries, have numerous agricultural colleges and schools and the purely agricultural province of Bengal is without a single college or school of agriculture at the present time. What a lamentable state of affairs!

I do not like to detain you any longer but I want to put in a word or two for the second part of the resolution. India was, I need not remind you, a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country. Every body knows that muslins of Dacca were known to the Greeks under the name of Gangetike. There is evidence that Babylon traded with India in three thousand B. C. and the mummies of Egyptian tombs dating from two thousand B. C. have been found wrapped in Indian muslins of the finest quality. Even tabby Indian-built ships visited the Thames with cargoes of Indian manufacture which led to the shipbuilders of the port of London raising a cry of alarm. The Court of Directors opposed the employment of Indian ships and all these vanished.

Leaving the past alone we must congratulate ourselves upon the good sense of the Government in their attempts to revive industries in India. To rebuild industries the necessity of technical schools and colleges in co-operation with workshops does not require any urging from me. We should not and cannot be contented with the production of raw materials, such as jute, oilseeds, cotton, lac, sugarcane, etc., but must adopt methods of manufacture. We cannot forever remain merely as hewers of stone and drawers of water as the saying goes.

We must learn co-operation and sound system of banking and must arrange to train industrial experts. Those who have any touch with the industrial struggle which is now going on here must have felt the prime necessity of training intelligent Indian youths in various industries. In all these we must not depend entirely on our foreign rulers but must try to help ourselves. We must remember that nations are by themselves made. Gentlemen, I feel I ought not to take up more of your time; so I close commending this resolution to your acceptance.

Thakur Hanuman Singh (Lucknow) in seconding the Resolution stated :—

Development
of Agriculture : Thakur
Hanuman
Singh.

Mr. President, Brother Delegates.

The Resolution which has been so ably moved before you is a very important one for the development of the country. Without economic development no country can be expected to progress and rise. Generally, India is an agricultural country but since the beginning of British rule in India no great attention has been paid for improving the produce of the land on which depends the life of about 75 per cent of its population. Government has no doubt appointed certain experts and has established schools and colleges here and there but I venture to say that these institutions are quite inadequate to meet the wants of the country. (Unless and until schools and colleges for improving the agricultural, industrial, commercial and technical education be established we cannot expect to receive that education which will help us in the regeneration of our country.) When the Reforms were introduced and it was announced that the nation-building departments will be placed in the charge of Indian Ministers it was expected that rapid progress towards educating the people in industrial and other matters will be made but the experience of the last 5 years has shown that the progress in that direction has been very very slow. This slowness is not due to any fault on the part of the Ministers. They are not getting enough money to spend on departments which they have been asked to administer. Government always feels inclined to spend large sums on the reserved departments at the cost of the nation-building departments. Last year the United Provinces got some remission from the contributions which it has to make to the Central Government and it was stated by the Government of India that the amount so remitted will be spent on nation-building departments. I do not know anything about the other provinces but I can say that in the United Provinces the Rs 56 lakhs which was remitted was spent mostly on its reserved departments. Only a small portion of it was allowed to be spent on the nation building departments. This year the United Provinces Legislative Council has passed a Resolution asking Government to set apart that Rs 56 lakhs to be spent on the nation building departments. When this Resolution was being discussed in the councils, the Government members, I mean the Europeans, were talking amongst themselves that the amount would be too large to spend. The need is so great that any amount that can be spared should be spent on the improvement of the industrial, agricultural and commercial state of the country.

The ancestors of those who are at present either agriculturists or in some menial service were manufacturers, and I think it will not be easy to drive them away from the professions which they have adopted. I think it will not be out of place to mention that landlords should give all the assistance they can to Government—I do not mean pecuniary assistance, but assistance by way of inducing the people to take to industry, specially agriculture. Up to now, I am sorry to remark, the landlords have been very much wanting in their duty towards the tenants who always look up to the landlord to show them the path of progress. It is for the landlords to tell their tenants that they should take to improved methods of agriculture and

Development
of Agriculture ; Thakur
Hanuman
Singh.

thereby improve the produce of their land. Tenants are by nature very conservative, and unless they are assured by some one in whom they have confidence that the advice given them, if accepted, would be profitable, they would not care to adopt improved methods. It is unfortunate that generally the advice given by Government officials is taken with some sort of suspicion. It is for the landlords to remove that suspicion, and to take energetic steps to induce their tenants to take to improved methods of agriculture.

One word more and I have done. It requires very extensive propaganda to revive industries which are being carried on primitive lines, and this propaganda will require large sums of money. So the Government should be asked to grant large funds for the development of the industries of the country.

Development
of Agriculture ;
Mr. M. D.
Altekar.

Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay) in supporting the Resolution, said :—

In giving my hearty support to this resolution I shall place before you one or two general considerations. My predecessors have spoken at length on the various points covered by this resolution. I welcome this resolution and support it for this reason. It is necessary before we become an industrial and economic nation to believe in economic progress, and an atmosphere must be created in which economic progress is possible. In the first place, we are a philosophic nation. We think too much of the next world in comparison with this world. The result is that our standard of life is not only low but we do not feel ashamed of having a low standard of life. That outlook has got to be changed.

The next thing necessary is philosophy of effort in place of philosophy of thought. We must believe in the effect of our own effort. We must believe that if we work we will get results out of work, and we must not believe that everything for us will be done without work being done by ourselves.

That is, after all, an economic proposition, because in spite of the large extent of our country, 1800 miles long and 1800 miles broad, and in spite of such large man power, we happen to be the poorest country in the world. We do not get enough to eat. There is so much land lying vacant. The other day while I was travelling from Bombay to Calcutta via the Nizam's dominions, I saw miles and miles of land without cultivation. There is the land; there are the people. Then what is the trouble? The late Mr. Gokhale used to say that "India is a country well endowed by God and ill-served by man". When we look to the economic position of our country we are reminded of this dictum of our late statesman. Why is India ill-served by man? What is wanted is to create the necessary atmosphere which will help economic progress.

I just now said we are a nation of philosophers. We have changed a little bit and become a nation of pure politicians. We believe that when there is political readjustment in the country, all sorts of miracles will take place. I never believe in it and I believe that the founders of the Congress—men like Dadabhai Naoroji and Ranade—never believed in it. They believed in all-sided progress. Therefore, the people ought to be taught that along with political agitation they must work for economic progress as well as social reform.

The second part of the resolution comes naturally. It urges that our educational system should be adjusted to the industrial and economic needs of the country. At present our educational system is what is called liberal. I have nothing to say against liberal education. It is necessary, and some of us must get it in a large measure. But what is the meaning of every boy and girl who goes to school or college following one beaten path and then telling the world that they are stranded? Did their parents think what they were going to do when they sent them to college and from the college to Law College and so on? Ask any young man who joins the Law College; he will say "I have passed my B.A. and must now join the Law College". Our leaders must now feel the necessity of readjusting our educational system to the needs of the country. It is no use thrusting the same sort of education upon every boy and girl going to college. Though it is impossible to give details now about what should be done, I may generally say that after students have got a certain amount of secondary education they should be taught with a view to their future occupation. Fortunately industrial and educational subjects are now transferred, and therefore the question of laying down policies in regard to these subjects is now in the hands of the leaders of the people, and they ought to attend to this matter.

Development
of Agriculture :
Mr. M. D.
Altekar.

The last point I want to place before you is this. In order to acquire experience we must for at least 5, 10 or 20 years to come send enormous number of students to foreign countries to be trained in different subjects so that, although for a time we shall have to rely on foreign experience to help us, in the end their places will be taken by our own men. If the large funds which were collected and wasted for political purposes during the last last few years were spent in training our students in foreign countries, they would have brought Swaraj nearer to us than the Tamashas held in connection with various leaders have done. Therefore we must try to utilise such funds in helping such students.

With these words I beg to support the resolution.

Mr. Kali Prasana Das Gupta (Bengal) supporting the resolution in Bengali said that any assistance that came from Government for the industrial regeneration of the country was welcome, but we should not rely solely upon Government. We must solve the problem through our own efforts. The speaker said that the present system of education obtaining in this country was not suitable for our industrial development and emphasised the need of specialised training if India were to develop its industries on modern lines.

Development
of Agriculture ;
Mr. K. P.
Das Gupta.

The Resolution was then put to the vote, and carried unanimously.

Sir Tejbahadur Sapru (Allahabad) then moved the following resolution :—

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

XII. Indians in South Africa and Kenya.

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-Asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government's measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that dominion, and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that, if the Union Government should finally reject the proposal of a round table conference and the Bill be passed, the Government of India should move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow it under sec. 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.

(b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of his Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

He said: Gentlemen, the entire treatment of our countrymen, whether settled in the Crown Colonies or in the self-governing dominions, has been a matter in which Indian public opinion has taken the most vital interest for the last ten years. We have been watching the movements of the various governments in the Colonies and in the self-governing dominions with the greatest concern and at times their legislation has created the greatest amount of indignation in this country. It seems to me, therefore, that our worst fears are on the point of being realised within the next few months if not weeks in South Africa. I do not propose to take you into the details of the legislative measures which are now pending before the Union Government. You must have read the speech delivered by Dr. Abdul Rahman, the leader of the deputation which has come from South Africa and the reply which His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to make to that speech. You must have read a great deal about the Bill which has now engaged the attention of the South African government. You also know the steps which the Government of India have taken or have been taking during the last two months and you also know that the Government of India have sent a deputation consisting of three or four gentlemen one of whom is a member of our party and belongs to this town - Sir D. P. Sarvadhicary. I do not wish to say anything about the character of this deputation which would make its task difficult as it is already most difficult but there is no use disguising from ourselves the condition of affairs in South Africa. The South African government have not used diplomatic language. They have indulged in the plainest possible language so far as Indian interests in South Africa are concerned. Those of you who have read the speech of Mr. Malin the Minister in charge of the Bill, will remember that they did not make it a secret that the whole aim and object of the policy of the South African government is ultimately to exterminate the Indians in South Africa. When the Boer War came about, the conscience of many British statesmen was pricked and the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said that it made his blood boil to see that a large section of Her Majesty's subjects should be treated in the manner in which they were being treated by the Boer Republic. Lord Lansdowne too at that time made similar observations, just about that time after the termination of the Boer War when the South African governments as they were then, desired Parliament to incorporate

them into a union. A certain set of provisions were embodied in the Act professedly with the object of protecting the interests of Asiatics and interests of Indians who are Asiatics who were settled in the country. The administrators of the provinces who roughly speaking may be said to correspond with our governors of the provinces in India were charged with a special duty to protect the interests of Asiatics and Indians. So far as provincial legislation in South Africa is concerned the obligation put upon the provincial administrators to protect Indians interests has not been discharged with all the meticulous care which we are entitled to expect from them, having regard to the provisions of the Statute. The last fourteen or fifteen years have been a history of negotiations between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government or between the Government of India and the South African Government, negotiations carried on by representation or by despatch of special officers or by deputations. Meanwhile, during this interval all of you know there was an agreement arrived at between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi in or about 1913 or 1914 which led Mr. Gandhi and Indians settled there and our countymen here to believe and hope that an amicable settlement had been arrived at which was consistent with the interests of Indians and consistent with the strong sentiment of Indians settled there and Indians over here, that our countrymen in the dominions should be treated with the ordinary rights and privileges which belong to His Majesty's subjects in every part of the British Empire. It is now said that the action which the Union Government proposed to take is by no means inconsistent with the settlement which was arrived at at that time. The remarkable point about the settlement is that at least one of the parties to it, namely Mr. Gandhi, has publicly repudiated the interpretation which is now sought to be put upon it by the Union Government. As regards the contention of the other party, I do not know whether you will find a single Indian who is prepared to accept that contention, because to my mind to accept that contention would merely amount to a surrender of our case. It has been suggested, and suggested by very distinguished countrymen of ours during the last few days, that so far as that settlement is concerned that the question of its interpretation should be referred to arbitrators, but I venture to ask where are you to find such arbitrators in a matter like this? Speaking for myself, I should not trust the fortunes of 61,000 of our countrymen to a mere arbitration, the result of which to my mind is by no means certain. Therefore, the question which arises now is, if arbitration on a matter like this is out of the question,—and it seems to me that it is out of the question for the simple reason that in a matter affecting the interests of two parts of the British Empire you cannot constitutionally call in a third party to arbitrate— if that is out of the question, then the question arises what is to be done? There are some amongst us who have suggested that the Government of India should adopt retaliatory measures. I, myself, in one of my speeches suggested retaliatory measures so far as the South Africans are concerned. Similar suggestions have been made as regards South Africans settled in India or employed by the Government of India and it is no use disguising from ourselves the fact that any retaliatory measures that you may take against South Africans settled in India or employed in India or even against South Africans in general, will at the best be a demonstration of your

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

indignation and of your strong feeling in regard to the matter. So far as the course of conduct of the South African Government is concerned, I feel that it will continue to be unaffected thereby. It would have been quite a different proposition if in India you had a fairly large number or an equal number of South Africans settled in all parts of India or a very large number of our public services recruited from South Africa. Therefore while I support that part of the resolution which relates to the adoption of retaliatory measures, I am glad that the resolution does not suggest any specific method of retaliation but it calls upon the Government of India to devise means of adopting a policy of retaliation with the object of clearly demonstrating our feelings of indignation with regard to this matter. There the matter of retaliation must rest ; but there is another power given by the Statute which we invoke in our aid, and that is the power of the veto of the Crown. We are often told that we do not make allowances for the fact that South Africa is a self-governing dominion and that it is of the essence of self-government that the dominion concerned may do anything it likes affecting a matter of domestic policy. While we are not oblivious of that fact we know and we regret that while South Africa as a self-governing dominion can exercise that power in regard to our nationals, we not being a self-governing dominion, cannot exercise the same power. But taking facts as they are, the position to my mind is that one part of the British Empire or British Commonwealth is in truth waging war upon another part of the British Empire. It is no use disguising that fact. When it makes no secret of the aim and object of its policy, there is no escape from the conclusion that the South African Government having built up its prosperity upon the labour of our countrymen, having taken them at one time from this country and having used them to their own advantage, now want to turn them out and to cast them adrift as if they had no ties or connection with the British Empire. I further say, if there was an occasion for the power of veto by the Crown to be legitimately used, that occasion was the present one, for it will not do for His Majesty's Government to say we are not prepared to advise the Crown that resort should be had to that exceptional power. One can very well then ask if that power is not to be used in an exceptional case of this character then when is it going to be used ? Can you conceive of an occasion other than the present when that power can be used and constitutionally used ? I say and I say deliberately that notwithstanding the risk which the exercise of such power in relation to a self-governing dominion involves the time has come and the occasion has arisen when the Government of India should reflect in the minds of the people of this country and bearing in mind the supreme obligation to protect their nationals in South Africa, should urge upon His Majesty's Government that they should press the Crown to veto this Act if it is passed by the Union Government. Speaking frankly I feel that if His Majesty's Government shirk their duty and responsibility on an occasion of this character and are more considerate to the interests of the South African Government than to the interests of India which is not a self-governing country, it will be the rudest shock to everyone in this country who has not yet lost hope of the connection of India with England because it is clear to all Englishmen that they are equally the subjects of His Majesty. It has often been said and I

maintain it myself very strongly notwithstanding the criticism that has been levied upon an opinion of this character that if India were a self-governing country no dominion whatever would have ventured to treat our nationals in the manner in which the South African government has been doing. I feel that although it is open to a self-governing dominion to regulate its own domestic policy, it is not open to that government to do things unconstitutionally and to mete out such treatment against one section of His Majesty's subjects. What the South African Government is really doing at the present moment is undermining that faith which Indians have in the justice and impartiality of the British Empire. There are the interests of 167, 000 people involved, interests not merely of a sentimental character, but affecting their very economic existence and their freedom to carry on their business and to live anywhere they liked, and if all these interests are now going to be trampled on, then the question arises what about the protection which the Crown owes to its subjects. If we owe allegiance to the Crown, there is a corresponding duty on the part of the Crown to protect and it is no use shutting our eyes to that position. Well Gentlemen, the occasion is one, as I said just now, which demands the use of that exceptional power and we hope and trust that the Government of India will impress upon His Majesty's Government that the awakened conscience of Indians in India refuse to accept the position that within the British Empire there can be two grades of citizenship, the higher and the lower. It is quite a different thing that India is not a self-governing country but if India is told that in every part of the British Empire the Indian has not got any right to expect the treatment which he is entitled to expect as loyal subjects to His Majesty, the treatment which belongs to an ordinary citizen exercising the right to follow his own bent, then I say there is absolutely no credence left for those who remind us in season and out of season that India is part of the British Commonwealth, part of the League of Nations, a unit which may be called upon to assume imperial obligations but at the same time a unit which is not entitled to claim equal protection for its nationals. If our nationals are qualified to that standard so as to vote or to sit in Council, then to say to them although you are qualified, you will have different treatment because you are an Indian and because you belong to a different country and different race is to my mind the next step to destroy the very elements of imperial solidarity and union.

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

The resolution before you seeks to express our indignation, unqualified indignation, righteous indignation which every single Indian, to whichever party he may belong, to whatever school he may belong, feels at the treatment that is being accorded to his countrymen in South Africa. It enters a protest against that policy and it calls upon the Government, when all other efforts have failed and the negotiations have come to an end, to take courage in both hands and to say to His Majesty's Government in England : "Now or never. Now is the time for you to convince 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects that their interest and their honour and their liberty and their freedom are as much the concern of His Majesty's Government as the interest of the self-governing Dominions." That is the first part of the resolution.

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

The second part of the resolution enters a protest against the Anti-Indian policy of His Majesty's Government in Kenya (Reads second part of the resolution).

The question of Kenya has been so much before the public eye during the last 3 years that I do not think it is necessary for me to go into details. It formed in a way the subject of discussion at the Imperial Conference of 1923 which I had the honour to attend. A certain formula was arrived at with mutual agreement between the parties—of course General Smuts was not a party to that—and in pursuance of that agreement a committee was appointed and sent by the Government of India to England. What exactly has been the result of the working of that committee, how far His Majesty's Government have tried to modify the position which was then adopted by His Majesty's Government, how far they have been able to mitigate the hardships which we said then and which we say even now flow from that position, are questions on which the Government of India might well throw some light. But we sincerely hope and trust that the anti-Indian policy which was adopted in 1923 will never be acquiesced in by the Government of India.

One word more about the Government of India and I have done. Leaving aside the question of Kenya for the time being, we have been told that the Government of India have been pressing the claims of Indians upon the South African Government and also upon His Majesty's Government in more ways than one. We have been told that they have been urging the appointment of a Round Table Conference. Well, so far as the South African Government is concerned, it has not shown any disposition so far to agree to the proposal about a Round Table Conference. Whether that Round Table Conference will come or not I do not know. I have my own fears. The point to my mind is not that a Round Table Conference should take place and a settlement arrived at which for the time being enables the Government of India here and the Government of South Africa there to tide over the difficulties that have arisen. The point to my mind is a much bigger one, and it is that the legal and the economic claims of His Majesty's subjects in South Africa should be placed beyond all doubt, should be recognised as being equal to those in South Africa who are qualified according to the standards prevailing there to exercise the same rights which our countrymen claim. Therefore, any concession on that point, whether by a round Table Conference or otherwise, will, I venture to think be strongly resented in India, and no Government will be really excused if the Indian interests are sacrificed merely because it has got to deal with a self-governing Dominion. Speaking again frankly, it is not a very proud position for any Government, howsoever mighty it may be, to be in. It is by no means a very happy position for the Government of India to go on urging, pleading and supplicating another Government belonging to the same Commonwealth and to the same empire. But taking things as they are, perhaps that position is now inevitable for the Government of India. But the real pressure ought to be by His Majesty's Government (hear, hear). They are the connecting link between the Self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies on one side and India on the other side, and if they

decline to interfere in a matter like this, such little faith as we have left in the Conservative Government will to my mind be absolutely destroyed. Speaking for myself, I should have very little faith left in Mr. Baldwin's Government (hear, hear) if on an occasion like this he did not rise equal to the Imperial interests which are no other than the interests of India and the interests of England at one and the same time.

Indians in
Africa :
Sir T. B.
Sapru.

I therefore put this resolution before you in the hope that you will accept it and pass it without any dissent.

Pundit H. N. Kunzru (Allahabad) said :

Indians in
Africa :
Pundit H. N.
Kunzru.

We have had the question of Indians in the Colonies before us for a long time. Every year we pass a resolution deploring the fate of our countrymen abroad. But what is it that makes the question particularly acute this year ? It is the anti-Indian legislation about to be passed by the South African Government. In order to understand how far-reaching that legislation is, how serious its effects will be on the Indian community one must know something of the position that the Indian community already occupies in South Africa.

The population of South Africa consists of about 6 million Afrianders, 1½ million Whites, and 1,60,000 Indians, and it is this 1½ lacs of Indians that keep 1½ million Whites in a continual state of perturbation. Of these 1,60,000 Indians about 1,40,000 live in Natal 12,000 in Cape Colony and about 8000 in the Cape Province. So far as the Orange Free State is concerned, it may be neglected as there are no more than a few hundred Indians there. In the Transval the position of Indians is worse than in any other State of the South African Union. They can live there or rather acquire property there only in streets and locations set apart for them, and the licensing laws are administered in a spirit of hostility to the whole community. Cases have occurred which go to prove that the licensing laws are administered in such a manner as to ruin Indian trade. But so far as the Cape Colony and Natal are concerned, Indians can own and acquire property anywhere. They can live and carry on their trade wherever they like. In Natal till recently they enjoyed the municipal franchise and in the Cape Colony enjoy both the municipal and Parliamentary franchise. Very recently an Ordinance was passed in Natal which deprived Indians of the municipal franchise in future, although as Mr. Polak points out in his book published in 1909 dealing with the position of Indians in South Africa, that in 1896 when the Indians were deprived of the Parliamentary franchise, Sir John Robinson and Sir Askone, former Premiers of Natal, solemnly promised to the Indian community that the municipal franchise will never be taken away from them. In Cape Colony, however, they still enjoy both the municipal and the Parliamentary franchise. In both these provinces the licensing laws are very unsympathetically administered, more so in Natal than in Cape Colony. This is the existing position, and it is bad enough.

The Indians have been brought to the present state in defiance of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement (shame, shame), the meaning of which was understood to be that the vested interests of Indians would never be trampled

Indians in
Africa :
Pundit H. N.
Kunzru.

under foot. But the legislation that has recently been introduced by the Union Government into the Union Parliament is of so iniquitous a character as to take away our breath. We have been used to the callousness of the South African Government where Indians are concerned. Nevertheless, even we were not prepared for so harsh a measure as that which has recently been sponsored by the Government of South Africa, and what is this measure? How will it affect the Indians there? The Indians, both in Cape Colony, where they have managed to maintain their rights because they have the Parliamentary franchise and can therefore bring pressure to bear on candidates for the Union Parliament, and Natal, would become the same as in Natal where they can own immovable property only in streets and locations set apart for them. If this bill is passed Indians will be able to reside or carry on trade only in areas demarcated for them, and the report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1921 tells us what the condition of these reserved areas is likely to be in future (shame, shame). That Commission visited some of the areas set apart for Indians in the Transvaal and said that some of them were the worst slums that could disgrace any part of the world. And with this knowledge and experience the Union Government is deliberately trying to drive Indians into such locations.

In the Province of Natal Indians will not be able to acquire agricultural land except within 30 miles of the coast and even there they cannot acquire land wherever they like. Even in this restricted zone Government will have the power to proclaim areas for the residence of Indians, and Indians can sell and buy property only within the limited zone set apart for them in the areas specially marked as Indian.

We well know what the economic effect of this measure will be on Indians. Their custom would be entirely destroyed. Their property would altogether lose its value. And as this Bill empowers the Government to alter the boundaries of the locations or to create new locations and cancel old ones, we may be pretty certain that should Indians prosper by chance even in such locations, they will be driven away from there to a remoter and a more inhospitable place, so that they might practically perish there. This measure is nothing but one of spoliation and expulsion of the Indian community.

And why are all these measures being taken against them? It has been said that the real basis of this hostility is economic. But is it so? To what extent this population of 1½ lacs compete with Europeans? Europeans in India in spite of their high standard of living manage to have a flourishing business. Why cannot their compatriots in South Africa carry on their trade without any fear of serious competition on the part of the Indians? It must be remembered that even if there is a competition, the Asiatic Enquiry Commission received representations from the poorer Europeans asking that the Indian trader should not be eliminated on the ground that he benefited the poorer sections of the European community, and that he was more honest and less exorbitant in his demand than the foreign European whom they have otherwise to deal with.

I fear that the cause is not purely economic. I do not deny that there is a competition between the whites and the Indians there. But it seems

to me that the real cause of the difficulty is political (hear, hear). Bishop Fisher, who returned the other day from South Africa, mentioned some of the indignities heaped on the Indians in the Transval. There are only three rear seats in tramways reserved for Indians. They cannot be admitted to theatres or restaurants or hotels. That is, they have not the ordinary rights that any human being can enjoy. In these respects can it be said that Indians come into competition with Europeans? Certainly not. It must then be admitted that the real cause of the difficulty is political. One would have thought that when the Indians agreed in 1914 to the restriction of Indian immigration in South Africa, that the political fears of the Whites would be set at rest. Indeed that was the impression of General Smuts himself. Speaking in the Imperial Conference of 1917 he said: "Now that the fear which formerly obsessed settlers has been removed and the Restricted Immigration Bill for which the South Africans contended is on our Statute Book, the door is open now for a peaceful and statesmenlike solution for the minor administrative troubles which occur and will occur from time to time." And this is the statesmanlike solution of the difficulty! It treats men who have converted Natal into the garden of South Africa as helots (shame, shame). It treats them as "aliens". It says that no solution of the Indian question would be acceptable to the White community which did not result in a substantial reduction of the Indian community.

Indians in
Africa :
Pundit H. N.
Kunzru.

This being the position what are we to do? I will not traverse the ground that has been so ably covered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. But the reply recently given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the South African Deputation raises a very important question. The Deputation, while thanking the Government of India for such support as it had given to the Indian cause, asked that the Viceroy should openly proclaim that in case no redress was forthcoming from South African statesmen, he would recommend to the Imperial authorities to withhold their assent from the Indian Reservation of Areas Bill. His Excellency the Viceroy could give no assurance on that point. Now, India, as has been pointed out by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, is a member of the League of Nations. Its representatives attend the Imperial Conference. It has been allowed to enter into direct negotiations with the Governments of the Colonies. Of what use are those privileges if the Head of the Government which is to negotiate with the Colonial Governments is not free to say in a matter where the most vital and the most elementary rights of Indians are at stake, that in case Indians are not treated as ordinary human beings he would recommend to the Imperial Government which is the master alike of India and of the Dominions that they should reject the measure so unwisely being rushed through by the Dominion Government? Obviously the reason must be that the Viceroy is not free to make a declaration of that kind. It is an open secret that when Lord Hardinge openly sided with Indians and spoke out warmly against the harsh treatment that our men were receiving in South Africa, he was censured by the Imperial Government. It is thus apparent—and here I arrive at the same conclusion to which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru arrived by a different route—that our trouble is that the Imperial Government is not wholeheartedly on our side. A further proof of that lies in the fact that in Kenya which is a Crown

Indians in
Africa :
Pandit H. N.
Kunzru.

Colony and which does not enjoy Dominion Status, the Imperial Government deliberately refused to give effect to the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference of 1921 to which that Government itself was a party. How can we expect the Imperial Government, which did not allow equality between Indians and Whites in a Colony for the administration of which it is directly responsible, to urge equality of treatment for Indians in a Dominion? It is this supineness or indifference of the Imperial Government which is responsible for the deterioration of our position not merely in the Empire but outside, for it is true to say that there is a humiliating problem for India wherever her countrymen have gone either for purposes of settlement or trade. See what freedom loving America is doing for Indians. Even those who acquired certificates of naturalisation have now been told that their certificates have been cancelled, and so far as we know no public action has been taken by the Imperial Government to bring redress to Indians.

Sir, I am sure we all remember the circumstances in which Mr. Montagu had to resign from the office of the Secretary of State. Various opinions have been expressed in admiration of the bold stand taken by Mr. Montagu on behalf of Indians. But the real significance of his action seemed to me that he boldly asserted that even before India was self-governing within her own borders, the Imperial Government should treat her voice in regard to external affairs with the same consideration with which it treats the opinions of the self-governing Dominions, and it is that principle that we must contend for.

I fear there is no other way of gaining our purpose either in South Africa or elsewhere except by making the situation a difficult one in India itself. I am not asking for heroic measures for the execution of which our strength would be wholly inadequate but as a measure of policy it must be admitted we must deliberately take some action which will make it apparent to our countrymen that we are fighting really not against the obstinacy of the Boer settlers in South Africa but against the colour prejudice of the Imperial Government itself—(Hear, Hear). It seems hard to say that both Government of India and Imperial Government have supported the Indian cause in a general way but looking deeply into the matter it cannot be gainsaid that the mere cause of our trouble is that our destinies are subjected in our own country. If India were free and if India were a self-governing dominion no dominion would for a moment think of subjecting Indians to one-tenth of the insults to which Indians in South Africa are being subjected. If South Africa were an independent state, is it conceivable that the British Government would take no action? Indeed we know that the wrongs of Indians were given out as one of the main causes of the war with the Boers. Is then a dominion in a more favourable condition than an independent and foreign government? If it is not, I see no reason why the British Government should be in a less favourable position for taking adequate action in the case of one of its own Colonies. If it does not take action, it must be held to be primarily responsible. Let the treatment meted out to our countrymen in South Africa be a full incentive to us in demanding full rights for our countrymen in India itself—(Hear, Hear). For not

until we are able to stand on our own legs shall we be able to hold up our heads in the Empire or in the comity of nations. When we are able to control our own destinies the difficulties that confront us will disappear in a moment. When the sun of liberty has risen the mists that were on all sides of us will melt away and our glory will stand out unobscured. Let us therefore all join in working wholeheartedly for our freedom in our own country for without that freedom we cannot call our soul our own.

Indians in
Africa :
Pundit H. N.
Kunzru.

XIII. Elementary Education

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

Elementary
Education :
Mr. S. N.
Mallick.

Mr. Surendra Nath Mullick (Bengal) in moving the above resolution said :—

I have been called upon to move this resolution, but as the subject is one which admits of no controversy at the present moment I do not think I shall be justified in taking much of your time.

There is no panacea for all the evils which human society is subject to, but there is undoubtedly a very great remedy for most of them, be they moral, be they physical, be they intellectual, be they social and that remedy is education. Lord Ripon on the eve of his departure from the shores of this land in his advice to us said : "My first words of advice to you is education, my next word of advice to you is education, my last word of advice to you is education".

Time would not permit me and I would not like to go into details, but I say that looking at it from every point of view you cannot possibly make any progress unless you are prepared to give more and more education to the masses of your countrymen, both males and females. There was necessity for it in the olden days. New and fresh interests have arisen. There is necessity for it in the interest of health and sanitation and question of understanding the franchise. Your old home, I mean the joint family, is now getting disrupted. The question of widows is now before you. Therefore the question of universal education is now paramount.

This is a very important question for public minds in this country to discuss, but we know that the only thing on which all the best minds of the country meet is politics and nothing else. It was one of the pleasant duties of my life to be associated with the cause of education and I rejoice to think that with the falling shades of evening on my life I could do something in my own city, the greatest city in India, Calcutta, to give a start to free primary education (cheers).

There is one other thing, gentlemen. If education is absolutely necessary it is all the more so in Bengal, because in Bengal the most important question

Elementary
Education :
Mr. S. N.
Mallick.

is health and sanitation. There is no question which is of equal importance in Bengal, be it politics or anything else. We are a dying race. My friends from Madras and Bombay do not know in what position we are. They have no idea that in another 10 years time the districts through which they came—Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah—will be depopulated, and in 25 years time will be absolute deserts. Those who have kept themselves in touch with the villages know that perfectly well. In order to tackle the question the one thing necessary is education. Those who have taken any interest in social work know the difficulties we have got to encounter in every direction because the masses are so uneducated. Be it in the region of anti-malarial campaign or anti-kalazar operations, be it child welfare or maternity operations, in any matter you will find the greatest difficulty is the ignorance of the masses.

This resolution is not perhaps very happily worded. I find in it the hand of some one who is not a Bengali at any rate. It reads: "The Federation urges upon provincial governments" etc. In Bengal the provincial government has done very little for primary education. Only 6.9 per cent. of the schools in Bengal are run by Government. In Madras it is 26.9 p. c., in Bombay 80.7 p. c. Therefore I say this resolution must have been drafted possibly by a man who was well aware of the conditions of Madras and Bombay. We are deeply indebted to the Missionaries and we are indebted to ourselves for what has been done in this direction. 20 years ago the number of primary schools was 45,000 and now it is 50,000, and the amount of money paid by Government on account of this increased number of schools is not much, because out of 45,000 schools only about 28,000 are aided schools and only 120 are direct schools. These are Government figures. My point is this. Let us ask the Government, but at the same time let us urge our own Ministers, let us urge our own public bodies to take up this question. The District Boards, the municipalities, the local Boards, the Union Boards—these must be called upon to do their duty in this matter.

In England the number of persons illiterate is only 6 per cent. of the whole population. In Japan 20 p. c. is ignorant, and here 88 per cent. is ignorant. Japan took up the problem so late as 1872, when the Emperor of Japan said: "It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family or a family with an ignorant man" (hear, hear). We have got our Emperors and our representatives of Emperors. Have we ever heard any such thing from them? Why not? The reason is obvious—because it is a foreign Government. We all know the English Government is so powerful that it can create an earthquake if it likes. But it is not to the interest of our rulers to give us education (shame, shame).

In 20 years, as I have said, there has been an increase of only 5000 schools. But in these 20 years what has been the increase in police expenditure? In 1910-11 the total expenditure was Rs. 90 lakhs. In 1915-16 it was 1 crore 9 lakhs; in 1918-19 it was 1 crore 32 lakhs; in 1921-22 it was 1 crore 63 lakhs, and now it is about 2 crores. You could find money for the police but not for education, not for sanitation.

When we go to you, you say you have not got the money. But how are you going to pay the additional emoluments of the Civil Service—higher pay, higher pension, even free passage for them and their family to go Home every three years and come back? When we die by thousands from malaria and epidemic diseases, you cannot find money for combating them; you cannot find money for education, in the absence of which all these miseries are being so much emphasised in the country.

Elementary
Education ;
Mr. S. N.
Mallick.

With these words I beg to commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mrs. Kumudini Basu (Calcutta) in sending the resolution said :

Elementary
Education :
Mrs. Kumu-
dini Bose.

Brothers and Sisters, The resolution which I have the honour to second is the key note to our national advancement and the foundation stone of our Swaraj. But we are trying to build our magnificent edifice of Swaraj without caring for a strong foundation. The people as well as the Government of our country have so far neglected this most important factor in our nation building.

The most powerful, advanced and independent nations of the world have made primary and elementary education in their countries not only free but compulsory for boys and girls. I may mention here the condition of Japan's elementary education for instance. In Japan 99 p. c. of the boys are in school, but in India only 23 p. c. are in school; In Japan 98 p. c. of the girls are in school, while in India 3 p. c. of the girls are in school. What a miserable state of elementary education in our beloved land!

The population of Bengal is 4, 75, 82, 462. Of these 2, 46, 28, 365 are males and 2, 29, 64, 687 are females. Among these 2 crores and about 47 lacs males, 2 crores and about 7 lacs are illiterate, and only 40 lacs are literate, and among 2 crores and about 30 lacs females, 2 crores and 26 lacs are illiterate, i.e. only 4 lacs are literate. Imagine the deplorable condition of education in our country which was once adored by the gods even.

Now, for these 2 crores and about 7 lacs males there are only 33, 954 primary schools for boys and for 2 crores and about 30 lacs females there are only 3, 218 primary schools for girls. What a shameful state of education of our country? The Government as well as the people are responsible for this hopelessly miserable condition of things existing in the educational policy of our country.

So far as legislation is concerned, the law is now there, by which we can make education of our boys and girls free and compulsory. In some municipal areas of large cities like Bombay and Calcutta primary education has been made free but it has not been made compulsory. Even these few free schools in a vast continent like India are but like a few drops in the ocean. All our campaign for progress and freedom, all our activities for national regeneration shall fail and end in mere talks unless and until we can discharge our great responsibilities for educating these millions and millions of our men and women. They cannot understand your aspirations

Elementary
Education :
Mrs. Kumu-
dini Bose.

nor appreciate our sufferings for any notable cause—far less are they fit to respond to a call to duty.

In all free countries they have it as their motto for primary education : “Open a school and shut a prison”. Let us enter into the spirit of this mighty message to humanity and educate our brothers and sisters who have so far been denied this blessing and kept in a state of ignorance, illiteracy and degradation which has not only kept them submerged in our social system but has levelled us down considerably in our aims and aspirations for a higher national life.

Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram (Ahmedabad) supported the resolution in a very short speech, which was, however, not at all audible from the Reporters' table.

Elementary
Education :
Mr. Bhagi-
rath Das.

Mr. Bhagirath Das in supporting the resolution, said :

The resolution which I have been asked to support hardly needs any support for its acceptance by this congregation of educated gentlemen, but I am here as a representative of the Bangiya Jana Sangha, an Association for the advancement of the Backward classes, who are specially interested in this resolution, and I have to say just a few words to tell you how these communities feel about this resolution.

The supporters of the bureaucratic government say that they are here as guardians of the dumb millions who cannot think for themselves and for whom the leaders also do not feel. But how is it that after their rule of about two centuries the dumb millions have still remained dumb ? Therefore naturally a suspicion arises in the minds of the people that this Government had kept these persons dumb in order to prolong the period of their guardianship of these dumb millions. Therefore, gentlemen, we appeal to the government that in order to justify their professions of sympathy for these communities they ought to come forward and find money for making education free and compulsory in the country. These communities who are not organised, who are not educated, who are not strong enough to make a demand for their right to receive education, still look upon the Government as their “MA-BAP” and ask the Government to look after their interests as their “MA-BAP”.

As regards the leaders of the country and the political parties who profess sympathy for these communities and who on occasions ask these communities to co-operate with them, we appeal to them that in order to justify their professions of sympathy for them they should come forward to improve the condition of the backward classes. Nearly 400 schools have been started for the education of the children of the backward classes by a committee, of which Lord Singha is the President, and our venerable Chairman of the Reception Committee is a very energetic worker, and there are other workers like Sir P. C. Mitter who is contributing a large sum for the education of the backward communities. We appeal to the leaders to come forward with funds and help these communities to rise above their miserable condition and come up to the same level as other communities, so that all communities may work together for the uplift of the country.

I therefore appeal to you not only to carry the resolution unanimously but to see that the resolution is carried into practice by Government and the people of the country.

Elementary
Education :
Mr. Bhagi-
rath Das.

The resolution was put to the vote and passed unanimously.

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

The
President.

XIV. Social Work in Rural Areas.

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

XV. Medical Aid in villages.

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

XVI. Relation between Tenants and Landlords.

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

XVII. Improvement of Labour Conditions.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay) then moved the following Resolution :—

Improvement
of Labour :
Mr. N. M.
Joshi.

The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the condition of labour in India, including wages housing, care of health, education, provision against sickness, unemployment and old age and general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the Central and Provincial Governments.

The Federation also recommends to all Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes to organise themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

He said :—

Mr. President, Fellow Liberals,

It is the experience of the world that when any country develops its industries, the industries bring in their train a number of evils. One of the evils is the evil of overcrowding and the slums. You may build a factory in a year but you cannot build houses for the number of people that work

Improvement
of Labour :
Mr. N. M.
Joshi.

in that factory. The result is the growth of overcrowding and the creation of slums. The second evil is that of low wages. There are many people who will be surprised to hear that industries bring with them the evil of low wages. But when we consider the wages of these labourers you must consider whether the people who are getting these wages can get all the necessaries of life and then judge whether the wages are sufficient or not from the mere fact that these people do not get the bare necessaries of life which everyone of us has a right to have. When industries are developed the profits of the employers depend upon whether the wages they give to the employees are high or low. An employer cannot and will not pay higher wages than any other employer in the same industry for fear that his profits may be low. Therefore he pays his employees the smallest wages he can pay. There are many other evils which follow the industrialisation of a country. When industries do not develop and when people have to live in villages, whenever they fall sick, they may have a relative who will take care of them, but when people go to the cities in order to take up work in any industry there is nobody there to help them through their sickness. The same thing happens during the period of unemployment. Here again there are many people who think that if you develop your industries, you lessen unemployment but the experience of the whole world is that when you develop your industries you cannot escape periodical unemployment. Look at the country which is most developed, namely America and there you will find that that country has not escaped from periodical unemployment. I need not dwell upon the evils which are many. It is our experience in India that when we have not developed our industries to a large extent these evils begin to disappear. India may be a backward country but there is no country in the world that can beat the slums in any of India's industrial towns. The slums in Bombay and in the jute areas of Calcutta are unequalled in the whole world. Our wages are similarly low. Look at the Tea gardens in Assam; the people there get Rs 8 a month and the women get Rs 5/6 a month. Can this be called a living wage? It is for this reason that our people have to go to other colonies to get higher wages. If you study the conditions of the working classes in Bombay you will find that during their sickness there is nobody to help them. There is also great unemployment in our country. Only recently 5 or 6 mills were closed in Bombay and about 15000 people were thrown out into the streets. We have not yet enquired what happened to the poor workers who worked in the cotton mills of Bombay or in the jute mills of Calcutta. When they become old and cannot work any longer, is any provision made for their old age? We hope to industrialise our country very soon and if that is so we must take every precaution that these evils do not appear and if they do appear we must take remedies to remove them immediately. It is the business of an employer to give the best conditions of wages and service to his employees. In England there are employers like Cadburys and Rontrys who have given the best conditions of service and work to their employees. But employment, however generous the terms may be, cannot be too much because it is notorious that if one employer pays too much to his labourers the other employers get a temporary advantage over him. Therefore what

is needed is legislation to make employers give at least a certain minimum of wages to ensure a certain standard of living to their employees. Unfortunately our experience has been that our Indian Legislatures have not done their duty towards the working classes of this country. We have not the best legislation to provide for the sickness of the workers or to provide against unemployment or to provide for the workers in their old age. If India is to develop industrially and if India does not take steps to remove the evils and to protect workers by legislation India will ultimately suffer. Even as regards legislation the great point is that the legislatures and we ourselves will not move unless and until labour is thoroughly organised. It is therefore our duty who are educated to organise the working classes. Unless and until that is done the interests of the working classes will never be protected. Legislatures will not move and employers will not give the best conditions of service which their employees deserve. Therefore all Liberals in this country if they want to be true to the creed of Liberalism should make every effort to organise the labouring classes in this country. There are many people in this country who sympathise with the condition of the working classes but what they fear is that if the conditions of the working classes are improved it requires money and therefore our industries may suffer. If other countries in the world have provided for their workers by sickness insurance, unemployment insurance and large bonus insurance, and have still kept their industries and their industries are still doing well and are prosperous, why should not India do the same and why should it be said that our industries will suffer? But supposing it is taken for granted that our industries will suffer to some extent if we spend money for sickness insurance etc.—I want you fellow liberals to consider this question—you may save a few rupees or say a few hundred rupees or even a few thousand rupees by not protecting the interests of your workers against the dangers of sickness etc and old age; but what will happen? A few people in this country may get rich over that process but the country will lose something more valuable than a few crores of rupees. The country will lose the lives of hundreds and thousands of people. I want you Fellow Liberals to tell me if you care to have a few crores of rupees in this country or if you care to take the lives of hundreds and thousands of people in this country. Gentlemen, you have to make your own choice.

Improvement
of Labour :
Mr. N. M.
Joshi.

Mr. K. C. Ray Chowdhury in seconding the Resolution stated :—

After the complete and clear statement of facts put before you by Mr. Joshi on the necessity of helping our labour classes by demanding better housing, better wages and better sanitation and provision for old age etc I do not suppose there is any room left for me to dilate upon this subject. I must tell you that only the other day the Labour M. P. Mr. Thomas Johnstone, told me that we ought to be ashamed of our attitude towards our labouring classes. He pointed out to me that we are demanding political equality with other self governing nations but we are absolutely indifferent to the very needs of an integral and essential part of our industrial organisation in every city and industrial town of India. What is the cause? We all know that our present attitude towards labour is this, that a coolie is a coolie. Why should we be concerned with his housing; we pay him wages. He

Improvement
of Labour :
Mr. K. C.
Ray Chau-
dhuri.

Improvement
of Labour :
Mr. K. C.
Ray Chau-
dhuri.

works for us for that pay and why should we demand for him better housing and better sanitation when we can get him for 6 annas a day? Why should we pay him 8 annas in those circumstances? This was the mentality that prevailed in other countries and that mentality was responsible for creation of the labour movement headed by men like Karl Marx and Tolstoi who proclaimed to the world that that mentality must change. The workers who produce the wealth of the country must have better conditions of living and better political conditions. In fact they must be on a par with every other community and class. I therefore appeal to you gentlemen, that you should take a real living interest in the working conditions of the very people who produce the wealth of this country, who produce every article you see in this room whether it is clothing, shoes or a brick. Therefore I will not detain you any longer. We in this Resolution are asking Government to look after the interests of the labouring classes. But has Government done that? I say decidedly No. Here is a case in point. I have brought some of the coolies here who work in Howrah station. They will tell you that their life's blood is being sucked by what is known as the middle man, a cooly contractor employed by the East Indian Railway. They have to pay that middleman Rs. 7 a month for the privilege of working on the station platforms and they only earn as much as Rs. 15/16 a month. The labour contractor does not invest any money on them. He does not recruit them to be loungers on the station platforms, and without investing a single pice the labour contractor gets rich on the earnings of those hard worked men. I took up their case with the agent of the E. I. Railway, and also with the head of the Railway Board and with the Member in charge of Commerce and Industries and I took the matter up in the Press and I even went so far as to represent their case before the Secretary of State, but what has been done? In reply to the interpellations in the Assembly they said; Oh They are quite all right—if they can afford to pay Rs. 7 a month to the labour contractor they cannot have much cause for discontent. I therefore beg the permission of the Chair to give permission to one of their representatives who is present here to say a few words to you on the subject.

The President gave the necessary permission and a cooly from Howrah station then addressed the meeting in the vernacular.

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

Indians in
Burma :
Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad, then moved the following Resolution :—

XVIII. Anti-Indian Legislation in Burma.

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

He said :—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates :

The true measure referred to in this Resolution is known as the Expulsion of non-Burman Offenders' Bill by virtue of which any non-Burman who

commits any of the offences detailed in the schedule thereto is liable to expulsion from that country never again being permitted to return there. I understand that the offences enumerated in the schedule are many and serious as well as trivial. Even such an offence as failure to take out a license for the installation of a wireless set is deemed to be an offence, the perpetrator of which may be expelled by the Municipal authorities from that country and never permitted to return there. In theory this measure will apply to Indians as well as to Europeans in Burma, but I should like here to quote the language employed by Mr. Gokhale in speaking of the Official Secrets Bill in the Viceroy's Council many years ago. "I should like to see who expelled the European from the country for perpetrating such an offence." The Indian Press Act applied equally and impartially to Anglo-Indian papers which clearly perpetrated the offences under this Act. One journal went the length of describing Lord Morley as an abettor of the offence of murder but did you ever know of an occasion during the twelve years when that Act was on the Statute book when the Government of India or the Government of any province whatever enforced it against a single Anglo-Indian paper? Do you not know on the other hand that the Act was rigidly enforced against many Indian news papers which may or may not have really offended against the Act? In practice, the Expulsion of non-Burman Offenders' Act in Burma will really amount to an authority to the executive to banish from the country any Indian who may happen to be convicted of any of the offences detailed in the schedule. The second Bill to which reference is made is known as the Tax on Sea Passengers Bill. Any one who goes to Burma will have to pay a tax of Rs. 5 per head. It is said that they will have to pay that only once provided you can produce the receipt on the occasion of subsequent visits. Of the many people who migrate from India to Burma the majority are the labouring population. It would be too much to expect that they should preserve the little scraps of paper known as a receipt in order for them to be immune from the payment of the tax on the occasion of subsequent visits to Burma. This would mean that any Indian who visits Burma for any purpose whatsoever and for any length of time would have to pay Rs. 5 every time he goes there. This tax will not operate as a hardship upon the rich man but the large majority of Indian immigrants to Burma are, as I said before, of the labouring population and cannot afford to pay this Rs. 5 over and over again. This will be a real hardship on them and it is our duty to protest against such legislation. These two Bills have passed the Legislative Council of Burma but they have not yet received the assent of the Governor-General. The gentlemen who spoke upon the resolution dealing with Indians in South Africa have pointed out to you that the Government of India were in fact helpless in the matter and that His Majesty's Government was partly unable, but largely unwilling to grant any redress to Indians in the matter. The Governor-General cannot escape this time with such a reply as he vouchsafed to the South African Deputation the other day. He is personally wholly and exclusively responsible and if he assents to these two measures our grievances will be wholly and entirely against him and I trust and hope that Lord Reading who the other day signalled his administration by a beneficent act in the form of the suspension of the Cotton Excise Duty will before handing over charge to his noble successor do one more act to earn our thanks and that is to

Indians in
Burma :
Mr. C. Y.
Chintamani.

withhold his assent from these two iniquitous measures passed by the Legislative Council of Burma. The Governor of Burma is well known in certain parts of this country. He has been very correctly described as a very polite but very astute politician and I am surprised that a Governor who has served for the best part of his life in India itself and who has acquired a certain reputation for sympathy with at least some class of Indians and who has acquired in a large measure a reputation for diplomatic talent and sound statesmanship should have allowed these two bills to pass through the Legislature although in respect of one of them at least the representative of the Chamber of Commerce in Rangoon joined the Indians in putting a whole hearted opposition to it. The complaint is made that the wealth of Burma is being drained by Indians, that too many Indians have settled there. We do not hear this complaint in respect of the Europeans who have settled in that country (applause). Whatever might be the amount of wealth which Indian capitalists or Indian labourers may have taken away from Burma and brought to India cannot be more than a fraction of the wealth drained from that country by European capitalists and European officials.

But leaving that aside, I have long been anxious to put forward this point prominently on some public occasion, and I shall do so in a minute or less. When Upper Burma was acquired by the British in 1885, our Indian Congress—not the present Congress but the one which we knew as the Indian National Congress—at its very first session held that year in Bombay recorded a resolution on the motion of Sir Pherozesha Mehta, first of all, protesting against the annexation of the country, and, in the second instance, urging that if it must be annexed, Burma must be treated as a separate Crown Colony but must not be amalgamated for administrative purposes with British India. That opinion of the National Congress was ignored by the British Government. If the Burmans have a grievance against Burma being a part of British India for political and administrative purposes, their grievance cannot be against Indians who helped them by urging against such amalgamation. Forty years have elapsed since then. During these 40 years has Burma been a beneficiary at the expense of the Indian tax payer or has Burma been a source of profit to him? If the Finance Department of the Government of India would be good enough to take a little pains over the compilation of statistics, it would show whether the revenue contributed by the Indian tax payer has had to be spent upon the maintenance of the Government of Burma or Burmans have contributed to the revenue of the Government of India. I am strongly under the impression that the result will be that it is the Indian tax payer who has to complain and not the people of Burma that Burma should be a part of India.

However, whatever the truth may be, upon this point we are on strong and unchallengeable ground when we affirm that these two measures of legislation recently passed by the Legislative Council of Burma are anti-Indian and iniquitous, and the Governor-General of India cannot possibly justify himself before the bar of impartial public opinion if he will hesitate to exercise the power vested in him of withholding his assent to these Bills.

With this demand I ask you to support this proposition.

Mr. S. S. Halka (Rangoon) in seconding the Resolution, said :—

Indians in
Burma :
Mr. S. S.
Halka.

You all know about Burma. Geographically I might say it is in the same juxtaposition as England and Wales. If we analyse the history of the Burmans, we shall find that a great portion—in fact not less than 6 or 8 districts of the country—is occupied by Telegu people. 'They are assimilated and absorbed from Manipur. The majority of the people have travelled there and almost all of them are looked upon as Burmans.

My point in mentioning this is that Burmans are so liberal and broad-minded that they have not taken any time in assimilating other people.

Geographically you will find square mile per square mile it is far richer than any other part of India, and, in fact, all the industries, including the B. O. C. and B. I. S. N. and other companies, engage Indian labour. My friend Dr. Paranjpye had been there recently, and I can assert that he did not come across a single Burmese labourer. Throughout Lower Burma you will not find a single Burman labourer who will handle your bag. At this season for reaping paddy, Indians reap the whole paddy. So also in timber and other trades Indians predominate. Then why should they have this grudge against Indians ?

Till very lately they made no distinction between Indians and Burmans and never hated Indians or had any grudge against them. But a leading paper some time ago began to write articles after articles saying that the Burmans were superior to Indians, that they had no caste distinction in Burma, that Burmans were more literate than Indians. That of course is true, for not less than 40 to 50 per cent of the people are literate in Burma. Even in the villages they can read and write because they have got the monastic system of education, under which the Phoongis keep a certain number of students whom they teach every morning and evening. However, the question is why did they favour such a legislation ? It is on account of diplomacy and on account of a certain training. Now they are taught that if India is separated from Burma, Burma would be given self-government earlier. It is in that hope that some people are crying "Burma for Burmans".

Now, what would be the result of this legislation ? It imposes a tax of Rs. 5 on every Indian who leaves by a steamer. That means that the wages of labourers would have to be increased. It falls on capitalists who employ labour. Have you ever come across an interprovincial legislation or taxation ? What would you think if a Bombayman is taxed before he enters Bengal or Madras ?

With regard to the expulsion of offenders, as a certain gentleman told you anti-Asiatic means anti-Indian. In 1908 or 1909 Mr. Polak had come with a deputation and he told us that a Japanese had been put to difficulty. He wired to his Government, and an exception was made in favour of the Japanese. So also non-Burman is equal to Indian. The other classes who are there are Europeans. Even in India a European hardly commits an offence, and even if he does he is hardly convicted. With regard to the Chinese, every Chinaman has got a Burmese wife, and his children mostly

Indians in
Burma :
Mr. S. S.
Halka.

carry Burmese names. That is the reason why they do not even define "domiciled" or "non-Burman". If "domiciled" is defined, many of the Indians who have settled there will come under the class of domiciled Indians. They leave it to the judiciary to decide the point at the time of conviction.

The Indian Penal Code prescribes certain sentences for every offence. Transportation is prescribed only for murder or kindred offences such as dacoity with murder. Here is another offence for transportation which I submit is absolutely ridiculous and would not bear scrutiny even from a legislative point of view.

Then Indians have got vested interests there. If a Burman happens to be jealous of an Indian in trade, he might bring a false charge. When he is being tried, his constituents will be put to inconvenience, and the man will have difficulty in business. So from every point of view the legislation in question is against the interests of Indians.

These two bills were introduced with the consent of the Viceroy. The other day when the South African Deputation approached him, he said "we have every sympathy with you but we cannot interfere because it is a foreign colony". But here he can interfere. Without his consent nothing can be done. Why should he give his consent to a measure like this ?

I have great pleasure in seconding this proposal, and I do ask that you, the members of the Federation, who are connected with the legislative Assembly would see that this measure is not assented to by the Viceroy.

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

XIX. Constitution of the Federation.

Constitution
of the
Federation :
The Presi-
dent.

The following resolution was then put from the Chair and carried unanimously :—

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

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

XX. Council & Office-bearers for 1926.

Council
and Office-
bearers.

Resolved that in the year 1926,

- (a) Mr. C. Y. Chintamani be the General Secretary of the National Liberal Federation of India.

The President (Sir M. Joshi)—You will allow me to say a word in recognition of the extremely valuable services rendered by Mr. Chintamani. In spite of his unwillingness, for which there is a basis in fact, he having put forward the excuse of not having a good health, we have prevailed upon him, and I hope he will not refuse to accept the Secretaryship for the next year.

- (b) "The undermentioned members *do constitute the Council of the Federation."

(Names of the members of the Council were then read out by the Secretary. In doing so he said that the President had permitted the Punjab Liberal League to send in three more names later on which will be treated as duly elected) and

- (c) "The ninth annual session of the Federation be held in Berar."

Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, in inviting the Federation to Berar, said :—

As a representative of the Berar National Liberal League I am very much pleased, as directed by a resolution of the Berar National Liberal League to heartily welcome the next session of this Federation to Berar. Whether it will be at Amraoti or Akola will be decided by the National Liberal League of Berar. Berar is a backward province (A voice—No, no). You cannot expect your comforts to be met as luxuriously as here. However, I assure you that we shall do all in our power to serve your comforts and needs. I request you all to oblige us by coming in numbers.

Vote of thanks to the President.

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter said :

Vote of
Thanks :
Mr. K. K.
Mitra.

Sisters and brother delegates—Many of you have come from distant places at great sacrifice to offer your love and services at the feet of the motherland (hear, hear). Your presence has infused new life to the Liberals of Bengal (hear, hear). During these three days we have renewed our old friendship. You have finished your ordinary business. The time of parting has come. But before you separate you have to perform a duty—a duty of paying homage to your President, and that duty will be performed specially on our behalf by principal Heramba Chandra Maitra.

* The names are printed in appendix II.

Vote of
Thanks :
Mr. H. C.
Maitra.

Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra in proposing a vote of thanks to the President, Sir Moropant Joshi, said that under his able guidance this Conference has turned out a great success. This Conference was very useful at a time when people very commonly find fault with the Liberals. He refuted the charge that the Liberals were lacking in courage and that they wanted to placate the Government. The Liberals, so far as Bengal is concerned, have always sought to promote the advancement and welfare of the country by constructive and not destructive propoganda. The condition of the labourers and the poor have always engaged their attention. They drew their inspiration from the great Raja Rammohon Roy, the founder of modern India. The Liberals though in a minority have always been trying to do the right thing. The history of the last 3 years has abundantly proved that the Liberal policy was wise and useful.

Vote of
Thanks :
Rev. B. A.
Nag.

Rev. B. A. Nag in seconding the proposal thanked the president most cordially for honouring Bengal with his presence. They were passing through difficult times and it was a matter for congratulation that they got such a leader as Sir Moropant Joshi. The country has now begun to revise its feeling and opinion ; and so it was just the time for the Liberals to present before the Government a definite organised political opinion for their acceptance.

The proposal was carried with loud cheers and the President was, amidst scenes of enthusiasm, garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and by a score of girls.

Conclusion :
The Presi-
dent.

Sir Moropant Joshi, in bringing the present session of the National Liberal Federation to a close, said :—

Gentlemen, the time for parting has come, and I wish to acknowledge with thanks all that has been said about me, and I thank the members of the Reception Committee in return on my behalf and also on your behalf for the troubles they have taken in making this session successful, whoever might say anything to the contrary. Our success depends not so much on our numbers or anything of that sort, but on the one fact that our aims and our methods are meant to further the cause of our country (hear, hear). I would not care for the results of elections. I would not care even for the Party. I would not place it under any circumstances above the interests of the country, and that is what we stand for, and what is the most valuable part of the Reception Committee, and that is why I say it is a success.

It would be invidious for me to mention names from amongst the members of the Reception Committee who have all worked with zeal, but I cannot help making a reference to the Chairman, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, who belongs to the people, and not only belongs to the people but you can see in him here an example of simplicity itself. We had such a man as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. As I said, several people have conspired to make it a success. But one more name I shall have to mention, and I think it is only proper that I should do so, and that is Capt. Pravash Chandra Ghosh. You have seen the fervour, the zeal of service of the volunteers in Bengal. Everybody has seen the spirit of service that has

induced them to work in the manner they have done. I, therefore, thank through these two gentlemen the whole of the Reception Committee for doing what they did for making this session a success.

Conclusion:
The President

After the inspiring song that you heard yesterday from one of the noblest daughters of Bengal, I mean the lady who will preside over the Social Service Conference tomorrow, the call to duty has been very clear. The inspiration is there and the work is before us. She is not the only lady who has given such inspiration. Here are a set of young girls who came and like my daughter put so many garlands on my neck, and you can easily imagine the feelings that it excites in one to see so many children doing an act of such kindness and such service.

Before I sit down I wish to say a few words by way of advice. I am one of you and any advice or suggestion that may come from me I know will be taken in the right spirit. As I say, I am one of you and as good or as bad as any one of you, and when I venture to make a suggestion and to offer advice, it is only as a brother delegate that I venture to do so. I have been told that an English local paper has remarked that our faith in the Liberal cause is weakened. If there are any external signs of that, the responsibility I wholly put upon Government (hear, hear). Our faith is the same. We have a robust optimism still and we expect from England, with all her faults and with all her limitations and with all the sins of commission and omission that the local bureaucracy may have done here, we still expect that Britain will eventually be just (hear, hear). Whoever might say anything against our being hopeful still, in spite of the several incidents that I have mentioned in my speech, I am willing to maintain that I have not lost the optimism that I have brought with me from the Congress days.

Now, gentlemen, those of you that were present in the Subjects Committee have heard and seen the spirit that is working. We, the Liberals, may be few. You have heard just now a galaxy of names which will inspire you and will hearten you up for a great effort during 1926. We have only to work and go amongst the people, take advantage of the tide that is rising in our favour and against our opponents and enlist any number of Liberals that we can get hold of (hear, hear). It is not impossible. I know the heart of the people. We have suffered by absence. We have suffered by default. For the last seven years we have not availed ourselves of the opportunities to the extent that we should have. I repeat that the occasion is such that you can safely take advantage of the position. We can go into the country. We shall be listened to, and, as I said, let our selflessness, let our interest in the people convince them and inspire them with the same zeal that inspires us.

I ask every one of you to so regulate your life for political purposes and political work as to realise the responsibility that this is a year which is very critical. The next elections are coming. I will not measure your work and mine by the number of people that we put in, I mean from amongst the Liberals. I want every individual to work and spread that mentality amongst the people (hear, hear) which will be for Liberals, Liberalism and

Conclusion:
The President.

Liberal principles. Let us all work towards this one end that the Liberal doctrine shall be more acceptable and the people that will be sent to the Councils will be sent with a sane mandate which will lead our country to the final goal. Let us all work in that spirit. It may be that every one of us may not be able to give the same kind of service—some of us can give money, some can give time and some can give both—but I ask every one of you to give of your best, as much time, as much service and as much money as you possibly can. If you have done that, if the inspiration of this year is sufficient for the purpose, then I should say that the purpose of this session would have been achieved.

Gentlemen, matters are not so hopeless as they seem either with regard to numbers or the chances of the Liberal doctrine being accepted of the people and acceptable to the people hereafter. At the Subjects Committee yesterday there were offers of money and we asked people to send in their offers in writing. I am glad to say that today there has been another offer by Mr. Surendra Nath Mullick of Rs. 5000 (Applause) earmarked for a certain beneficent purpose for the masses in Bengal. However, that is only a beginning, and, at I say, it is a happy augury of what is going to come. If every one of you feel that we are directing the nation to take a correct mental attitude, and that we are thereby advancing the cause and the interests of the country, then I know that not one of you will fail.

I hope, gentlemen, that notwithstanding what the Congress has done and declared at the last session, some effort has been made here to harmonise the parties, at any rate to stand near each other most. A beginning has been made by no means unhelpful, and preliminaries have been asked to be settled by the two respective parties before any steps towards either amalgamation or co-working are taken. A good deal of clearing of ideas has been done, and a committee of four people is appointed by the Federation for the purpose of bringing about unity of such parties as they can possibly achieve. That is a very hopeful beginning. All parties in the country are coming to realise that it will not do to waste our energy in cutting each other's throat and abusing each other. We have a common purpose and a common goal to achieve, and if we all set out hearts and hands to the one matter, then I know success will be ours.

Gentlemen of the Reception Committee and Brother Delegates, your patience has been exercised a great deal by having to sit all this time, and the members of the Reception Committee have had their troubles. I thank you all again for the way in which you have behaved in the Subjects Committee and for making my task as easy as possible (Loud and prolonged cheers).

APPENDIX IA

VIIIth Session of the National Liberal Federation, 1925, Calcutta.

MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

1. Rai Mahendrachandra Lahiri Bahadur, Serampur.
2. Mr. Amulyadhan Addy
3. „ Manoranjan Mallik
4. Rev. B. A. Nag
5. Mr. D. P. Khaitan.
6. „ R. K. Doss, Dacca.
7. „ Annadacharan Sen.
8. „ Basantakumar Chauduri.
9. Mr. Rameschandra Chakravarti.
10. Dr. M. N. Banerji.
11. Mr. Krishnakumar Mitra.
12. „ Nandagopal Bhaduri, Majdia, Nadia.
13. Dr. J. N. Ghosh.
14. Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter.
15. Lt. B. P. Singha Ray.
16. Mr. Nirmalchandra Ghose, Seoraphuli, Hughli.
17. „ Ahidhar Ghosh.
18. „ S. M. Bose.
19. Sir P. C. Mitter.
20. Mr. N. C. Ray.
21. Sir R. N. Mukerji.
22. Mr. Jatindramohan Bose.
23. „ Sureschanra Bose.
24. Raja Rishikesh Law.
25. Raja Gopendrkrishana Dev.
26. Mr. W. A. Rowe.
27. „ Ramanimohan Sen.
28. Kumar Prafullkrishna Dev.
29. Mr. N. C. Sircar.
30. Mr. Amiyanath Mukerji.
31. Rai Badridas Goenka Bahadur.
32. Rai Jadunath Mazumbar Bahadur.
33. Khan Bahadur S. Mahboob Ali.
34. Mr. Provaschandra Ghosh.
35. Rai Sasankamohan Ghosh Bahadur.
36. Mr. K. C. Ray Chaudhury.
37. Rai Pramathanath Mallik Bahadur.
38. Mr. Ajaychandra Dutt.
39. „ Sailendranath Mitra.
40. „ Charuchandra Biswas.
41. Rai Pramathanath Mukerji Bahadur.
42. Sir K. G. Gupta.
43. Rai Ramanimohan Das Bahadur.

44. Raja Tankanath Chaudhury.
 45. Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi.
 46. Mr. Poreschandra Das Gupta.
 47. „ Satinath Ray.
 48. „ Jnanendrarayan Chaudhury.
 49. „ Sudhirkumar Ghosh.
 50. „ Pankajkumar Ghosh.
 51. „ J. N. Chakravarti.
 52. Kumar Gakulchandra Law.
 53. Mr. Kartickchanda Mallik.
 54. „ Jyotischandra Bhowe.
 55. „ Rangalal Jajodia.
 56. „ Devaprasad Ghosh.
 57. „ N. D. Mukerji.
 58. Rai Taraknath Sadhu Bahadur.
 59. Mr. D. N. Basu.
 60. „ B. K. Basu.
 61. Kumar Dwijendrkrishna Dev.
 62. Prof. N. C. Nag.
 63. Mr. Purnendumohan Ghosh.
 64. Mr. D. C. Ghose.
 65. Mr. Sachindrprasad Basu.
 66. Dr. A. Gaffur Siddique.
 67. Mr. P N. Guha.
 68. „ P. C. Chakravarti.
 69. Dr. P. K. Acharji.
 70. Mr. S. N. Mallick.
 71. „ Umapasanna Bose.
 72. „ T. B. Roy.
 73. „ K. N. Ray.
 74. „ H. Maitra.
 75. „ J. R. Banerji.
 76. „ Satischandra Ghosh.
 77. „ T. P. Ghosh.
 78. Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur.
 79. Rai Amritlal Rahə Bahadur.
 80. Mr. Akshaykumar De.
 81. „ H. M. Bose.
 82. „ Saratchandra Mukerji.
 83. „ Saratchandra Chatterji.
-

APPENDIX IB

VIIIth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, 1925, Calcutta.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

1. Rai Mahendrachandra Lahiri Bahadur, Pleader—Serampur, Hooghli.
2. Rao Bahadur R. M. Nilkantha, Pleader—Elephant Road, Allahabad. W. I. N. L. Association.
3. Mr. Amulyadhan Addy, Trader & Landlord—78, Chetla Road, Calcutta.
4. Mr. Monoranjan Mallik, Vakil—2, Chakraberia Lane, Calcutta.
5. Rev. B. A. Nag, Missionary—2/1, College Square, Calcutta.
6. Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Merchant—43, Zakaria Street, Calcutta.
7. „ Baradakanta Basu, Teacher—13/2/B, Beniatola Lane, Calcutta.
8. „ R. K. Doss, Bar-at-Law—16, Court House St., Dacca—People's Association, Dacca.
9. „ Annadacharan Sen—Supdt. City School, Calcutta.
10. „ C. Y. Chintamani, Journalist—18, George Town Allahabad, U. P. Liberal Association.
11. „ Lakshminarain Sahu—Servant of India Society, Cuttack, U. P. L. Association.
12. „ Basantakumar Chaudhuri, Pleader—99/9/c, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
13. „ Saratkumar Sinha, Landlord—108A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
14. „ Sachi Sinha, Service— do.
15. „ Harananda Gupta, Teacher—Brahmapalli, Mymensingh.
16. „ Rameshchandra Chakravarti, Pleader—Kishoregunje, Mymensingh.
17. Dr. M. N. Banerjee—32, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
18. Mr. Dhirendranath Sawoo, Zamindar—26, Galiff Lane.
19. „ Hirendranath Ballav, Zemindar—26, Galiff Lane, Calcutta.
20. „ Krishnakumar Mitra, Journalist—6, College Square, Calcutta.
21. „ Amiyendrkrishna Bose—63, Hari Ghose Street, Calcutta.
22. „ Aparnachandra Bhattacharya—Teacher City Collegiate School, Calcutta.
23. „ Srigopal Chakravarti—Headmaster, City School, Calcutta
24. „ Surendranath Varma, Vakil H. C.—2 Stanley Road, Alahabad U. P. L. A.
25. „ M. V. Krishna, Pleader—Singli, Deccan Sabha.
26. Mrs. Manikar— do. do.
27. Mr. N. V. Manikar— do. do.
28. „ Nandagopal Bhaduri, Zaminder—Majdia, Nadia.
29. Mr. N. C. Ghosh, Landholder—8, Preonath Banerji Street, Calcutta.
30. „ N. M. Joshi, Publicist—Servant of India Society, Bombay 4, W. I. N. L. Association, Bombay.

31. „ V. R. Bhande, Journalist—10, Saraswati Bag, Andhari, Bombay
W. I. N. L. Association, Bombay.
32. „ M. D. Attekar, Journalist—Haji Kassim's Block, French
Bridge, Bombay 7—W. I. N. L. Association.
33. „ Anilkumar Ray Chaudhuri, Merchant—9, Williams Lane,
Calcutta.
34. „ Narayanprosad Asthana, Advocate, Allahabad—U. P. Liberal
Association.
35. Dr. D. N. Mitra, Advocate—12, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
36. Mr. Ashrafi Lal, Pleader, Civil Line, Agra—U. P. Liberal
Association.
37. „ Syamacharan Datta, Pleader—Barisal.
38. „ A. P. Sen, Barrister, 18 Outram Road, Lucknow—U. P.
Liberal Association.
39. Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad, Advocate, Napean Sea Road, Malabar
Hill, Bombay 6,—W. I. N. Liberal Association.
40. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Prof. Ferguson College, Poona— do.
41. Mr. Taritbhushan Roy, Zemindar & Banker—6, Abhoy Mitra
Street, Calcutta.
42. „ Viswanath Prosad, Manager “Leader”, Allahabad—U. P.
Liberal Association.
43. Lt. B. P. Singha Roy, Zemindar—Chakdighi, Burdwan.
44. Mr. Nirmalchandra Ghose, Zemindar—Seoraphuli, Hughli.
45. „ Ahidhar Ghose, Zemindar—27, Linton Street, Calcutta.
46. „ Manindranath Mandal, Zemindar—61, Tollygunje Road,
Calcutta.
47. „ Saratchandra Bose, Landholder & Merchant—27, Linton St.
Calcutta.
48. „ S. M. Bose, Barrister—3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
49. Sir P. C. Mitra, Advocate—34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
50. Mr. Jatindranath Basu, Solicitor—14, Balaram Ghosh Street,
Calcutta.
51. „ J. N. Chakravarti, Chemist—91/1B, Maniktola Street, Calcutta.
52. Mrs. Basanti Chakravarti— do.
53. Mr. Satishchandra Banerji, Journalist—57, Raja Dinendra Street,
Calcutta.
54. „ Benodebehari Laha, Merchant—Gorpar, Calcutta.
55. „ S. K. Basu,
56. „ Muktidaranjan Ray, Professor—38/1, Raja Dinendra Street,
Calcutta.
57. „ D. C. Ghosh, Barister—23, Devendra Ghosh Road, Calcutta.
58. „ Wahedul Huq, Muktear—Uluberia, Howrah.
59. Rao Bahadur Thakur Harnam Singh, Landholder—14, Bridge
Road, Lucknow, U. P. Liberal Association.
60. Mr. Hardutt Sarma, Servant of India Society—The Palms, Lahore,
Punjab National Liberal League.
61. „ Saratchandra Bhowmik, Pleader—Comilla.
62. „ Rajanikanta Mitra, Headmaster—Maldah, Khulna, Khulna
Liberal League.

63. Mr. Narendranath Bhadra, Merchant—5, Nayabazar Road, Dacca, Dacca People's Association.
64. „ Sachindraprosad Basu, Merchant—6, College Square, Calcutta.
65. „ Sriram Bajpai, Servant of India Society, Allahabad—U. P. L. League.
66. „ Jatindramohan Bose, Talukdar—1, Preonath Banerji Street, Calcutta.
67. Dr. Abdul Gafur Siddqui, Khaspur, P. O. Jadurhati, 24-Pergs.
68. Rai Badridas Goenka Bahadur, Merchant—31, Banstola Street, Calcutta.
69. Mr. Provaschandra Ghose, Engineer—8, Garpar Road, Calcutta.
70. „ Dalip Mansinghji, Vakil—Fatehpur, Fatehpur Liberal Association.
71. „ Satischandra Ray, Pleader—2, Urdu Bazar Road, Dacca, Dacca People's Association.
72. „ Rajkrishna Dutt—16, Raypara Road, Cossipore.
73. Dr. Umaprosanna Bose—32/1, Nayanchand Dutta Street, Calcutta.
74. Mr. Surendranath Mallik—2, Chandranath Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
75. Pandit Sivasankar Sukla—Service.
76. Mr. Charuchandra Biswas, Advocate—58, Paddapukur Road, Calcutta.
77. „ Bejoy K. Basu, Solicitor—50, Goaltuli Road, Calcutta.
78. „ Kumudkrishna Mandal, Zemindar—80, Tollygunje Road, Calcutta.
79. „ Bejoykrishna Mandal— do. do.
80. „ S. M. Chitnavis, Landholder—Nagpur, C. P.
81. Pandit Ramdayal Chenlu—Allahabad.
82. Mr. G. C. Banerji—(Dt. & Sessions Judge, Retd.) 21, George Town, Allahabad—U. P. Liberal Association.
83. „ K. C. Ray Chaudhuri, Merchant—30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
84. „ Prafullachandra Chakravati, Vakil—33/C, Chandranath Chatterji Street.
85. „ R. N. Mukerji, Student—14/C, Mahim Haldar Street, Calcutta.
86. Pundit Hridaynath Kunzru, Servant of India Society, Allahabad—U. P. Liberal Association.
87. Mr. T. P. Ghosh, Zemindar—14, Hemchandra Street, Calcutta.
88. „ Kamalkanta Varma, Vakil—7, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
89. „ G. J. Chati, Pleader, Nagpur—C. P. National Liberal Association.
90. Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar, Nagpur— do.
91. Rai Saheb R. R. Jaivant, Pleader, Nagpur— do.
92. Mr. A. R. Bombaywale, Cradock Town, Nagpur— do.
93. Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobley, Nagpur— do.
94. Rai Bahadur D. N. Chaudhury, Pleader, Raipur— do.
95. Rai Amritalal Raha Bahadur, Pleader—Khulna.
96. Kaviraj Jadunath Gupta—103, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
97. Syed Erfan Ali, Barrister—6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
98. Mr. Sarojchandra Mukerji—35, Cantopher Lane, Calcutta.

99. Mr. Netaichand Mukerji, Journalist—Chinsurah.
100. „ Ramanimohan Sen, Zemindar—Khagra, Murshidabad.
101. „ Nishikanta Das Gupta, Pleader—2, Debidas Ghat, Dacca People's Association.
102. „ Jatindramohan Dutt, Pleader—Panihati, 24-Pergs.
103. „ J. R. Parucha—Calcutta.
104. „ Jogeschandra Mitra—Calcutta.
105. „ Kailaschandra Acharya, Publisher—Mymensingh.
106. „ K. Parthasarathi Iyengar, Teacher—Wesleyan College, Madras, Madras Liberal League.
107. „ M. K. Rangachariar, Director, Industrial School, Armenian Street, Madras—Madras Liberal League.
108. „ J. N. Basu—13, College Square, Calcutta.
109. „ D. G. Dalvi, Pleader—73, Chauri Road, Bombay—W. Indian National Liberal Association, Bombay.
110. Sir Moropant Joshi, Vakil, Amraoti—Berar Liberal Association.
111. Mr. Sureschandra Basu, Vakil—11, Krishnaram Bose Street, Calcutta.
112. Dr. H. L. S. Zacharia, Journalist—86, College Street, Calcutta.
113. Mr. Provatchandra Mandal, Zemindar—61, Tollygunje Road, Calcutta.
114. „ Khetramohan Ray, Pleader, Comilla.
115. „ Chunilal Mathew, Barrister, Bathi Gate, Lahore—Punjab L. Association.
116. „ Herambachandra Maitra, Educationist—65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
117. Raja Gopendrakrishna Dev—6, Raja Nabakissen Street, Calcutta.
118. Kumar Dwijendrakrishna Dev— do.
119. Mr. Satishchandra Ghose, Social Worker—The Orphanage, Dacca, Dacca People's Association.
120. „ J. R. Banerji, Educationist—15, Ramkrishna Das Lane, Calcutta.
121. „ S. P. Andrews Duli, S. I. S., Lucknow—U. P. Liberal Association.
122. „ Khitischandra Bose, Pleader—33, Kattabazar, Dacca, People's Association.
123. „ Manindranath Chatterji—24/1, Krishnaram Bose Street, Calcutta.
124. „ Prokasnarain Sapru, Barrister—19, Albert Road, Allahabad—U. P. Liberal Association.
125. „ Gopalchandra Roy, Merchant—3/1/A, Kaliprosad Dutt Street, Calcutta.
126. „ Viswanath Tholal, Vakil—13, Civil Line, Cawnpur—Cawnpur Liberal Association.
127. „ H. M. Bose, Barrister—177, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
128. „ Akshaykumar Dey, Vakil—13, College Square, Calcutta.
129. „ Sachindranath Mukerji, Vakil—14, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
130. Dr. Harilal Sen, M. B.—81, Pataldanga Street, Calcutta.

131. Mr. Saratchandra Chaudbary—3, Telipara Lane, Calcutta.
132. „ Kishorimohan Sen Gupta, Medical Practitioner—Cornwallis Street.
133. „ S. S. Holkar, Advocate—16, Merchant Street.
134. Dr. D. N. Maitra—70, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
135. Rai Surendranath Sinha Bahadur, Zeminder—Nehalia Estate, Jagunje, Murshidabad.
136. Mr. P. N. Guha, Journalist—26, Townsend Road, Calcutta.
137. „ Lalitmohan Gupta, Teacher, Madaripur—Namasudra Hitaisini Sabha.
138. Mrs. Charulata Gupta, Mistress, Girls' School, Madaripur— do.
139. Mr. Manibhushan Mandal, Service—Diamond Harbour,
140. „ Mahimchandra Halder, Zemindar—Diamond Harbour.
141. Pandit Krishna Rao, Editor, "The Leader", Allahabad—U. P. L. Association.
142. Rao Baijanathdas Sahpuri, Zemindar, Kotwalpur, Benares City—U. P. L. A.
143. Mr. Sureschandra Datta, Pleader, Khulna.
144. Dr. S. N. Mukerji, Gorakhpur—U. P. Liberal Association.
145. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Advocate, Allahabad—U. P. Liberal Association.
146. Mr. Dharanikumar Ray, Pleader, Kishoregunje, Mymensingh.
147. „ B. S. Kamat, Merchant—Ganeskhind Road, Poona—Deccan Sabha.
148. „ G. K. Gadgil, Barrister—Sadasiv Patti, Poona City—W. I. N. L. Association.
149. „ Prafullachandra Mitra, Landholder—73, Paddapukur Road, Calcutta.
150. „ Birendranath Ganguli, Student—1, Bibi Razis Lane, Calcutta.
151. Dr. Haridhan Datta—81, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
152. Mr. A. R. Despande, Pleader, Amraoti—Berar National Liberal Association.
153. „ R. D. Savajani, Pleader—Amraoti Camp, Berar—Berar N. L. Association.
154. „ J. B. Deshmukh, Landlord, Amraoti— do.
155. Rai Saheb R. M. Khare, Pleader, Amraoti Camp, Berar—do.
156. Mr. K. V. Brahma, Pleader, do. do.
157. „ R. K. Thamare, Pleader, Akola— do. do.
158. „ T. R. Gadre, do do. do.
159. Rao Bahadur K. G. Dhomley, Pleader, Akola, do. do.
160. Mr. Satinath Ray, Vakil—12, Holwells Lane, Calcutta.
161. „ K. S. Venkatachalaru, Vakil, Tuticorin.
162. „ Nibaranchandra Ray, Educationist—11, Jagannath Sur Lane, Calcutta.
163. Rai Saheb Rajendranath Bhattacharya—Kodialia, P. O. Sonarpur, 24 Pergs.
164. Mr. Kaliprasanna Das Gupta, Educationist—9/20, Pearycharan Sur Lane, Calcutta.
165. „ Harfhar Bhowmik, Shopkeeper—Maniktola Bazar, Calcutta,

166. Mr. Amritalak Das, Post Office Clerk—22/1, Rajchandra Sen Lane.
 167. „ Jageschandra Das—20A, Sarat Ghose Street, Calcutta.
 168. „ Sitalchandra Das, Chengail Mill, Howrah.
 169. „ Nibaranchandra Karah—Basudevpur, Howrah.
 170. „ Bhubanmohan Haldar—Baniban, Howrah.
 171. „ Dwarikanath Karan—Chengail Mill, Howrah.
 172. „ Grischandra Purkait—Basudevpur, Howrah.
 173. „ Umeschandra Karan—Basudevpur, Howrah.
 174. „ Saratchandra Karmakar—Teacher, Parandanga, Nehapur,
 Jessore.
 175. „ Jnanendranath Biswas—Student, Daulatpur College.
 176. „ Jayhari Ray—Student, Daulatpur College.
 177. „ Saratchandra Sarkar— do.
 178. „ Lakshminarayan Guin—Basudevpur, Howrah.
 179. „ Paranchandra Karan— do.
 180. „ Saratchandra Chatterji—Rangpur.
 181. Mrs. Kumudini Bose—6, College Square, Calcutta.
 182. Mrs. Ramola Bose—3, Federation Street, Calcutta.
 183. Mr. Sindhucharan Ghorai—Nayachall, Howrah.
 184. „ Natabar Dorari—Chengail, Howrah.
 185. „ Satischandra Sanni—Chengail, Howrah.
 186. „ Rajendranath Khana—Joargore Village, Howrah,
 187. „ Barada P. Mandal—Joargore, Howrah.
 188. „ Nibaranchandra Ray—Chengail, Howrah.
 189. „ Gosthabehari Mandal—Joargore, Howrah.
 190. „ Akshaykumar Mandal— do.
 191. Pandit Digendranath Bhattacharya, Educationist—Serajgunj, Pabna.
 192. Mr. Bhagirathchandra Das, Vakil—195, Mukhtaram Babu Street,
 Calcutta.
 193. „ Krishnadhan Biswas—10/B, Ward Institute Street, Calcutta.
 194. „ Haripada Chakravarti, Teacher—14/C do.
 195. „ Bijoykrishna Sarkar—10A, do.
 196. „ Karnadhar Mohanta—12, Bechu Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
 197. „ Banamali Goswami, Teacher—Village Maliat, P. O. Shikhali,
 Jessore.
 198. „ Rasiklal Biswas, B. A., Teacher—79/1C, Mechuabazar Street,
 Calcutta.
 199. „ Sasibhusan Biswas—10A, Ward Institute Street, Calcutta.
 200. „ Jogendranath Bhowmik—10B, do.
 201. „ Dhananjoy Ray, Pleader—9/2, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.
 202. „ Nabadwipchandra Das, Birth Registrar—9, Huzrimull Lane,
 Calcutta.
 203. „ Birendrachandra Das— do. do.
 204. „ Mahendranath Sarkar, B. A.—99/1/C, Mechuabazar Street,
 Calcutta.
 205. „ Sourindrakumar Mandal, Village Krishnapur, P. O. Baaultoli,
 Faridpur.
 206. „ Narayanchandra Bala, Teacher—Satpur, P. O. Baaultoli,
 Faridpur.

207. Mr. Rebatimohan Joardar, Teacher—Shanpukuria, Baultoli P. O., Faridpur.
208. „ Bidhubhusan Biswas— do. do.
209. „ Nibaranchandra Das—37, Dr. Jagabandhu Lane, Calcutta.
210. „ Jadabchandra Ray, P. O. Baultoli, Faridpur.
211. „ Baisnabdas Biswas—37, Dr. Jagabandhu Lane, Calcutta.
212. „ Debendranath Biswas, Vill. Satpur, P. O. Baultoli, Faridpur.
213. „ Jayatichandra Mandal, Talukdar—Village Singu, P. O. Baultoli, Faridpur.
214. „ Aswinikumar Biswas—Bengal Presidency Pharmacy, Central Avenue, Calcutta.
215. „ Mohanbashi Mandal—37, Dr. Jagabandhu Lane, Calcutta.
216. „ Dhirendranath Sarkar—P. O. Putia, Rajshahi.
217. „ Baikunthanath Bala, Village Satpur, P. O. Baultoli, Faridpur.
218. „ Troilakyanath Mandal—Madaripur.
219. „ Saratchandra Biswas—10B, Ward Institute Street, Calcutta.
220. „ Nityananda Biswas—Adharmanik, Kachi P. O., Khulna.
221. „ Troilakhyanath Bhadra—P. O. Baultoli, Faridpur.
222. „ Biratchandra Mandal, B. A.—9/2, Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.
223. „ Jogendrachandra Das—9, Huzrimull Lane, Calcutta.
224. „ Jogendranath Biswas, Merchant—P. O. Baultoli, Village Satpur, Faridpur.
225. „ Surendrachandra Das—9, Huzrimull Lane, Calcutta.
226. „ Sailendramohan Saha, Zemindar—Barisal.
227. „ Jaminikanta Das—195, Muktaram Babu Street, Calcutta, (Noakhali)
228. „ Surendranath Biswas, Teacher—39, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
229. „ Sachindranath Roy—79/1C, Mechuabazar Street, Bangiya Jana Sabha
230. „ Madhusudan Ray, do. do.
231. „ Jogendranath Sarkar do. do.
232. „ Rajkumar Nath, M. A., Teacher—93/1H, Baitakhana Road, Calcutta.
233. „ Ramcharan Bala, B. A., Headmaster—Village Kuriana, P. O. Gabha, Bakergunje.
234. Dr. Tarapad Das—9/2, Shibtole Lane.
235. Mr. Rasiklal Ray, Khulna.
236. „ Ajoygopal Khasnavis, Teacher—14/1, Halsibagan Road.
237. „ Dhirendranath Mazumdar—11, Attabagan Street, Calcutta—Bangiya Jana Sava.
238. „ Nilambar Das—22/1, Rajchandra Sen Lane, Calcutta.
239. „ Damodar Das, B. A.—39, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
240. „ Girischandra Chaudhuri—9/2, Sibtole Lane.
241. „ Mahananda Das— do.
242. „ Malaykumar Khasnavis—14/1, Halsibagan Road, Calcutta.
243. „ Rukmini K. Chaudhury—9/B, Guripara Road.
244. „ Prafullachandra Chakravarti, Student—9/2, Sibtole Lane.
245. „ Nikunjabehari Chaudhury—14/1, Halsibagan Road.
246. „ Pramathanath Das—167/1/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

247. Mr. Krishnachandra Das, B. A.—9/2, Sibtola Lane.
 248. „ Anilkumar Khasnavis—14/1, Halsibagan Road.
 249. „ Tarinikanta Das, Physician—33A, Baitakhana Road, Calcutta.
 250. „ Agnikumar Chaudhury—Canning Hostel, Calcutta.
 251. „ Sukhiram Bala—167/1/1, Cornwallis Street,—Bangiya Jana Sabha.
 252. „ Gangacharan Das—93/A, Baitakhana Road.
 253. „ Pareschandra Das—9/2, Sibtola Lane.
 254. „ Gaurchandra Biswas—Goldsmith.
 255. „ Amulyakumar Das—Landholder.
 256. „ Balaram Biswas—Ghorghuria, P. O. Maghchani, Faridpur.
 257. „ Upendranath Biswas—Sonadanga, P. O. Orekandi—Faridpur.
 258. „ Rajendranath Kundu—16, Scotts Lane, Calcutta.
 259. „ Makhanlal Mandal—61, Chingrihatta Road, Calcutta.
 260. „ Nanilal Das—63, Bancharam Akur Lane, Calcutta.
 261. „ Rampada Dhar—34, Ramanath Kaviraj Lane.
 262. „ Satyacharan Kundu—23A, do.
 263. „ Abhoychandra Dalai—22, do.
 264. „ Raicharan Das—61B, Chingrihatta Road.
 265. „ Ganeschandra Kundu—23/B, Ramanath Kaviraj Lane.
 266. „ Pramathnath Gurey—3, Rajchandra Sen Lane.
 267. „ Sridamchandra Biswas—29/B, Scotts Lane.
 268. „ Abinaschandra Das—8, Mahendra Sarcar Lane.
 269. „ Nanilal Guin—34, Sankaritola Lane.
 270. „ Krishnachandra Garai—39, Ramanath Kaviraj Lane.
 271. „ Kiranchandra Dhar—1, Raja Rajendralal Mitra Street.
 272. „ Maniklal Kundu—20 Rajchandra Sen Lane.
 273. „ Debnarain Biswas—29/A, Scotts Lane.
 274. „ Manoranjan Panja—10A, Baitakkhana 1st Lane.
 275. „ Dulalchandra Pramanik—Nebutala Lane, Calcutta.
 276. „ Charuchandra Dhar—18A, Rajchandra Sen Lane.
 277. „ Rajendranath Guin—34, Sankaritola Lane.
 278. „ Harilal Das—Sankaritola Lane.
 279. „ Natabar Roja—Kalitara Bose Lane.
 280. „ Surendranath Das—9/2, Sibtola Lane.

APPENDIX II

The National Liberal Federation of India.

COUNCIL FOR 1926.

President.

1. Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Amraoti Camp.

Vice-Presidents.

2. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.A., Sudharma, Edward Elliott's Road, Mylapore, Madras.
3. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, 18, George Town, Allahabad.
4. Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, Palm Grove, Mylapore, Madras.
5. The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., Royapettah High Road, Madras.
6. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I., LL.D., 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
7. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Purushottam Bhavan, Fergusson College Road, Poona.

General Secretary.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.

Members.

Nominated by the President.

8. Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., 6, Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
9. Sir Benode Mitter, 2-1, Loudon Street, Calcutta.
10. Pandit Jagat Narayan, Golaganj, Lucknow.
11. Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Girgaon Road, Bombay.
12. Mr. Hari Sitaram Dixit, Bandra, Bombay.

Elected by the Federation.

MADRAS.

13. Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu, Rajahmundry.
14. Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, M.L.A., Elore.
15. The Hon. Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettier, Vepery, Madras.
16. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, M.L.C., Calicut.
17. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Mylapore, Madras.
18. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Ramarao, Bangalore.
19. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Esplanade, Madras.
20. Rao Bahadur S. V. Narasinha Rao, Kurnool.
21. Rao Bahadur C. S. Subrahmanyam, Mayavaram.

22. Mr. M. Kolandavelu Mudaliar, Sunkaurama Chetty Street, Madras.
23. Mr. M. G. Mukundaraja Iyengar, Sivaganga.
24. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Devakota.
25. Mr. R. N. Aiyangar, Bar-at-law, Triplicane, Madras.
26. Mr. G. Krishna Rao, Kimberley, Kilpauk, Madras.
27. Rao Bahadur K. B. Ramanadha Iyer, Mambalam, Saidapet, Madras.
28. Rao Saheb P. Adimurti Rao, Anantapur.
29. Mr. M. K. Rangachari, 15-16, Angappa Naick Street, Madras.
30. Mr. K. Parthasarathi Aiyangar, Wesley College, Madras.
31. Mr. B. Sitarama Rao, Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.

BOMBAY.

32. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL. D., M.L.A., Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.
33. Sir Hormusji Wadya, Kirkee, Poona.
34. The Hon. Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Canada Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
35. Rao Bahadur Rammanbhai Mahipatram, Ahmedabad.
36. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
37. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Satara.
38. Kazi Kabiruddin, Chowpatti Sea Face, Bombay.
39. Mr. Chunilal M. Gandhi, Surat.
40. Rao Bahadur D. G. Padhye, 372, Girgaum Road, Bombay 2.
41. Khan Bahadur N. H. Choksy, Sheridan House, Forjett Street, Bombay.
42. Mr. V. K. Mainkar, Sangli, s.m.c.
43. Dr. R. N. Ranina, Chowpatti Sea Face, Bombay 4.
44. Mr. H. J. Bhabha, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.
45. Rao Bahadur H. V. Chimmulgund, 377, Saniwar Peth, Poona City.
46. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Angre's Wadi, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay 4.
47. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Fort, Bombay 1.
48. Mr. D. G. Dalvi, 73, Charni Road, Bombay 4.
49. Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Seva Sadan, Poona City.
50. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
51. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Poona City.
52. Mr. M. D. Altekar, Haji Cossim's Blocks, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
53. Professor V. K. Joag, Fergusson College, Poona.
54. Mr. Vasantarao S. Raout, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
55. Mr. Jehangir C. Wacha, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Church Gate Street, Bombay.
56. Mr. Sorabji E. Warden, Opposite Post Office, Colaba, Bombay.

BENGAL.

57. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Harington Street, Calcutta.
58. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, C.I.E., LL. D., 20, Suri Lane, Calcutta.
59. Sir Provash Mitter, C.I.E., M.L.C., 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
60. Lieutenant Bijoy Prasad Singha Roy, 15, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
61. Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
62. Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
63. Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, M.L.C., 14, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta.
64. Mr. Surendra Nath Mullick, C.I.E., Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
65. Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
66. Mr. S. M. Bose, 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
67. Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., 9, Rainy Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
68. Rai Fanindra Lal De Bahadur, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
69. Rai Ramani Mohan Das Bahadur, Karimganj, Sylhet.
70. Mr. Devi Prasad Khaitan, M.L.C., Burra Bazar, Calcutta.
71. Mr. Profulla Nath Tagore, 1, Durponarain Tagore Street, Calcutta.
72. Rev. B. A. Nag, 1/2, College Square, Calcutta.
73. Mr. P. N. Guha, M.L.C., 26, Townsend Road, Calcutta.
74. Mr. D. C. Ghose, 23, Debender Ghose Road, Calcutta.
75. Mr. Charu Chandra Biswas, 58, Puddupuker Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.
76. Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
77. Mr. M. N. Basu, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta.
78. Mr. Ekramul Huq, Berhampur, Bengal.
79. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, 62, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.
80. Mr. Ramani Mohan Sen, Berhampur, Bengal.
81. Khan Bahadur Mahboob Ali, M.L.C., 160, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

82. Rai Anand Swarup Bahadur, 161, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
83. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, 29, Cutcherry Road, Allahabad.
84. Mr. A. P. Sen, 18, Outram Road, Lucknow.
85. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad.
86. Babu Bisheshar Nath Srivastava, Golaganj, Lucknow.
87. Rai Krishnaji, Phatak Rangildas, Benares City.
88. Mehta Krishna Ram, the 'Leader' Buildings, Allahabad.
89. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M.L.C., 12, Clyde Road, Lucknow.
90. Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, Bulanala, Benares City.
91. Lala Bihari Lal, M.L.C., Ranimandi, Allahabad.
92. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, Sobatee Bagh Road, Allahabad.
93. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Santi Kunj, Kamachha, Benares.

94. Pandit Braj Narain Chakbast, Golaganj, Lucknow.
95. Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
96. Rai Saheb Lala Jagdish Prasad, M.L.C., Muzaffarnagar.
97. Mr. P. N. Das, Kantit House, Mirzapur.
98. Mr. Asharfi Lal, Agra.
99. Mr. Ayodhya Das, Anand Bhavan, Gorakhpur.
100. Mr. Kamala Kant Varma, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
101. Pandit Parameswar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhavan, Fyzabad.
102. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshodham, Shivala, Benares City.
103. Pandit Prakash Narayan Sapru, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
104. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, 3, Stanley Road, Allahabad.
105. Babu Bodh Raj Sahney, Sipri Bazar, Jhansi.
106. Sirdar Birpal Singh, Rae Bareilly.

THE PUNJAB.

107. Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi, K.C.S.I., LL. D., Lahore.
108. Raja Narendra Nath, M.L.C., Fairfields, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.
109. Rai Bahadur Lala Moti Sagar, Lahore.
110. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore.
111. Mr. Manohar Lal, Fane Road, Lahore.
112. The Hon. Rai Ram Saran Das Bahadur, Lahore.
113. Lala Durga Das, Shahalmi Gate, Lahore.
114. Mian Abdul Aziz, M.L.C., Yakki Gate, Lahore.
115. Bhai Man Singh, Vakil, Edwards Road, Lahore.
116. Mr. Kesho Ram, Vakil, Amritsar.
117. Chaudhri Ata Mohyuddin, Hoshiarpur.
118. Khan Sahib Gul Mohammad, Ferozepur.
119. Pandit Haradatta Sharma, the Palms, Lahore.
120. Pandit K. N. Agnihotri, Devanand Brothers, Nila Gambar, Lahore.
121. Khan Bahadur Mian Chiragh Din, Muzang, Lahore.
122. Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore.
123. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Amir Ali, Mohanlal Road, Lahore.
124. Lala Faqir Chand, Fane Road, Lahore.
125. Moulvi Mahbub Alam, Paisa Akhbar Street, Lahore.
126. Rai Bahadur Lala Dhanpat Rai, M.L.C., Ferozepur Road, Lahore.
127. Professor Jodh Singh, M.L.C., Khalsa College, Amritsar.
128. Sardar Kharak Singh, Railway Road, Lahore.

[Permission has been given to the Punjab National Liberal League to elect three more members.]

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

129. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, K.C.I.E., Civil Lines, Nagpur.
130. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., The Mahal, Nagpur.
131. Sir Bisheshwar Das Daga, Nagpur.
132. Sir Sankarrao Chitnavis, I.S.O., Nagpur.
133. Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar, Balaghat.

134. Rao Bahadur V. R. Pandit, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
135. Rao Bahadur W. R. Dhobley, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
136. Rai Bahadur N. G. Bose, Nagpur.
137. Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
138. Mr. Sorabji Mehta, C.I.E., Nagpur.
139. Rao Bahadur A. S. Bambewalla, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
140. Rao Bahadur D. Lakshmi Narayan, M.L.C., Kamptee, Nagpur.
141. Rai Bahadur R. R. Jayavant, M.B.E., M.L.C., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
142. Rai Bahadur D. N. Chaudhuri, Raipur.
143. Rao Bahadur K. S. Naidu, M.L.C., Wardha.
144. Mr. Shridharrao Gokhale, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
145. Pandit Sita Charan Dube, Hoshangabad.
146. Rao Bahadur Madhva Rao B. Kinkhede, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
147. Rao Bahadur Madhva Rao G. Deshpande, Nagpur.
148. Mr. M. E. R. Malak, Craddock Town, Nagpur.

BERAR.

149. Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle, C.I.F., Akola.
 150. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal.
 151. Rao Bahadur B. R. Angal, Amraoti.
 152. Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagavat, Akola.
 153. Rao Saheb B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
 154. Rao Bahadur Dr. W. R. Bhat, Amraoti.
 155. Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, Akola.
 156. Mr. C. G. Bhanu, Yeotmal.
 157. Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Amraoti.
 158. Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Akola.
 159. Mr. Sankar Rao Balchandra, Yeotmal.
 160. Rao Saheb R. M. Khare, Amraoti.
 161. Mr. T. R. Gadre, Akola.
 162. Rao Saheb G. N. Sahasrabuddhi, Ellichpur.
 163. Rao Bahadur Seth Ganesh Das, Amraoti.
 164. Mr. R. K. Thombre, Akola.
 165. Mr. Janrao Bajirao Deshmukh, M.L.C., Amraoti.
-