

REPORT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH · SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India
Held at Poona
on December 28, 29 and 30, 1934.

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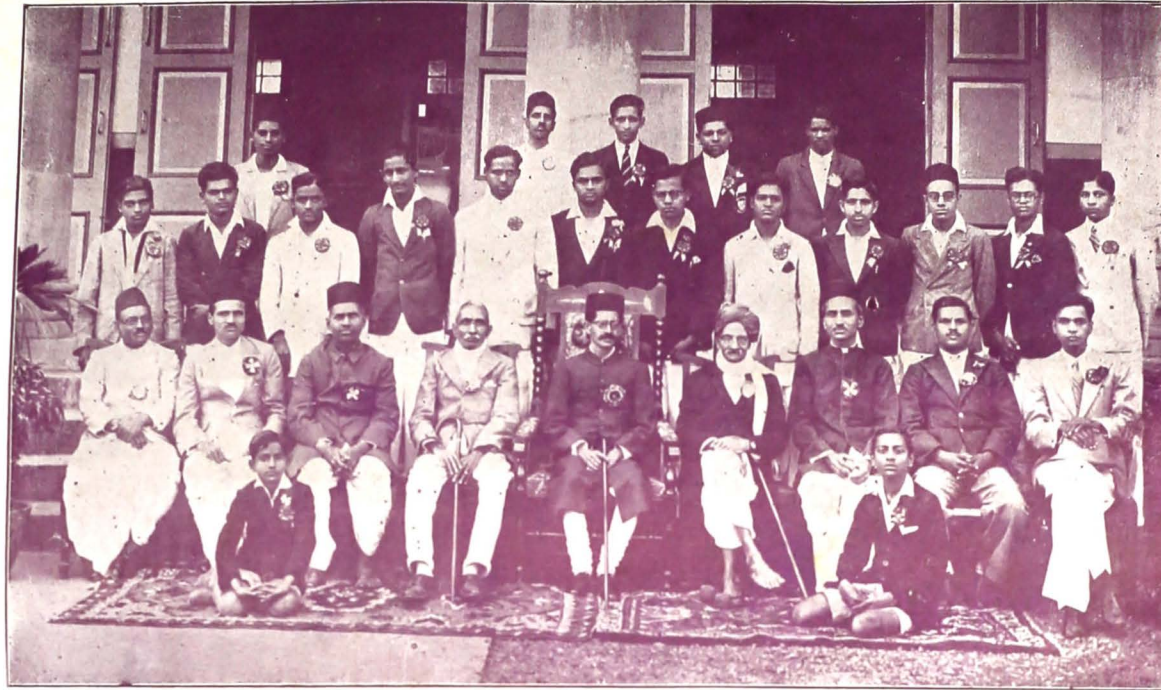
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Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.



Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M. L. C.



The President, Secretaries and Volunteers.

XVI National Liberal Federation of India.

Sunday, 30th December 1934.

Text of Resolutions Passed.

1. THE YEAR'S LOSSES.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the great loss the Liberal Party has sustained in the deaths of Sir Provash Chunder Mitter and Mr. A. P. Sen who rendered good service to the country and to their party.

Put from the chair and carried unanimously.

II. INDIANS IN ZANZIBAR.

(a) The Federation views with grave concern and resentment the sudden adoption some months ago by the Government of Zanzibar of several "decrees", the cumulative effect of which must inevitably be to make it impossible for the Indian community to earn its living in a land where it has been established for a long time prior to the establishment of the British Protectorate. These decrees place them at a disadvantage as compared with their European commercial rivals and create bitterness between them and the Arab and African communities. The fact that the Land Alienation Decree imposes even on Indians born in Zanzibar disabilities which do not apply to Arabs born in Arabia who are not British subjects clearly shows that the new legislation is aimed against Indians. Such differential treatment of Indians in a colony under the direct control of His Majesty's Government which insists on equality of Britishers with Indians in India gives rise to separatist feelings and tends to destroy the unity of the Empire.

(b) The Federation records its appreciation of the prompt action of the Government of India in deputing Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I.C.S., to investigate the situation on the spot. It regrets, however, that Mr. Menon's Report has not yet been published and urges the immediate publication of Mr. Menon's Report on the Zanzibar decrees and the announcement by the Government of India that they have full sympathy with the grievances of Zanzibar Indians and will strain every nerve to get them redressed and to have the status of Indians in Zanzibar placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.

(c) The Federation also urges the early publication of Mr. Menon's Report on Marketing Legislation in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, which legislation is believed to be detrimental to Indian interests.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay.)

Carried unanimously.

III. JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT AND INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound regret at finding that the Joint Select Committee's report, instead of removing the glaring defects and shortcomings of the White Paper proposals that were pointed out by the Federation at its two previous sessions has, in utter disregard of almost the entire body of Indian opinion of all shades including the British Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee, introduced further highly objectionable and reactionary features, rendering responsible government in the provinces and the centre which the British Government profess to give to India, wholly illusory. The Federation is convinced that any Constitution based on the lines of the

Joint Select Committee's Report will be wholly unacceptable to all shades of Indian political opinion and will, far from allaying, very much intensify the present deep political discontent in the country. This Federation, therefore, does not want any legislation based upon the Joint Select Committee's Report.

Proposed by The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D. (Madras).

Seconded by Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad (Bombay).

Supported by Rao Raja Pandit Shiam Bihari Misra (U. P.)

- „ „ Mr. M. D. Shahane (C. P.)
- „ „ Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay)
- „ „ Pandit Radhe Shyam Rastogi (U. P.)
- „ „ Mr. E. Vinayak Rao (Madras).
- „ „ Mr. B. S. Kamat, M. L. C. (Bombay).
- „ „ The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna (Bombay.)
- „ „ Prof. B. B. Roy (Bengal.)
- „ „ The Hon'ble Pandit P. N. Saprú (U. P.)
- „ „ Mrs. Sushilabai Deshpande (Bombay.)
- „ „ Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., M. L. A. (Bombay.)
- „ „ Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan (Bombay.)
- „ „ Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E. (Madras.)
- „ „ Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A. (Bombay.)
- „ „ S. A. Megharian (Bombay.)
- „ „ Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Bombay.)
- „ „ Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Bombay.)
- „ „ Pandit Haradatta Sharma (Punjab.)
- „ „ Prof. M. D. Altekar (Bombay.)
- „ „ Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal.)
- „ „ Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay.)
- „ „ Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan (Madras.)
- „ „ Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (U. P.)

Carried unanimously.

IV. COUNCIL AND OFFICE-BEARERS.

(a) This Federation elects the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú, (2) Mr. S. M. Bose, and (3) Mr. Surendranath Varma to be the Honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next Session.

(b) The Federation elects a council consisting of the persons named* to function until the election of another Council by its next session.

Put from the Chair.

Carried unanimously.

V. VENUE OF THE NEXT SESSION.

Resolved that the Seventeenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Nagpur in the last week of the year 1935.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Berar.)

Seconded by Mr. N. A. Dravid (C. P.)

Carried unanimously.

VI. VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

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

Seconded by Mr. S. M. Bose (Bengal.)

Supported by Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmulgund (Bombay.)

Carried unanimously amidst acclamation.

CONCLUDING SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

* Vide Appendix D.

"The National Liberal Federation of India.

(**SIXTEENTH SESSION.**)

Friday, the 28th December 1934.

The sixteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in the Gokhale Hall at Poona on Friday, the 28th December 1934 at 3 p. m. The Hall was tastefully decorated with flags and buntings and was filled to its maximum capacity by members of the Reception Committee, delegates and visitors, both men and women.

The President-Elect, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, who arrived at the Hall at 3 p. m., was received by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Chairman and other office-bearers of the Reception Committee and conducted to the platform in procession. As the President entered the Gokhale Hall, the whole assembly rose to its feet and enthusiastically cheered him till he had taken his seat.

The proceedings commenced by the singing, by the students of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Poona, of the prayer and welcome songs specially composed for the occasion. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Chairman, Reception Committee, then delivered the following welcome address :

XVI National Liberal Federation of India.

—:O:—

Poona, 1934.

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale,
B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Advocate, Satara City.

Fellow Liberals, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome.

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the 16th Annual Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, it is my proud privilege and singular good fortune to offer, as Chairman, a most cordial and respectful welcome to our distinguished President-elect and to you all to this historic City of Poona, once the seat of the Great Maratha Empire, founded by Shri Shivaji Maharaj and consolidated into a Maratha Confederacy in the time of his grandson Shri Shahu by his Peshawa Balaji Vishwanath—a confederacy which for 100 years was the great centre of events throughout the length and breadth of India. The memory of those days stirs within me emotions, which it is my privilege to feel and I trust and express the hope that it will inspire you with similar feelings to-day when the idea of an All India Federation is within sight.

Preliminary.

2. It was with deep regret that in the middle of the year 1918, we liberals decided to organise ourselves separately from the Indian National Congress to which most of us belonged and in which our aims and aspirations were nurtured. At the 1st Session the most important question for our consideration was the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. The course of Congress Politics since then, has passed through many a meanderings and it is a matter of some satisfaction that it has at last reverted to Parliamentary methods and has thus vindicated the steps which we were obliged to take 16 years ago. During all this period the liberal Party had to contend against many difficulties due both to the misrepresentation of our own countrymen and the policy of our British Government which during the last 12 years has steadily grown from bad to worse. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is Government who have by their policy and attitude driven many to extremism. The out-standing feature of the years 1933-34 has been the publication of the White Paper and the recent publication of the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reforms. These are the principal subjects a detailed examination of which properly falls within the scope of the presidential address and the deliberations and decisions of the delegates. As Chairman of the Reception Committee, I think it will not perhaps be appropriate for me to traverse the ground by a lengthy criticism of the several subjects dealt with in the Report. At the same time I recognise that I shall be failing in my duty if I omit all reference to the Report which is the crux of the present situation when we are on the eve of entering on a great period of fundamental constitutional changes. I propose, therefore, to offer a few remarks by way of a general criticism of the survey of the principles of a constitutional settlement contained in the introductory section of the Joint Committee's Report. I take it to be my business to introduce you into the principles governing the framework of the future Constitution adumbrated in the 1st introductory section of that colossal document.

The Text Book of the Statutory Commission.

3. At the out-set it may be stated that there is scarcely a page or a paragraph in the sections of the Report with which I propose to deal, which does not bear a reference to the statements, promises and conclusions of the Statutory Commission

which are taken as a basis for the recommendations by the Joint Committee. Now, as you all know the Statutory Commission was an all British Members Body from which Indians were excluded. The material that was placed before that Commission, boycotted as it was by all nationally, politically-minded people including the moderate element of the Liberals, was extremely poor, nay most misleading and at times even mischievous, the evidence tendered before it consisting of any but the liberal-minded non-communal national body of opinion. A good deal of criticism had been, as you know, already levelled at the composition and the work of that Commission, which had not the advantage of having on it even one Indian to act as a corrective to misconceptions and ignorance inherent in and natural to the knowledge of a foreign element unacquainted with the real history and correct state of things of the Indian Society. The facts found and the conclusions derived from them by that Commission cannot therefore, be regarded as correct or sound, being based on *ex parte* statements interested and one-sided, lacking in that dis-interested and impartial treatment at the hands of a body charged with the greatest of responsibilities but unequipped with that correct much needed perspective and suffering from the fatal infirmity of having to deal with practically *ex parte* statements in the absence of the evidence and views of recognised political organisations and leaders of the Indian people, and yet the Committee states in the opening paragraph that they have taken the survey of such a Commission both as the starting point and the text book of their investigation. The Committee itself admits that material has sensibly affected their judgment. No wonder then if their recommendations are vitiated by the course thus adopted by them.

A Peep into the Past.

4. The observations with regard to the narrowness of Hinduism and its remaining unaffected by the contact with the philosophies of the West, are far from the truth. The *Aupanishadika Mono-theism* of the Hindus culminating in the teaching of the *Gita* with its doctrine of the equality of man and the Supreme value of human co-operation and worship of Him by means of service of humanity irrespective of caste and community is too well-known to need repetition. In the vast field of Hindu Scriptures there is none more universally revered by all sections of the Hindu Society including the non-vedic schools like Jains and the Budhists. Mr. F. T. Brooks, in his gospel of life, has stated that not only does the *Bhagwatgita* fulfil every condition needed for becoming a National Scripture of India—a link between her many scattered sections—a priceless asset of the National life to be, it is pre-eminently a scripture of the future world religion, a gift of India's glorious past to the moulding of the still more glorious future of the mankind. Its Catholicism and effort at synthesis as also its practical philosophy have made it popular among the younger generation, whose keen interest in it is evidenced by its participation in large numbers in the celebration of the *Gita Jayanti Anniversaries*. It may be (as the Report says in connection with the Indian political aspirations) that this heart of Hinduism affects a fraction of the vast population of India; nevertheless as the Report itself admits a public opinion does exist in this behalf which is strong enough to affect what has been for generations the main strength of the Government of India—its instinctive acceptance by the mass of the Indian people. The value and estimate of the influence of what is called a politically-minded class is generously appreciated in the Report in the same paragraph (No. 11). The observation about Hinduism in the Joint Report above referred to is followed in the same sentence by the remark "The Religion of Islam on the other hand is based upon the conception of the equality of man". May I ask in all humility whether this conception is not confined to but a smaller fraction of a politically-minded class than the Hindu.

5. It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagwat-Gita* were translated by Prince Darasheko, the eldest son of Shaha Jahan and it is well-known how Akbar had attempted to amalgamate the two religions in a new dispensation, and Saints like Kabir in the North and Shaik Mahomad in Maharashtra preached the same higher Law to Hindus and Mohamedans alike. Hindu Saints like Tukaram, Ekanath, Ramdas had composed verses in Urdu of so Catholic a character as to be unobjectionable to the strictest Mohamedans. These Saints practised and preach-

ed in the vernacular the liberal religion of the Gita in the Deccan; while Suradas, Nanak and Chaitanya did so in different parts of Northern and Eastern India. Warren Hastings got the translation of the Gita made by one Mr. Wilkinson in 1785. There was a tendency towards a reconciliation of the two races in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Rama and Rahim in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Before leaving this subject I take the liberty of quoting the last paragraph of Chapter VIII of the History of the Rise of the Maratha Power by the late Mr. Justice Ranade:—

“ We have thus noticed all the principal features of the religious movement, which commencing from Dnyanadev who lived in the 12th Century, can be traced to the end of the last century of a steady growth in spiritual virtues. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of the caste exclusiveness. It raised the Shudra classes to a position of spiritual and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmins. It gave sanctity to the family relations, and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mohamedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies and of pilgrimages and fasts and of learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to higher level of capacity both of thought and action and prepared in a way no other nation in India was prepared to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power.”

6. Mr. Ranade has shown that during the period immediately preceding the British conquest there had been achieved a liberalisation in the religious thought of the people and the spirit of tolerance engendered with the result that the communities were acting in a friendly spirit towards each other, since the advent of the Protestant movement which was inaugurated by the Saints and Prophets and which bears a curious parallel to the history of the Reformation movement, which sprang up in western Europe about the same time. I may be excused for a lengthy reference to the social or socio-religious aspect of Indian conditions, but it was necessitated owing to the prominent references to the peoples of India and their condition as bearing on the political aspect contained in paragraphs 1,2,6,7,8,9, of the Report. The Historical survey made in Volume I of the History of the Marathas by Mr. Ranade from which the above mentioned quotation is extracted would render the standard works on early Anglo-Indian History on which the Statutory Commission has probably based its survey referred to in Para 1 of the Report, mostly obsolete, and I hope that a second Volume foreshadowed by Mr. Ranade will soon be made possible with the help of the materials which are and are being made available from the Peshwas' Daftar and the Residency Records at Poona by the labours of R. S. Sardesai and Prof. Sir Yadunath Sarkar.

The Communal decision.

7. In the first section of the Report it is stated that the diversity of Indian civilisation and the variegated nature of the Provinces inhabiting them constitute insuperable difficulties in the way of constitution-making and that Parliamentary Government as prevailing in England will not suit Indian climate or Indian races; but for years past a particular form of Government is held up as capable of bringing the greatest good of the greatest number. The Report has laid stress on certain facts saying they are of the essence of the problem and we should be doing no good service to India by glozing them over. These difficulties it is stated, must be faced not only by Parliament but by Indians themselves. Again towards the end of paragraph 20 of the Report, it is complained that “there is the age-old antagonism between Hindu and Mohamedan Communities with numerous self-contained and exclusive minorities with rigid divisions of castes and therefore it is stated that Communal representation must be accepted as inevitable at the present time, but it is a strange commentary on some of the democratic professions to which we have listened”. This brings me to refer to a short history of separate Mohamedan representation from 1892 upto the present day. This history upto the passing of the Government of India Act is taken from a note attached to Appendix V to the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Volume I pp. 183 to 189). Lord

Morley, Secretary of State for India in 1908, while accepting the principle of adequate Mohamedan representation, expressed great doubts as to the suggestion for separate electorates. The following quotation from that Note will be found very helpful at this time when we are on the eve of a full responsible Government in India. "In considering the Morley-Minto Reforms as they affect the question of Communal representation, three points must be borne in mind. Firstly the scheme was merely a further application of the principle of representation by Classes and Interests, the previous arrangements (of nomination) not having been found satisfactory. Secondly, the political importance of the Community carried greater weight than its numerical strength in fixing the extent of the representation to be granted. And thirdly, the reconstruction of the Councils was not intended as a step in the direction of the establishment of Parliamentary Government in India. In Lord Morley's famous phrase 'if it could be said that this chapter of Reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it.'" The Government of Bombay stated in 1918 in paragraph 11 of their letter No. 1416 dated 21st February 1918, that communal representation was not acceptable to them. The Montford Report says that communal electorates are opposed to the teaching of history, they perpetuate class division teaching men to think as partisans and not as citizens and they stereotype existing relations and they conclude by saying "we regard any system of communal electorates therefore as a very serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principle. *The evils of any extension of the system are plain.*" The views of the Government of India on the recommendations of the South-Borough Committee with regard to the communal electorates are given in paragraphs 18 to 24 of their fifth Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms. They state:—"We feel the objections of principle of the communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report, but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal and we can only echo the hope expressed by the Committee that it will be possible at no distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate. At the meeting of the Congress in Madras in December 1927 Joint Electorates with reservation of seats were resolved upon. In the same month a section of the Muslim League at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Moulavi Mahamod Yakub practically accepted the resolution of the Madras Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha has all along insisted on the abolition of separate electorates. The All Parties Conference, at which no less than 24 organisations both non-communal and communal representing Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsees were represented, appointed a Committee and their Report embodied in what is called the Nehru Report also rejected separate electorates and advocated joint mixed electorates throughout India. The All India Liberal Federation has all along in its several sessions advocated abolition of separate electorates.

8. Experience has shown that separate electorates have but tended to emphasise the differences and increase the tension between the communities. The Government of Bombay have admitted in the Memorandum issued by them in 1928 that Communal dissensions are worse now than they were in 1919. The Reforms Enquiry Committee of 1924 were entirely opposed to the extension of the principle of separate electorates any further and yet strange to say it has been applied in the case of other communities also. The view generally accepted by the Nehru Report is that in any rational system of representation separate electorates must be discarded. The trial given to it during the last 14 years having failed to secure a better understanding between the two communities, may I ask, has not the time come for another experiment of mixed electorates with reservation of seats or the system of proportional representation which can be practicable at least in the case of Second Chambers to secure representation for minorities, as the Second Chamber will be constituted by an electorate with special qualifications. The question of Joint Vs. Separate electorates has for the last five years been discussed threadbare and it is sufficient to observe that it is admitted by all including the advocates of separate electorates that the system of separate electorates is the very negation of democracy and is inconsistent with the responsible form of Government. But it is demanded on the ground that it is necessary to protect the interest of

Muslim minorities. We have not, however, been told how such a system can protect their interest. Mr. Moulavi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., Bengal, in his speech at the last Session of the Liberal Federation held at Madras has torn to pieces the justification for the Award as given, sanctioning separate electorates on the grounds alleged on page 18 of the White Paper. The Lucknow Pact was part of a whole Scheme which if at all should have been accepted in full or thrown out. Besides, it was intended as a temporary make shift. Dr. Ambedkar—a member of the Committee appointed to confer with the Indian Statutory Commission has in his report published as Appendix B in Volume III of the Indian Statutory Commission emphatically stated that “for the error of separate communal constituencies, which have been condemned as vicious and unsound from time to time in several documents both official and non-official, the Lucknow Pact should not and cannot be quoted as any justification for the continuance thereof, nor is it correct to say that India itself has deliberately chosen this road to responsible Government, for it is the British authorities, who are primarily responsible for pointing out this wrong road in 1909.” This last remark might well be applied to the so called Communal Award of 1933.

9. But assuming that no agreement could be reached between the communities, is that a reason for the Government to take a decision, which is unsound in principle and opposed to all true canons of democracy. It is often asserted on behalf of the British Government that it is a Trustee for the people of India. Assuming this position for a moment, may I ask what is the duty of a Trustee in relation to his *Cete Que Trust*. If we take the analogy of the Court of Wards in charge of the estates and interests of its Wards, some of whom, let us say, are minors and others majors. The trusteeship continues with reference to all, surely the trustee as guardian of the welfare of his Wards, is expected, nay bound, to do whatever is in the true interest of his *Cete Que Trust* as a whole. He cannot allow the whims and vagaries of a section to prevail. He cannot placate some and adopt measures (for fear of displeasing them), which are detrimental to the true interests of the whole body of the Wards. He should not care whether the wards agree or whether his decision pleases some and displeases others. It is his plain duty not to do anything which is wrong in principle and opposed to the general well-being of the *Cete Que Trust*. Already the British Rulers are being accused of pursuing a policy of divide and rule, and when it is found that their action and course of conduct lie in the direction of not discouraging communalism, but in a contrary opposite way, what wonder if public opinion gets more and more alienated and the chances of establishing good relation between Indians and Britishers become more and more remote. Reference is made in the same para to the British conception of a Parliamentary Government and to the difficulties and obstacles in the way of adopting the same for India. May I ask if Government has not been cognizent of these long, long ago. And is it not a commentary on the professions of the British Government, to which we have listened many a time that they have been training us as apprentices in the art of Self-Government. Are they now by continuing the vicious system of communal electorates and by adding on the top of it numerous safe-guards, again said to be in the interests of the minorities leading us on the right path to reach the goal of real self-Government or are they leading us on a wrong path, calculated to result into something which is no self-Government in a real sense, securing the well-being of the people of this country for whom it is being enacted. I do not mind whether the Reforms are satisfactory or not whether they are adequate or otherwise. If and so long as they are grounded on vicious principles which go to the root and are the very core of an unsound foundation, I would refuse to have anything to do with them because I feel they contain the germs of their own self-destruction, no matter by what grandiloquent name they are called. The object of my dealing with this trite subject at some length is to show that I personally feel that there is no possibility of any constitutional advance in the Scheme of the Report towards responsible and democratic Government.

10. Added to the already numerous safe-guards—communal, commercial &c. we have further set backs recommended in the Report. Take for instance the addition of a Second Chamber in Bombay and Madras which does not find a place in the White Paper. Now, if this is intended to act as a brake on the Lower House, may I ask

why any special or separate representation is necessary to be still retained in it to guard this special and separate interest, since they would be sufficiently safeguarded in the Second Chamber. Now that we are having Provincial Autonomy, any separate representation of special or communal interest cannot really fit in with the form of Government, with a joint responsibility. Enormous difficulties will be created by Communal representation in Ministries, which cannot be homogeneous. These are fully admitted to exist in paras 112 and 113 and therefore it is stated that reserve powers are necessary to be given to the Governor and this is said to be a guarantee for the development of responsible Government. Is it not a sad commentary on the bonafides and intentions of the British Government that they are really anxious to lead us to the goal of a True Democratic form of Government.

11. After having established peace and order in the country of their conquest the next step in the right direction was to train the people for self-Government on sound lines, so as to give a right turn to meet the admittedly natural aspirations of the people with an ancient civilisation and culture when these aspirations began to find expression in public opinion. Far-sighted as the British Statesmen are should they not have checked the growth of selfishness and narrow out-look so as to create a bond of union and good-will among the Indians *inter se* and between the Indian and the British people? Should they not have proceeded to pursue policies and build up a constitution calculated to bring about this result. But we search in vain for any such attempt in the proposed Constitution. Much is made of the differences amongst us and it is said over and over again that we ask too much or that there is no agreement even as to any constructive and reasonable alternatives to the proposals they have framed. In this connection much can be said with reference to what took place in the discussions at the Round Table Conferences. Suffice it to refer to the assurances given that the agreement reached at the R.T.C. will be the basis of the Legislative proposals. When it was found after the issue of the White Paper that the principles contained therein fell far short of the assurances, efforts were made by the Indian Delegation associated with the J. P. C. to bring about modifications in the scheme. These may be said to crystallise the Indian moderate public opinion and were embodied in the Memorandum submitted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and jointly submitted by other British Indian Delegates of these Conferences to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Was this not a united demand made by the Delegates like His Highness the Aga Khan and Messrs. Abdul Rahim, Shafat Ahamedkhan, A. H. Ghuznavi, Zafrulla Khan, Jayakar, H. S. Gour, Phiroz Setna, Butasingh, Henry Gidney, B. R. Ambedkar and N. M. Joshi. What better representative character both as regards communities and interests and representing moderate public opinion in India could there have been and yet we look in vain for any modification in the Report from the White Paper proposals by the light of the views contained in these Memoranda. If we read the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee it seems to breathe throughout a spirit of over cautiousness and anxiety to conciliate British Conservative opinion but not even Indian Moderate opinion, let alone other Nationalist views. All this shows that the argument of want of agreement is put forward when it suits the British authorities but is rejected no sooner than it runs counter to their interests.

12. If I have dealt at some-what greater length with the problem of Communal Representation, it is because I find that our differences and particularly communal differences have been exploited in no small a measure by the Committee in shaping a structure so heterogeneous in character and so fundamentally opposed to the training in and development of democratic ideals. I consider this defect of communal Representation in a Democratic Body affects the most vital and basic principle in any constitutional advance towards a full Responsible Self-Government. I hope that if it is not possible to make any modifications in this behalf just at present, at least a definite time limit should have been put and constituent powers to Indian legislatures should have been granted in this as well as some other particulars so that separate electorates and other defects may disappear in a brief space of time. The result of the recent elections to the Assembly wherein in Delhi Mr. Usuf Alli was elected on a joint electorate also another Muslim in the N. W. Frontier Province and an Indian Christian in Madras, shows that the fears entertained about minorities are groundless. I cannot allow the statement in paragraph 120 of the Report that "There is among almost all the communities in India

(not excepting the Hindu) a very considerable degree of acquiescence in the Award" go unchallenged. As regards the want of any solution agreed between the Communities I have already dealt with it and shown that it would be possible, nay, it would be the bounden duty of Government to alter this foundation of the Award and Government need not be afraid that the consequences of an alteration or modification of it would be as the Report puts it, disastrous. Did not the Government enact a measure like the Rowlat Act in the teeth of unanimous opposition to its enactment from all quarters? There is undoubtedly a very large volume of opinion against the arrangement embodied in the Award and it has the support of right behind such opinion. Why should Government not realise that the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference were not elected but nominated and their nomination was confined only to a single group of people of separatist tendencies. The nomination of Nationalist Muslim like Dr. Ansari was rejected because the reactionary Muslim Group objected to his inclusion, being afraid he would explain the real position to the British Parliament and the whole game would be up. We know how the Muslim reactionaries entered into an unholy alliance known as the Minorities Pact and after this Pact the Award was given, which is opposed on all hands except by the Communalists. And here I may quote what is stated in the Report:—"In these circumstances Communal Representation must be accepted as inevitable at the present time, but it is a strange commentary on some of the democratic professions to which we have listened." May I know whether it is not a strange commentary on the professions made by the British Authorities to which we have listened from time to time that they are leading us on the path to reach the goal of self-Government while perpetuating conditions antagonistic to it.

Democracy and Federation.

13. Arguments are employed almost in every page of the report to whittle down real Responsible Government by stating that Indian soil is not suited to such a form of Government and that there has been no seed sown in it, which could be developed into Self-Government and therefore in planting a foreign seed in a foreign land, safe-guards are necessary at every stage. This line of reasoning seems to ignore the admitted fact that the nucleus of democracy is to be found in the Village Councils which were indigenous to India and which had survived revolutions and changes of dynasties and though neglected by Mohamedan Rulers, they were revived in the time of the Peshwas. Elphinstone, the first English Administrator after the Peshwas, had attempted to keep up the Panchayat system but he found no support from the British Authorities and the centralised machinery of Administration was adopted by them. Mr. H. G. Franks has, as the result of his study of the valuable documents found in the Residency Records at Poona, given a detailed account of the system and deriving 18 lessons from it, has concluded by saying "India must realise that they (Village Councils) contained in them an amazing potentiality for Swaraj". It may be noted that in the Review of Local Self-Government of the Bombay Presidency published in March 1931, it is admitted that upto a certain period there existed in various parts of India elaborate Self-Governing Organizations, the powers of which the Rulers of those days upheld and confirmed and in certain cases there is evidence that even the elective principle was well-known if not in common use. It may be mentioned that in other countries there have been difficulties similar to those mentioned in the Report, but they have been solved by adopting forms of Government like the Canadian, which, as pointed out by the very Viscount Bryce, quoted by the Committee in another connection has been prescribed "Not merely by the diversities to be found in vast territories stretching westward from Novascotia to the Pacific but also by the dual character of the population, one-third of which speaks French and follows the Roman Law, whereas in the other provinces the Common Law of England prevails." It is noteworthy that this Constitution was adopted with a full realisation of possible communal difficulties. It has been said that if any source of danger to peace and good Government was discerned, it lay in the existence of two races, which mutually jealous showed no tendency to blend. As has often been noticed, the success and strength of the Canadian System has been to a large extent achieved by vesting very wide power in the Central Legislative Authority by making the Judicial Authority inherent solely in the Dominion Government

except in respect of minor local jurisdictions, and by deeming all powers and functions not expressly assigned to the Provinces to belong to the Dominion. The appropriateness of these ideals to our country which also needs a strong central Govt. composed as it is of widely different units and therefore likely to exhibit centrifugal tendency is obvious. I have already shown how both the soil and the seed necessary for a development of Self-Government have been there and if it is nurtured and fostered with parental care it could not but yield excellent fruit. In the village institutions we had the seed of the primary foundation and basis of true democracy.

14. In the Maratha Confederacy, we have had a seed of the future Federated India. Here, however, it behoves the paramount power to nurture it as a parent entrusted with the care of the well-being of the vast mass of population of India. Unless an attitude and policy of training the Princes and Rulers of Indian States in an apprenticeship in the right lessons of the Self-Government is adopted by the paramount power, the ideal of a greater Federated India would not be successful. In paragraph 7 of the Report allusion is made to the history of the Moghul Empire and the earlier Hindu Kings and a picture of the condition of things which preceded British Rule is outlined in this and the subsequent paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 the latter two being devoted to the influence of British connection for good. It is not correct to say that British Rule succeeded the Moghul Rule. I again take the liberty of quoting in this connection extracts from the history of the Marathas by the Late Mr. Justice Ranade, both because of its relevancy to the statement in para 7 of the Report and as bearing on the issue of a Federal form of Government for India (British and Indian). " In the first place it should be noted that the immediate predecessors of the British Rulers in India were not the Mohamedans, as is too often taken for granted, but they were the native Rulers of the Country who had successfully thrown off Mohamedan yoke. Mr. Grant Duff, indeed, claims for Maratha history this particular feature of interest, and describes the Marathas as our predecessors in conquest in India, whose power was gradually gaining strength, before it found a head in the far famed adventurer, Shivaji Bhosle. Except in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast, the powers displaced by the English conquest were not Mohamedan Subhedars, but native Hindu Rulers, who had successfully asserted their independence. Among these native powers, the first place must be assigned to the Members of the Maratha Confederacy. The history of the Marathas is a history of the confederated States. Even at the present day, though the British Rulers of India occupy the place of the Peshwas and of the Moghul Emperors as Suzerain Power, to which all other States are subject, the remnants of the Confederacy that are still in the enjoyment of Subordinate independence at Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, Kolhapur, Dhar and Dewas, the Southern Maratha Chiefs and the Maratha population of about 30 millions included in the Bombay Presidency and Native States as also in the Central Provinces, Berars, and the Nizam's Country, represent a power, which is second to none among the native communities and States, which enjoy the protection of and own allegiance to, the British Rule. This element of present influence cannot also fail to have a deep interest to those who can see far into the future of the possibilities open to a Federated India, distributed according to Nationalities and subjected to a common bond of connection with the Imperial Power of the Queen Empress of India."

15. The Joint Select Committee deals with the question of the Indian States and the All India Federation in paragraphs 28 to 33. In this connection I might simply say that the Liberal Federation has been in favour of such an All India Federation on terms equitable to British India and the Indian States, which are the remnants of the Confederacy as stated above and do not wish to enter into further details of this problem except to express a hope that the Princes will realise that while maintaining a continuity of their monarchies, it is necessary for them to introduce desirable modifications on the lines of all modern democratic Governments and that the British Government will exercise its vast influence not only in inducing the Princes to join the Federation, without any loss of time but also to reform their own form of Government on the model of the King's Government in Britain, so that the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States may together march and labour harmoniously for the good of the entire sub-continent of India. In ancient times, the Princes of those days were noted for their warlike spirit, chivalry and patronage of all that was good in the human

nature such as learning, music and fine arts and they had the happiness of their subjects as their main objective in life. They can foster the growth of arts and industries and patronise research in the handicrafts and small industries of India. Much can be effected by them in the way of the development and encouragement of the artisan industry whose position is now secure in the world economics on account of the international recognition it has gained in the highly industrialised West. There is ample scope yet for rural industries.

The Liberal Creed.

16. In Paragraph 20 of the Report (J. P. C.) it is stated that "there is no mobile body of political opinion, owing no permanent allegiance to any party and therefore able by its instinctive reaction against extravagant movements on one side or the other, to keep the vessel on an even keel and further that there are no great political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests." The Liberal Party is the Centre Party, the Party of Reform as distinguished from reactionary and revolutionary Bodies. "Liberalism" is more an attitude of mind than a party faith. It is as defined by Prof. Harold Lasky "the expression less of a creed than of temperament. It implies a passion for liberty, and that the passion may be compelling, it requires a power to be tolerant, even sceptical, about opinion and tendencies you hold to be dangerous, which is one of the rarest of human qualities." "Liberalism" appreciates the profound principle of liberty as a sure and potent if not the only factor of human progress, but its belief in liberty does not lead it to forget the imperative need of safe-guarding the other factor without which society must dissolve viz. Law, Justice and Order. It is in such a liberal spirit and with such liberal out-look that the labours of Raja Ram Mohanroy of Bengal and Mahadeo Govind Ranade of Bombay for the political and social amelioration in the Country were carried on and were continued by workers like Mr. Badruddin Tayabji, Sir Pherozsha Mehta, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gokhale to name only a few representatives of the illustrious dead. 'Liberalism' has no new philosophy to expound. The object of the "National Liberal Federation" of India is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status), for India at the earliest possible date, 'National' implies no distinction of caste, creed or community. 'Federation' connotes the union of several units belonging to the progressive school of thought. We are on the eve of getting responsible Government and we know mere destructive criticism will not be helpful. The fundamental principle of the Liberal Party is co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever necessary. This principle was accepted by followers of the Late Lokmanya Tilak, only it was given a new name by calling it "Responsive Co-operation" as distinguished from the then new cult of non-co-operation. And now after 12 years even the National Congress of to-day has come to see the wisdom of following the Parliamentary methods. The principles of the Liberal Party have been followed since the time of Dadabhoy Nowroji, the stalwart Liberal, and institutions founded by men like the Late Messrs. Ranade and Gokhale have all along worked on the same lines. With a rare foresight the Late Mr. Ranade had included in the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha, the oldest political Institution in the Deccan, among its Members almost all the Rulers of the Southern Maratha Indian States and representations were made on their behalf. The work done by the Servants of India Society and the Seva Sadan and recently by the Rural Uplift Associations under its auspices is well-known. 'Liberalism' is not a Western plant unknown to us before the advent of the British. As already stated the great Saints were all inspired by liberalism and the movement for the unification of several castes and communities initiated by men like Raja Ram Mohanroy and Ranade was continued, as evidenced by the Social Reform Conferences held from time to time. Altogether the principles of the liberal Party are gaining strength and there has been a remarkable awakening and progress in these principles among other Parties and Institutions though they may not have actually taken the label of the Liberal Party. And hence it may be said that the ranks of the Liberal Party are thin; the liberal party has no place for reactionaries and extremists alike. It is all for reform but is content with steady though not slow, progress, believing as it does in not breaking with the past. But may I ask if the Government policy has been such as to enhance its influence so that the public may be inspired with confidence

in its work. People judge by tangible results and by a perceptible impression made by a Party on Government. It is true that Government attitude in the beginning of the Montford Reforms was responsive but after the exit of Mr. Montague it soon degenerated with the result that the Liberal and the Non-co-operator, the Moderate and the Obstructionist were treated with equal indifference. Even a reactionary Secretary of State like Lord Birkenhead had expressed a hope that the Liberal Party might be yet a force to shape the Country's future for the better, but the Government in this Country has not done anything by adopting a progressive policy to encourage the work of the Liberals, nor has it shown itself amenable to any advice from the Liberal leaders. Government have not only strengthened their hands but actually tended to weaken their efforts in influencing public opinion to take sound and sober views and not to resort to extreme methods. My experience in the Reformed Councils extending over a period of a dozen years, has shaken my faith in the bonafides of Government who while professing to lead the Country on the right path for attaining the goal of Swaraj has let loose forces of communalism and self-interest retarding the spread of sound and broad principles.

Programme of work.

17. The programme of the Liberal Party, it being the Centre Party standing for Reform all round social, religious, political and economical, is such that it cannot very easily appeal to the Orthodox and Conservative section nor to the extreme radicals. It has to steer clear of both these extremes and adopt a mid-way course. Here it must be admitted that the vast rural areas covering this great country are yet but slightly touched and it behoves our Party to make concerted efforts in that direction. We must go among the people. The times are most favourable for a response to our principles. If we but make an effort to form a country-wide liberal Organisation and to devise plans for joint work in co-ordination with other Organisations, we shall achieve good results. Various problems, social, economic and financial require able and careful study. We have to prepare the masses for Modern India on social and religious subjects such as Women's rights, a reform of which has to be initiated through the Legislatures. Though the status of women in respect of franchise has been somewhat improved in the scheme of the Jt. Committee Report, yet immediate reform in their property rights is called for. Hindu religion is pre-eminently adapted to changing circumstances and forms of tradition and customs have to undergo a change for the future as they have done in the past. Society has to be purged of the cancer of communalism, which is eating in the vitals of the body politic, but which ought to find no quarter in public life. The communalists have only striven after more seats in Councils and more places in Local Bodies and Public Services. The condition of the agriculturists, their indebtedness and sad economic condition, and increasing unemployment among the lower and middle classes are some of the problems that have to be tackled. Religion and communalism is only being exploited for selfish ends. There is neither economic nor moral or truly religious out-look and there has been no awakening of a consciousness of true religion and culture. Communalism has utterly failed to ameliorate the conditions of the masses. It is time that Government should realise this and give no quarter to communalism. It is the duty of the Government also to discourage all tendencies of sectional and communal character and help the nationalist reformer who stands for the all round progress of the society on broad and non-sectional lines.

A definite programme of rural uplift for improving the conditions in the villages as also ameliorating the conditions of the backward must be laid down and carried out through the agencies of liberal associations already formed or to be formed for the purpose. Education of the electorate has to be carried on on sound lines so as to ensure election of representatives possessing character and broad unselfish out-look unswayed by consideration of caste, community or religion. An intensive campaign for the propagation of Swadeshism is rendered necessary owing to our powerlessness in bringing about discriminating legislation and thus encouraging our industries as is stated by me in dealing with the economic policy in the scheme of the J.P.C. It is to be hoped that men will be forth-coming to undertake the incessant work that is necessary for achieving success.

Communism.

18. A survey of the present situation will not be complete unless a reference is made to a topic which cannot be ignored. The seeds of communistic activities ought not to be allowed to be sown in this country. It is true that in India an atheistic and extreme socialism is almost unknown in the past. With wide-spread economic distress, however, it is becoming increasingly apparent that people stricken with poverty and suffering from discontent are too apt to fall a prey to communistic ideas. We must therefore, work for the uplift of the oppressed and depressed on proper lines and give no encouragement to any political agitation intended to exploit the misery and poverty of the people and prevent a dissolution in the existing order of the society. The work in this behalf before the Liberals is vast and complicated and unless vigorous efforts are made to improve the condition of the vast mass of people, who are suffering from poverty and distress, I am afraid the time will not be distant when the Country will be plunged into the vortex of extreme socialism. Government ought to realise this and consider if repression alone is calculated to remove the danger of communism, unless and until the root causes of the growing discontent are removed, and I shall not be far wrong, if I predict that the great National political body will be swamped by the growing number of communists. Government ought therefore to be made alive to the need of being responsive to Liberal ideas and efforts without being merely indifferent.

Past pledges and present proposals.

19. The Report of the Joint Select Committee while maintaining no doubt the general structure of the Constitution as adumbrated in the declaration of the Prime Minister at the First Round Table Conference viz. 1. Provincial Autonomy with safeguards and 2. All India Federation with some measure of responsibility at the centre, certain subjects such as defence and foreign Policy being reserved to the Crown during the period of transition, is silent as to Dominion Status being the goal of India. The Report only refers to the Preamble of the Govt. of India Act of the 1919, as setting out finally and definitely the ultimate aims of British Rule in India and states that subsequent statements of Policy have added nothing to the substance of this Declaration (Para 12 of the Report). In this connection, I crave the liberty of quoting from the solemn pledges contained in the Declaration of H. E. the Viceroy made on the 31st October 1929 acting under the orders of His Majesty's Govt. to the expectant millions of India that "in the judgment of that Govt. it was implicit in the declaration of August 1917, that the natural issue of India's Constitutional progress as there contemplated was the attainment of the Dominion Status." Not many months later once more Lord Irwin expressing the mind of the same Govt. used more definite language and promised India enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which she was not yet in a position to assume responsibility. Further at the end of the First Session of the Round Table Conference and also at the end of the second, the Prime Minister of England made pronouncements as the head of Labour Govt. and of the National Govt. This is what Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said on those occasions. "The view of His Majesty's Govt. is that responsibility for the Govt. of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights. In such Statutory safe-guards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Govt. to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own Government."

20. Dominion Status must therefore be definitely mentioned and the repeated attempts in Parliaments to disown Prime Minister's and Viceroy's Declarations should be finally set at rest by embodying a declaration of Dominion Status in the future Constitution Act. If we compare the proposals contained in the Report with the Declarations referred to, we will find that Lord Irwin's promise which is comprised in the small phrase "Maximum Self Rule and Minimum reduction possible from

Dominion Status", that promise cannot be said to be carried out in its spirit. The number and nature of safe-guards is such as to amount to almost a negation of real responsibility and power in the centre and real Autonomy in the Provinces, leaving aside the extreme demand of the substance of Independence, much less any approximation to Dominion Status. No doubt there are the high sounding words Provincial Autonomy, the Local Council being called the Legislative Assembly, an All India Federation at Delhi with a measure of responsibility at the centre; but the scheme of the Report grievously falls short of the following essentials to which we had looked forward :—

- (1) Full and unfettered responsible Government in the Provinces;
- (2) Central responsibility, which term includes
 - (a) control of the purse;
 - (b) the right of the Indian Legislature to determine the economic policy including the regulation of exchange, currency and industrial and commercial matters;
 - (c) increasing share of responsibility and control in connection with the defence and the Military.
- (3) Central Responsibility to be introduced simultaneously with Provincial Autonomy, lastly,
- (4) Safe-guards to be only for a fixed transitional stage and to be demonstrably in the interest of India.

The system of indirect election to the Central Legislature which has been substituted for direct election as recommended by the White Paper with the support of the Lofthian Committee, as also the method of election to the Second Chamber at the Centre and in the Provinces are extremely unsatisfactory. Again we find that Second Chambers have been introduced in Bombay and Madras, which is a new feature of the Joint Committee Report. If a Second Chamber has to be established to act as a check and safe-guard, why not do away with all special, or separate electorates in either the one or the other, the elections being on a common basis of franchise, whatever it may be. One Body would thus have at least been elected on the basis of a common electorate. But what do we find? The separate representation is also retained in either chamber and the heterogeneous character in both the bodies is being fully maintained. An all India Federation is welcome as laying down the foundation of Indian Unity, but as to the time for giving effect to the changes at the Centre it should be fixed, though there may be inserted a provision for extending the date so fixed for a short period if necessary. The period for the Indianisation of the Army to the fullest extent and the transfer of control over defence and foreign policy should have been fixed. The formulae in regard to commercial discrimination are not calculated to promote friendly commercial relations between India and England and must be modified. The list of safe-guards relating to Law and Order and Police Legislation is entirely unjustified as it betrays unwarranted distrust of Indian Ministers. The vast enumeration of the special powers both of the Governor-General and of the Provincial Governors cannot but force one to the conclusion that the Constitution instead of taking us from Bureaucracy to Democracy is calculated to lead to Autocracy. As I have already stated at the outset I do not propose to criticise the several features of the new Constitution but leave it to the deliberations of the Delegates to offer criticism on the several salient points in the Joint Committee Report. Personally I find no hope of securing any substantial improvement in any of the matters proposed in the Report. Whatever criticism I have made is intended to let the world know what I feel and strongly feel about certain fundamental aspects of the scheme.

Fiscal and Economic Policy.

21. I cannot leave this subject without referring to two aspects of the proposals—viz. the financial and fiscal and economic policy adumbrated in the Report. Finance is the key to the working of the whole machinery of the Government, be it autonomy or

Autocracy, or a mixture of both, because after all with the good-will of the people even Autocratic Government can give satisfaction to the people. Many of the Members of the Round Table Conferences' Committee appointed to deal with the subject of curtailing the Military expenditure expressed their strong opinion that the possibility of reducing the present high level of the military budget in the near future should be closely examined but we find nothing about the revision of Civil Servant salaries, nothing about the regulation of the military expenditure, nothing about the nationalisation of the Indian Army within a definite and fixed period, nothing about the reduction of the strength of British troops with a view to their final elimination, and the reservation of this head under the Constitution to the unfettered judgment of the Governor-General might remove the possibility of Reform in this direction forever. No reform of finance is likely to be of any benefit to the tax-payers, which does not start from a thorough over-hauling from the top of the scale and establishments of the Civil and Military Departments of the Government in India. It is time, we realise the futility of liberalising and refining our Constitution so long as official opinion in this respect refuses to evolve. By Indianisation it is meant that complete Indianisation of the forces in all branches within a definite period will be achieved. The Report instead of laying down a scheme for reducing expenditure to wipe off the Federal deficit, proceeds to deal with the question of meeting it by making certain proposals for allocating the revenues between the federation and the units and goes on to out-line a scheme of taxes on income. The inter-provincial wrangling since the Montford Reforms is due to the attitude adopted with reference to the income-tax. The Montford reforms have failed to attain even a partial success owing to the unsatisfactory financial allocation under the Meston Award. In this connection I may mention that in the Bombay Legislative Council a motion was brought that the Report of the Federal Finance Committee is unacceptable to Bombay in-as-much as the Bombay Presidency would not have sufficient revenue to enable its Government to function successfully. The motion was brought by the European Representative of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and was carried without a division, Government neither opposing nor supporting but undertaking to forward the proceedings of the debate to the proper authorities. I believe it was made available to the Joint Select Committee which however does not seem to have paid any heed to it with the result that the Bombay Presidency stands to suffer by the recommendation in regard to the distribution of the joint income between the Central and Provincial Governments. Reverting to the subject of retrenchment in expenditure and the re-organisation of the Civil and Military services the recommendation of the Committee is contrary to that of the Services' Committee of the Round Table. And here, I may add that the question of taking urgent steps in order to reduce the expenditure on the All India Services was fully debated last year on two occasions in the Bombay Legislative Council; and there was a strong body of opinion expressed on the need of a change in the method of recruitment to the All India Services and the scale of the salaries applicable to them, it was pointed out that as there was a reorganisation of the Provincial Services with reductions in the case of their pays, the present system of recruitment for the All India Services and fixation of salaries by the Secretary of State, should also undergo a change, so that the functions of the Secretary of State should cease and should be transferred to the Government in India, when the new Constitution comes into force. There is enough material expressing the opinion of the representatives of the people but all this has proved to be of no avail.

22. To turn to the economic aspect of the proposals may I know whether in the conditions prevailing in India the Policy of Free Trade, which had been followed from the beginning and insisted upon was suited to the circumstances of India since the time of the commencement of the British Rule. Why then, was it pursued without any modifications suited to the encouragement of its industries, arts and crafts, which have been totally ruined. The leading feature of the system was that it set a higher value on Commerce and Manufactures than on Agriculture and on Foreign over Home made goods and encourage exports. What wonder then if the average standard of living among the great majority of the people of India should be low and such as can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe. This statement appears in para 2 of the Report as also another about rarity of literacy for which again the British authorities are to a large extent responsible and this might well be another commentary on the

achievements of the British Rule in India spoken of in paragraph 6 of the Report. Belonging as I do to the old school of Liberals, I frankly admit that British Rule has brought peace and order to this country, but I am constrained to observe that its policies both in the sphere of economics and education have been far from satisfactory. Its educational policy has been condemned as being merely calculated to produce clerks and subordinate Govt. servants to assist the foreign bureaucracy in carrying on the day to day administration. When a staunch liberal like the late Mr. Gokhale attempted to introduce a Bill for Compulsory Education, quarter of a Century ago, it is well-known what fate it met owing to lack of support from the Government. Another Liberal of the moderate school the Late Mr. Justice Ranade had protested against the policy of Free Trade being applied to India in the early days, in a spirited and well reasoned paper appearing in the Journal of the Poona Sarwajanik Sabha so early as in the year 1892. But this protest voicing public opinion remained unheeded.

23. And even now what is the policy contained in the recommendations of the J. P. C.? The intention of the framers of the Report is starkly clear to any one who reads the report even cursorily. It is a matter of acknowledged history that before the period of Reforms the whole fiscal policy of India was dictated primarily by the interests of the English Trade. After the period of the reforms consequent on the adoption of the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission and the evolving of the "so-called" Fiscal Convention, India seemed for a time to enjoy a moderate measure of fiscal autonomy. This, it is clearly the intention of the J. P. C. Report, to whittle down to a vanishing point. There is great parade in what the J. P. C. has written on this question of the principle of reciprocity. It is unnecessary to labour at length the argument that there can be no effective reciprocity as between two units so differently composed and circumstanced as Great Britain and India. One has merely to think in such terms as the free and guaranteed right of Indian labour to migrate to England, of Indian Companies, Banks, and Shippers to operate in England, to expose the hollowness of the conception. There are two aspects to the recommendations made. One relates to "discriminatory or penal treatment" by customs duties of U. K. imports. Here what the J. P. C. writes makes it clear that reciprocity of trade relations between England and India i. e. preferential treatment of each other's goods is to be necessarily taken for granted. Imperial preference or rather English preference is no longer an open issue: We must constitutionally accept it and can negotiate Trade agreements with other countries only within the scope left open after this preference has been fully allowed for. How narrow this freedom is, will be made clear from the following sentence from the report (Last sentence, para 346 p. 206). The net effect may merely be summed up in the statement that the Indian Legislature will have in the future no opportunity or right of judging the question of English trade preference on its merits. It may no doubt be argued that the J. P. C. contemplates preference for Indian goods as equally taken for granted in England. To this it may be replied that the net benefits of the two sets of preferences may not be equal, that in effect there is every reason to believe that what we concede is very considerably more than what we receive and further that while the working and interpretation of the understanding will depend on the one hand with the English Parliament, it will depend on the other with the Governor-General in India. The other aspect of the J. P. C. recommendations refers to the restrictions on British subjects and companies operating in India. We may note at the outset that to-day it is universal where-ever conscious attempts at national regeneration are being made to restrict many spheres of economic activity in a country—especially such important spheres as Banking, Insurance, Shipping to the nationals of that Country. We are not concerned with the question as to whether this policy is the best for humanity but merely with the naked reality that the economic struggle has forced all nationalities to adopt such a policy if they would live. We note that there are even eminent English economists, who advocate a deliberate policy of "national self-sufficiency". India is notoriously not in a position to set a noble example to the world. It has already done so under compulsion for too long a time. It must adopt, if it is to develop or even merely to just hold its own, the same defence measures as are being adopted by other nationalities. The adoption of such measures necessarily means the ousting of non-nationals from such economic fields as they formerly occupied. The financial and industrial interpenetration of the Indian econo-

mic field is almost entirely by British businessmen. There is thus no exaggeration in saying that the recommendation of the J. P. C. that the British businessmen and companies shall always be treated entirely as if they were Indians, effectively prevents India from adopting the most important and efficacious methods of national economic regeneration adopted at present by the other countries. Nay, more, it creates a new field for the British in India i. e. the field at present occupied by non-British non-nationals in India. To what absurd length the J. P. C. is prepared to go in this matter is demonstrated by its remarks on the question of bounties and subsidies. The effect of what they say in this regard may best be illustrated by pointing out that if we vote for a shipping subsidy in India, the P. and O. S. N. Co. will necessarily be entitled to its share in this subsidy. The economic recommendations of the J. P. C. exhibit a strange conception of empire partnership. It is useless to comment on this conception at length. Only one thing need be said. It is that the J. P. C. has deliberately made it impossible for Indian Legislatures to pass important and useful Laws of a type to be found plentifully in the Statute books of Australia, Canada, South Africa or New Zealand.

24. All this forms no doubt a crushing reply to those of us who used to advocate the grant of special economic privileges to the Englishman for the purpose of securing his political good-will. We have now been forced constitutionally to grant the economic privileges, while no sign is forthcoming of the political good-will. I realise very well how utterly powerless we are to meet in any effective manner this oppressive measure of coercion. At the same time I feel that the very helplessness of our position should spur us to make efforts to at least make it clear to the Englishman that there is no measure of consent in the economic safeguards that are being imposed on us. The most direct method we can pursue is to intensify still further the campaign for the propagation of "swadeshism." If we cannot strive after national self-sufficiency by the regular legislative means, the only method to do this is by the voluntary action of the mass of consumers. This path is undoubtedly difficult and its success can, at best, be only partial. But past experience in this country has shown that even short-period waves of enthusiasm for "swadeshi" have helped considerably the cause of economic development. And if it becomes possible to organise this work constructively (and this should not be difficult for all political parties have ever been agreed about the measure) we may yet achieve results which may be significant for the future. In any case our efforts will at least, I hope, be of sufficient magnitude to make it clear to the English trader and industrialist that though he may have succeeded in taking full advantage of our situation and driving a hard bargain, he has in doing so entirely forfeited our good-will.

25. Lastly, it must be admitted that the general principle that the Constitution must be such as to contain within it seeds of growth is recognised, but at the same time it must be pointed out that excepting in matters relating to franchise, size and composition and that too, to a very limited extent no constituent powers have been assigned to the Legislature and the procedure suggested for amendments in the Constitution is far from satisfactory. A definite time limit within which this most heterogeneous constitution would be amended and that too without resort to Parliament would be an improvement on the proposals contained in the Part VI of Section 5 of the Report. It is to be hoped it may yet be possible in the light of reasonable criticisms of the Report to frame an Appendix of matters in respect of which the Indian Legislature should have power, subject to a requisite majority, to bring about the necessary amendment which the Federation may adopt. All the recommendations contained in the Report cannot be answered until after discussions in the open sessions and I therefore refrain from any further discussion of the subject. The Federation at its meeting in December last has in its Resolution No. 15 dealt in extenso with the proposals in the White Paper and has expressed its definite opinion on each of the points and I am sure our President and the Delegates will deal with those in the Report in a similar manner.

And let me now conclude with the principal teaching and closing prayer of that Master of the Upanishads—

उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।
क्षुरस्यधारा निशितादुरस्ययादुर्गपथस्तत् क्वयो वदन्ति ।

Awake, arise, approach and take advice of the worthy.
Difficult path that to tread (of Salvation, temporal and spiritual),
Sharp as the edge of a sword, say the Wise.

सहनाववतु । सहनौधुनक्तु ।
सहवीर्यकरवावहे ।
तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु । माविद्विषावहे ।
ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ।

**Let Him preserve us toget her to labour and enjoy, together achieving
valourous deeds, learn and shine together and not hate one another.**

Oh, Peace, Peace, Peace.

कठोपनिषद्

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay) in proposing that Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru be elected President of the sixteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India said :—

Mr. Chairman, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, forty-five years ago almost to a day I for the first time attended the session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in the year 1889. We heard on that occasion the great pioneers of the battle for Indian freedom, people like Hume, Charles Bradlaw, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Bannerji and Mr. Gokhale; the last one, I believe, made on that occasion his maiden speech on the Congress platform. But, ladies and gentlemen, there was one speech which attracted our attention by its earnestness and that speech was delivered by a venerable old gentleman from Allahabad, Pandit Ayodhya Nath Kunzru. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru is the worthy son of that worthy father. Giving up all the advantage of birth and possession and his own intellectual gifts which could have carried him very high in any walk of life he decided to devote his life to the service of the country and joined the Servants of India Society. Under Mr. Gokhale he received his training and he was sent by Mr. Gokhale to London to study in the London School of Economics. Having so qualified there, he came and worked under Mr. Gokhale for many years. He once went to East Africa to preside over the Indian Congress held by the Indians there. He was a delegate from the Liberal Party to England on the occasion of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and he has ever since devoted his life to the cause of the country. He has been for several years a member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces and for three years a member of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think you need any more words from me in support of the election of Pandit Kunzru to the chair. We cannot do better than ask him to take the chair and accordingly I move that he should be elected as President.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal), in seconding the proposal, said :—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the deliberations of us Liberals at this Conference will not be less anxious than the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. To guide us in those deliberations, we require a leader of experience, earnestness and capability. All those qualities we have in our President-elect. He has the further quality of youth. In most of our annual sittings, we had leaders of age and experience to guide us. On this occasion, when our future is going to unfold before us, we have a comparatively young man to preside over our deliberations. I have, therefore, great pleasure in seconding the proposal.

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion just seconded. I wish to add, however, a few words on the nature of the occasion on which we are met and the appropriateness of our choice of the President on this occasion. This is a most momentous session of the National Liberal Federation. We are apt to talk of our sessions as momentous, but this one is momentous in a sense in which no previous session could be said to be. We have before us the Joint Parliamentary Report and the first reading of the Bill before Parliament is over. The Bill will be published in the course of January 1935. We are met here to discuss the Joint Parliamentary Report and we have to express, it seems to me, clearly and definitely our attitude towards the Constitution Bill that is about to be enacted in Parliament. The choice of alternatives is not in our hands, it is in the hands of Parliament; but a clear and definite expression of our views is in our hands. Do we desire to live under the present regime with its known defects and deficiencies or do we desire to move on into regions to which the new con-

Election of President : *Messrs. T. R. V. Sastri, Mundle, Chintamani.*

stitution will take us with its unknown and unexplored deficiencies and difficulties? This is one matter of importance which will engage the attention of this session of the National Liberal Federation.

The other matter of importance, though not perhaps of equal importance but still of great importance to this party, is the question of reorganisation which a section of our party has brought as its reaction to the proposals contained in the Joint Parliamentary Report.

We require in our President, it seems to me, two apparently inconsistent qualifications. He has to be old and he has to be young. It seems to me that Pandit Kunzru eminently fulfils both these qualifications. He is young in spirit and comparatively young in years. He can understand the mental attitude of the younger generation, he can sympathise with their aspirations. At the same time he is old in experience in the service of our country. As it has been mentioned to you, he has been a member of the Servants of India Society for the last twenty-five years. The discipline that he has undergone, as you have been told, in the Gokhale school of politics and the great public work which he has been doing during the last so many years eminently fit him to preside on such an occasion. I have great pleasure in supporting the motion that Pandit Kunzru should take the chair on this occasion.

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Berar) : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I think nothing has been left for me to add to what has already been said on the suitability of the President-elect. I hope that under the guidance of Pandit Kunzru the National Liberal Federation will work constitutionally and persistently to attain the goal in view. With these words, I cordially support the proposal.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (U. P.) : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, as one who has been associated in public life with Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru closely and almost constantly for several years, it gives me peculiar pleasure to support the proposal which has been placed before you. I know no one either in the limited ranks of the Liberal Party or of the organizations that can boast of a numerous membership, I know no one in any organization, in any party or community, almost any one who has acquired a masterly grasp of principles, at the same time that he commands the details of almost every public question of importance as our distinguished President-elect. (Cheers). Son of Pandit Ayodhya Nath, disciple of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and colleague of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Pandit Kunzru combines in himself qualities which are not to be found among many men. His record of service is such that if he were vain he could be proud of it. As a member of the Servants of India Society, he has risen to the position of its Vice-President. As a public man of the United Provinces, he was elected member of the first Montagu-Chelmsford Legislative Council and later, he was a member of the Legislative Assembly. As a member of the Liberal Party, he rose to be one of the General Secretaries of the Federation and he was President of two Liberal Conferences, one at Cawnpore and the other at Amraoti—nine years ago. His interest in the welfare of Indians overseas was recognised by his election as President for the East Africa Indian Congress and by his selection as their spokesman in England in the following year. In England and in India he has done political work which in quantity and in quality compares favourably with the work of many men much older in years.

There is more to be said about Mr. Kunzru. While he is a politician to his finger tips, he is much more. As a member of the Servants of India Society, he is a true servant of the people of India. There is an all-India Social Service League of which he is the General Secretary and its life and soul. Those who come from northern India will be able to tell you how much that organisation is indebted to his guidance and his service and to what extent humble people numbering millions assembled at various places on occasions of religious festivals

Election of President : *Mr. Chintamani.*

are indebted for the loving service rendered to them by Mr. Kunzru and his colleagues. Mr. Kunzru has done more than any Congressman for the Harijan movement started by Mahatma Gandhi and was selected by him as the President of the United Provinces branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangha. I do not exaggerate when I say that it is literally true that every waking hour of Mr. Kunzru's life is spent in the service of the country. I can ask how many organizations in the country besides the Liberal Party can boast of members with a record of work comparable to his.

At the present moment, we are particularly happy in the selection of Mr. Kunzru as our President. I am quite sure that it must be very gratifying to Mr. Kunzru's feelings that this honour has been conferred upon him by the Reception Committee of the Federation in the city of Poona—Poona, the place of his and my Guru Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Gokhale's Guru, Ranade; Poona as the head-quarters of the Servants of India Society is Mr. Kunzru's second home in the country; Poona where this Federation is being held in a hall erected in honour and dedicated to the memory of Mr. Gokhale. Not only must it be gratifying to him that he is to be the President of the Federation session held at Poona, but he recognises how great and how complete is the confidence reposed in him by his unanimous and enthusiastic election as President in a year which, as has been said, is more important and more difficult for a Liberal gathering than any preceding year owing to the nature of the coming constitutional reforms. During the next one hour, you will see how our wisdom is vindicated by the very wise and at the same time vigorous pronouncement which we shall hear from him as President. Mr. Kunzru will not be ashamed to be described as a moderate, because he knows that moderation is not weakness any more than violence is strength or vulgarity is independence (Cheers). I was thinking how best to describe the political texture of Mr. Kunzru's utterances, and it suddenly came into my mind that the phrase that best describes it is the phrase by which the utterances of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta were described by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar—"animated moderation."

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me very great pleasure indeed to be associated with this proposition and I have not the slightest doubt that you will accept it not merely with unanimity but with enthusiasm.

The proposition was carried with acclamation. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru was then garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and installed in the presidential chair amidst loud cheers.

Mr. S. G. Gokhale, one of the Secretaries to the Reception Committee, then submitted to the Conference messages received from the following gentlemen regretting their inability to attend the Federation but expressing their sympathy with its objects and wishing it every success :—

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Madras; the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji; the Chief Saheb of Miraj (Junior); Mr. K. B. Sheorey, Nagpur; Mr. Hashambhai Premji, Poona; Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal; Mr. Bhagwati Saran, Allahabad; Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Madras; Mr. Shankar Sayanna Persha, Bombay; Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Allahabad; Mr. V. N. Phansalkar, Pleader, Karad; Diwan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, Madras; Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Lucknow; Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, Lahore; and Sir M. V. Joshi, Amraoti.

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

MR. KUNZRU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM profoundly grateful to the provincial Liberal organisations and the Reception Committee of the National Liberal Federation for conferring on me the highest honour in their gift. I deeply value the confidence which they have placed in me by asking me to preside over this session of the Federation. Their approbation is naturally a source of gratification to me but it carries with it a particularly onerous responsibility. When I think of the special importance of this session and the illustrious nation-builders, who have made Poona memorable in the history of modern India, I am weighed down with a sense of my unfitness for the high office to which the Liberal party has been good enough to call me, but I feel sure that I can rely on your generous indulgence. I trust that my shortcomings will be the measure of your good-will and co-operation.

We have to mourn the loss of Mr. A. P. Sen and Sir Provash Chunder Mitter who passed away recently from the scene of their labours. Mr. Sen was one of the staunchest supporters of the Liberal Party. His genuine patriotism and large-hearted generosity are a matter of public knowledge. He was keenly interested in all forms of public service and there was no good cause which did not benefit by his liberality. He was a lover of the fine arts and his poems made his name a household word in Bengal. For one of his position and attainments his modesty was remarkable. He never spoke of himself and was ever warm in appreciating the worth of others. His memory will ever be cherished by those who had the privilege of knowing him.

Sir Provash Mitter was one of the prominent members of the Liberal party. He used his ability and influence to strengthen it in Bengal. As a minister and a member of the Governor's Executive Council he took a prominent part in the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution.

INTRODUCTION.

The problem relating to India's constitutional future continues to overshadow all other questions. The outstanding feature of the year is the publication of the report of the Joint Select Committee. It brings to a close the discussions which commenced in 1930 and continued in various forms for three years. But it leaves the constitutional question more unsolved than the first Round Table Conference. The joint labours of British and Indian delegates in 1930 held out the hope that substantial powers would be transferred to Indian hands, and that India would at no distant date occupy a position of equality with the self-governing dominions. But the reign of conservatism which commenced in the latter part of 1931 brought a serious change in the situation and turned hope into anxiety. Every subsequent Conference instead of drawing Indians and Britishers nearer together threw them wider apart, and brought increasingly into view the serious divergences between Indian and British view-points with regard to the political objective of India and the immediate steps that should be taken to satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations.

The White Paper showed how far the prospects of success had receded into the background since 1930. The chance of modifications being introduced in it in conformity with Indian opinion seemed remote from the outset, but the campaign carried on by the enemies of Indian reform in England and the information that reached this country with regard to the trend of discussions in the Joint Select Committee soon made it plain that, so far from meeting Indian objections, the Committee

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

would advocate further restrictions on the limited powers accorded to them by the White Paper.

The Committee's report, which has not come as a surprise to us, has justified our worst apprehensions. It shows no trace of having been influenced by Indian opinion. The association of Indian delegates with the Committee has borne no fruit. Its report is as painful a demonstration as the White Paper of the melancholy fact that every succeeding step taken in the process of consulting Indian opinion in the last four years has further strengthened British unwillingness to recognise India's right and capacity to govern herself. The more the effort made by Indians to demonstrate the strength of their case the less the impression they produced on their British colleagues.

When Lord (then Sir James) Meston, giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, stated that the reactionary despatch of the Government of India on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was the outcome of a careful consideration of the criticism it had evoked in India, Mr. Montagu remarked that the Indian Government had shown their deference to Indian opinion by making proposals which no section of Indian opinion had put forward. This observation applies equally to the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee. It has acknowledged its obligations to its Indian associates by accepting nothing that they had suggested and recommending everything that they had opposed.

Lord Irwin told the Assembly in 1930 that His Majesty's Government conceived of the Round Table Conference "not as a mere meeting for discussion and debate but as a joint assembly of representatives of both countries, on whose agreement precise proposals to Parliament may be founded". The proposals of the Joint Select Committee, instead of harmonising different views, have brought about the maximum of disagreement between the representatives of India and England. The Committee has ignored Indian opinion and endeavoured to conciliate only the British die-hards. The modifications suggested by it in the White Paper are, in the words of Lord Snell, "constantly in the direction of further restrictions, never in the way of advance". Its recommendations have not been inspired by hope and courage. It has taken no risk. It has only conceded what it thought England could give with absolute safety.

Taking into consideration the purpose for which the Round Table Conference was convened, the task of Great Britain was to collaborate with India so that, in the words of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Indians might feel that they had a "home in the Empire". It had to assure India that partnership with Britain implied no permanent inferiority of status. It had to devise arrangements to make Indians feel that sure and rapid steps were being taken to enable them to become masters in their own house and to achieve their political salvation. It had to invest Indians with the power to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to deal with those social and economic problems, the solution of which is necessary to the well-being and uplift of the people and the ordered evolution of society. We have to see how far its recommendations satisfy these tests.

DOMINION STATUS.

The declaration of 1917 was universally regarded in India as promising a line of development which would make India the equal of the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth, and the prospects of acquiring this status has been referred to in pronouncements emanating from His Majesty the King Emperor and in the speeches of British ministers. But doubts were cast on the validity of this interpretation by Lord Reading's Government, which in 1924 drew for the first time a subtle distinction between responsible government and Dominion Status. This created profound uneasiness throughout India and gave rise to suspicions regarding the sincerity of British promises about future Indian political development. The announcement made by Lord Irwin on the 31st October, 1929, that progress to equality with the Dominions

(*Mr. Kuncru's Presidential Address.*)

was implicit in the policy enunciated in 1917 helped to ease political tension and revive confidence. It laid the foundation for the success of the first Round Table Conference.

The hostile criticism to which it was subjected a few days later in Parliament naturally disturbed India again, but Mr. Baldwin delivered a conciliatory speech, and so long as a Labour Government was in office, there was hope that the declaration would continue to influence official policy. Besides a year later its former critics accepted it as correctly defining the policy laid down in 1917. "We are united on the goal", said Lord Peel in the opening session of the first Round Table Conference. Lord Reading was even more explicit. "Speaking on behalf of those with whom I am associated", he said, "we must fully accept the statement that the natural issue of the declaration of 1917 is Dominion Status, and that the implication of the words used is Dominion Status."

After the adherence of the representatives of the Liberal and Conservative parties to the declaration of 1929, it was expected that it would be regarded as the corner-stone of British policy and that every opportunity would be taken to reiterate this message of hope to the Indian people. But the resignation of the Labour Government and the overwhelming Conservative victory at the polls completely transformed the situation.

Notwithstanding the cardinal importance of the declaration in the eyes of Indians, the White Paper studiously avoided to refer to it. When the matter was referred to in the course of Sir Samuel Hoare's examination before the Joint Select Committee several members of the Committee took up an attitude which showed that in their opinion it was not relevant to the discussion of the White Paper proposals. One of them denied that the declaration of 1929 was a pledge, and another member boldly asserted that the words of the King's representative could be overruled by Parliament, and put on the announcement of 1917, which is embodied in the preamble to the Act of 1919, the interpretation which had caused trouble in 1924 and been repudiated for this very reason by Lord Irwin on behalf of His Majesty's Government. We are informed by Reuter that the same member, addressing recently a meeting of the members of the House of Commons held under the auspices of the India Defence League, went so far as to say that the grant of provincial autonomy was the only thing to which Parliament was committed by the preamble to the Act of 1919.

Similar views have been expressed by other opponents of India's freedom. Mr. Winston Churchill who, addressing the Prime Ministers of Dominions and representatives of India in 1921, had "looked forward confidently to the days when the Indian Government and the people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion Status," explained away in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee the reference to Dominion Status in his speech as an instance of the flowery language which is customary on ceremonial occasions. He had in his mind only the equality of rank conceded to India, out of consideration for her susceptibilities, for formal purposes. He could not allow that the declaration of 1917 implied advance to Dominion Status. This contention, as shown by Professor Keith in the chapter contributed by him to "India Analysed" (vol. I) on the position of India in the Empire, has no force. "It has indeed become fashionable," he says, "to adopt the suggestion that between the promise of 1917 and Dominion Status there is a wide difference. Responsible government, it is argued, meant control of internal issues only, by ministers responsible to local parliaments; control of external affairs was a later development and those who determined on the policy of 1917 had no intention of including the wider powers in their assurance. The suggestion is plainly untenable. It is forgotten that on no occasion had any attempt been made up to 1917 to discriminate between Dominion Status and responsible government. The term Dominion Status was not in current use at that time and what was promised was a definite system existing in the Empire, whose character was well-known as exemplified in the position towards the United Kingdom of the Dominions, the name given by the Colonial Conference of 1907 to the self-governing colonies."

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

The instance of the Irish Free State proves, as he points out, that this argument is unanswerable. "The treaty of 1921 assured that country," he says, "the same position as the Dominion of Canada. Nothing in the treaty expressly contemplated whether the promise referred to the status of Canada in 1921 or to such further developments in Canadian status as might be brought about in course of time. But equally from the first, the British Government never suggested that it in any way dissented from the view of the Irish Free State that it was entitled to the enjoyment of every concession made to the Dominion, and, in fact, the Free State was the first to exercise the right of legation which Canada had been promised in 1920, but of which she availed herself only in 1926, two years after the Free State had shown the way by stationing a Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington. It is clear, therefore, that the promise of 1917 has only been made precise, not enlarged in scope, by the later assurance of Dominion Status."

But the attempts that had been made to misinterpret the promise of 1919 cast on the Joint Select Committee the duty of reassuring India, to place the seal of its approval on the declaration of 1929 and to impress its importance on all those who might be called upon to deal with India. We are often told that nothing but our differences stand in the way of the attainment of our aspirations. Whatever truth there may be in this observation, there has been no difference of opinion among Indians regarding the importance of the promise of Dominion Status. The Princes accepted it wholeheartedly. As for the British Indian delegates, no matter to which community they belonged, there could never be any doubt about their attitude on this point. They stressed its vital importance in the Joint Memorandum submitted by them to the Joint Select Committee and, in view of the fact that prominent British politicians today question the inviolability of royal pledges and declarations made by Prime Ministers and Viceroy, asked that it should be embodied in the Constitution Act; but, notwithstanding the unanimity that prevailed among Indians, the Committee has ignored the demand and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a member of the Committee, has suggested in the debate on the report of the Committee in the House of Lords that the use of the phrase Dominion Status which "was capable of infinite misunderstanding" should be abandoned. The proposals of the British Indian delegates had been objected to on the ground that, as Dominion Status is a vague phrase, not susceptible of precise legal definition, it cannot be given statutory recognition. What can be more indefinite than the statement that "the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations"? One would have thought that a sentimental expression like this was more appropriate for a political speech than a legal document, yet it finds a place in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster. Besides, we may be sure that lawyers like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would not have urged that the attainment of equality with the Dominions should be explicitly recognised as the purpose of British policy in India in an Act of Parliament, if the drawing up of a suitable formula had been beyond the resources of skilled draftsmanship, but even if the legal difficulties are insuperable there is no reason why the Committee should have failed to express its own allegiance to the objective of Dominion Status and to give, in the words of Lord Irwin, on behalf of all British political parties that "assurance of direction" which at least was contained in the announcement of October 1929. Knowing the importance which Indian opinion attached to the announcement and the unwillingness in influential political circles in England to respect its authoritative character, the Committee, if it valued the goodwill of India, should by declaring its own adherence to it have given added authority to it. The Labour members of the Committee deserve our thanks for having tried to persuade it to take this view of its responsibilities, but their proposal unfortunately did not find favour with the Committee.

Addressing the Legislative Assembly on 9th July, 1929, Lord Irwin said, "It was also evident that looking ahead it was hardly to be expected that India, rightly sensitive of her self-respect, and growing every year more conscious of national feeling, should of her own free will desire to remain indefinitely a partner in the

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

political society of the British Empire upon terms which implied a permanent inferiority of status. It was for this reason and with the object of removing avoidable misunderstanding on this vital matter that His Majesty's Government last year authorised me to declare that, in their view, the attainment of Dominion Status was the natural completion of India's constitutional growth." The separatist feeling in India is largely due to a complete mistrust of British policy with regard to the future position of India. The Committee by its deliberate silence has given good grounds for suspecting the sincerity of British statesmen in this matter, and has seriously injured the cause of good-will and unity. As all those who can see beneath the surface will testify, the promise of Dominion Status would have gone a long way to arrest the progressive deterioration which is taking place in the relations between India and Britain, by satisfying India's self-respect. The Committee's approval of the Labour Government's announcement would have amounted to an assurance that whichever party might be in power it would respect the binding character of the declaration. It would have shown that the promise of 1929 was made not on behalf of a party but on behalf of the British nation, but the Committee has indirectly told us that there is neither magnanimity nor good faith in politics, and that in future we should expect to get nothing but what we can wrest from unwilling hands.

The Committee, which fought shy of defining its attitude towards the general question of the future of constitutional development in India, could not be expected to indicate any period of time within which this development should be completed or the means by which this consummation should be attained. When Major Attlee asked Sir Samuel Hoare what were the conditions which should be fulfilled before the control of foreign affairs could be transferred, his question led to an exchange of interesting observations among some members of the Committee, and Sir Austen Chamberlain remarked "that in any future which I can conceive the foreign relations of India will involve this country and this country must have its say in its own affairs." As there is a close connection between military policy and foreign affairs, it is obvious that if our foreign relations cannot be placed under our control much less can the subject of defence, which is by itself supremely important, be transferred into Indian hands in any conceivable future; and that the Committee could formulate no policy, the object of which was to end the period of Indian tutelage. If England has nothing to give, silence with regard to the future is obviously the only course possible for her.

JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

In considering the constitutional proposals, I shall devote myself largely to an examination of the new features introduced into the White Paper by the Committee. The outlines of the constitution adumbrated in the White Paper are well-known. Responsibility at the centre will be conceded only if an all-India federation embracing the States is established. The States will be entitled to one-third of the seats in the Federal Assembly and forty per cent. of the seats in the Federal Council of State, and their representatives will be nominated by the Princes. The British Indian representatives in the Federal Assembly will be returned in accordance with a system of election based on communal electorates and the Governor-General will be asked to include in the ministry representatives of Indian States and the minorities. The lower house will not be supreme even in financial matters. The upper house, whose size relatively to the Assembly will be much larger than that recommended by the Indian Franchise Committee, will have equal authority in respect of financial legislation and will have the power, on the initiative of the ministry, to take into consideration demands reduced or rejected by the Assembly and to annul its decision. The ministry will owe a shadowy responsibility to the legislature, and, in view of the financial powers of the upper house, it is needless to add that even this nominal responsibility will not be owed exclusively to the popular house, if one may dare call the Federal Assembly by that name. Neither the executive nor the legislature under this system will be prone to indulge in rash innovation or undue self-assertion; but to guard against all possible dangers the Governor-General will be armed with extensive powers to overrule both. He will have the ultimate authority in all matters relating to law and order and he will virtually guide financial and commercial policy though finance and commerce are

(*Mr. Kumru's Presidential Address.*)

transferred subjects. The administration of railways will be practically under his control, and special measures intended to develop Indian trade and commerce may be vetoed by him on the ground that they appear to discriminate against Britishers. To assist him in the exercise of his financial authority he will have at his elbow, in addition to the I. C. S. Financial Secretary, a financial adviser who will be independent of the ministry, and who, like the British advisers of the Egyptian Government, may draw all real power into his hands. With necessary modifications, the election of legislatures and the formation of ministries in the provinces will take place in accordance with the system at the centre. Three provinces are to enjoy the privilege of having second chambers which will be formed on a communal basis and elected on a high property franchise, so that they may be specially qualified to champion the interests of the masses! The Governor, as far as practicable, will have powers similar to those given to the Governor-General except in respect of finance and will be specially responsible for the internal administration and discipline of the police. The Indian Civil and Police Services, the iron frame on which the Governor-General and Governors may always lean for support, will remain, as at present, under the control of the Secretary of State, and Britishers will continue to be recruited to them in existing proportions. Even orders relating to the transfer and posting of officers belonging to them will, as now, require the personal concurrence of the Governor. The system of recruitment to both these services will be enquired into five years after the commencement of the Constitution Act, and action on the results of this enquiry will be subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament.

A cabinet minister recently said that the new machinery of government contained every safeguard that the wit of man can devise. How true this is is shown by the brief description which has just been given of the White Paper scheme. It is admirably devised to encourage inaction and prevent change. Whatever the intentions of its authors may have been, it embodies a static conception of society and is afraid of the unknown future.

Not satisfied with the formidable barriers opposed by these arrangements to the growth of nationalism and the advance of democracy or the development of a spirit of independence in ministers and legislators, the Committee makes suggestions which will destroy the national character of the Federal Assembly, curtail its powers, further strengthen the forces of privilege and conservatism, humiliate the provincial ministries, and make the Governor the virtual dictator of his province.

With regard to the central constitution, the Committee recommends indirect election to the British India section of the Federal Assembly, the election of the Council of State by provincial upper chambers or bodies analogous to them, a novel method which has been rightly described as fantastic by Lord Salisbury, and the elevation of the Council of State to a position of equality with the Assembly in the matter of the voting of demands. The Council of State will not be subject to dissolution. Its members will be elected for nine years, but only one-third of them will retire at a time.

In the provincial domain, while making it clear that it should not "be understood as reporting against the introduction of the system of indirect election in the future" for the popular house, it agrees to direct election but recommends the establishment of second chambers in the Madras and Bombay presidencies. Besides, it makes three proposals for increasing the already enormous powers of the Governor and giving him additional control over the maintenance of law and order. Any alteration of the Police Act and such of the regulations made under it as "in his opinion relate to or affect the organization or discipline of the police" should require the previous sanction of the Governor. The records of the provincial Intelligence Department should not be shown to any officer, not even to the Home Member of the Government, outside the police force without the permission of the Governor. It is instructive to note here that it has been proposed that the Central Intelligence Bureau, which is now under the Home Department, should be attached to one of the Governor-General's reserved departments.

(*Mr. Kuncru's Presidential Address.*)

Even without assuming control of the entire government, the Governor may in order to cope with crimes of violence, the object of which is to overthrow government, take charge of such departments as he thinks necessary and appoint an official to be his mouthpiece in the legislature. In the case of Bengal, it has been recommended that, unless the situation improves before the introduction of provincial autonomy, the Governor should be directed in his Instrument of Instructions to exercise immediately the powers referred to above. The Committee further contemplates that, in the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery, the Governor should have the power even to suspend the legislature and administer the province without it.

In addition to this, the convention which conceded fiscal freedom to India in principle in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, has been virtually abrogated. The Governor-General is to be empowered by statute to prevent imports from England from being treated in a manner which he may regard as discriminatory.

As regards the Indian Civil and Police Services which will be the guardians of British power in this country, the obligation to institute an enquiry into the system of recruitment to them five years after the inauguration of the new constitution has been done away with, and as regards the Army, the Committee makes the startling observation that "the problem of Indianisation does not appear to us to be essentially related to the constitutional issues with which we are concerned."

CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

Of the retrograde recommendations made by the Committee the proposal for the election of the representatives of British India to the Federal Assembly by the provincial lower houses is easily the most retrograde. The abandonment of direct election was recommended by the Simon Commission. The Government of India, however, after a full examination of the matter, arrived at a conclusion unfavourable to this proposal. They were so impressed by the disadvantages of indirect election, confusion of electoral issues, danger of corruption, etc., that they wrote to the Secretary of State in their despatch on the Simon Commission's report: "On the sum of these considerations we would ourselves incline to the conclusion, that a method whereby the Assembly would be wholly or mainly constituted by indirect election would not be suitable. The certain objections do not seem to us to outweigh the possible disadvantages." They dissented from the Commission's view that if the centre was to develop on federal lines, the representation of the provinces as such in the Federal Assembly was almost necessary for the participation of the States, and held that "even if the States did enter the Assembly, it does not appear to us to be necessary that the method of representation of the States and the provinces of British India must be uniform." While, admitting the disadvantages arising from the unwieldy size of the constituencies, and pointing out that direct election had not yielded all that was expected of it, they still believed that "the balance of the argument is in favour of the maintenance of direct election" and added that "in any case, we feel that the method of election is essentially a matter on which the considered judgment of Indian opinion should have great weight."

When the matter was considered by the Round Table Conference, the delegates from British India were unanimous in desiring the retention of the system of direct election. The Lothian Committee, after examining all possible bases for the revision of the franchise, endorsed the Indian view and the White Paper retained direct election for the Federal Assembly.

The Committee has however taken a different view and decided, contrary to experience, the weight of authority and the wishes of Indians, to reverse the system of election which has been in force since 1920. Broadly speaking, it will be true to say that we owe this to the Conservative members of the Committee. The objections to a system of direct election have been considered over and over again during the

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

last four years. Full weight has been given to them at every investigation, but as the Committee itself says, the system "has worked on the whole reasonably well." And for the present at least, the increase in the strength of the Federal Assembly will make the constituencies more manageable and contact between the candidates and the voters easier. Future difficulties may well be left to be dealt with by Indian ministers themselves. If the problems created by size and numbers have been solved by Australia and the United States, there is no reason to suppose that they will prove insoluble in India.

In any case, the disadvantages of indirect election are at present graver than those of direct election, and indirect election for the lower house is without a parallel in existing federal constitutions. In view of the shifting composition of the provincial legislature, the members elected by them will not in practice be accountable for their conduct to anybody. In the best of circumstances, they will owe less responsibility to their electors than what the members elected under the present system owe to theirs. Besides if a party captures the provincial council, it will automatically control the election of the provincial representatives to the Federal Assembly. Again, the fear of corruption cannot be regarded as imaginary. As eight or nine votes may suffice for securing election to the Assembly, there will be a strong temptation to employ improper methods. It is stated in a recently published book that in the old days when the Senate of the United States of America was elected by the state legislatures corruption, open and organised, was consequently rife, a member of this august body, on a roll-call, answered "Not guilty." This ludicrous incident contains a warning which it will be perilous for us to ignore.

The gravest objection to the proposal of the Committee is that, if it is adopted, the Assembly will cease to be a symbol of national unity or a force making for the consolidation of national strength. If the Assembly becomes the representative of provincial interests, the country will be morally split up into isolated parts and there will be no organ for the expression of the national will. Besides, it is our experience that in matters concerning our political status, the views of the elected Assembly alone have counted for anything. For instance, when one or two provincial councils declined to co-operate with the Simon Commission, their action scarcely created a ripple either in India or England. Its effect was purely local. But when the Assembly adopted the same course, the blow it struck for the self-respect of the nation resounded throughout the country and Great Britain. It is because it draws its strength from the people that it has the moral authority to speak for the nation. If direct election, which is the source of its vitality, is done away with, its power and prestige will come to an end, and the only weapon which the constitution places at our disposal for carrying on the national fight will be broken. Indirect election will thus be a national calamity of the first magnitude. It will disperse our forces and leave us without a rallying centre. We shall have no means of keeping the attention of the nation fixed on issues relating to the realisation of full self-government and bringing pressure to bear on the authorities to make them yield to the national will.

All sections in the country are united in condemning the Committee's retrograde recommendation. Its disastrous consequences from the point of view of Indian interests are realised by all political parties. In fighting against it we would be fighting for the life of the nation. I feel that if direct election goes all is lost. It is much better for us to remain as we are than be under a constitution which adds to other objectionable features the heavy handicap of indirect election for the Assembly. Such a constitution cannot bring us freedom. It can only lead to our further enslavement.

The Council of State, as constituted in accordance with the Committee's scheme, will be one of the most oligarchical bodies known to any constitution. It may have a better title than the old United States Senate to be known as the Millionaires' Club. It will represent double-distilled conservatism. Ideas of political independence or social justice, if at all able to cross its threshold, will never thrive in its atmosphere.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

It has been proposed that such a body should be the equal of the Assembly in every respect and have co-ordinate authority with it even in respect of the budget. This will certainly not be an aid to the development of responsible government. In France, says Finer, such a system has not led to the growth of an adequate sense of responsibility among the popular representatives or encouraged the formation of stable and well-defined parties. Party ties are loose, owing to the weakness of the Chamber of Deputies which cannot have its way in regard to the budget; and the deputies can always throw the responsibility for their failure to fulfil their promises on the Senate.

It is doubtful whether responsible government, properly so called, will develop under the White Paper scheme. At any rate the impediments to its growth will neither be few nor insignificant. It should not be completely smothered by being surrounded with additional safeguards.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

Indian public opinion has been opposed to the establishment of second chambers in the provinces. It is unfortunate that the Provincial Constitution Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference recommended their creation in the U. P., Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, but it advised that this should not be done in any other province unless opinion in the province favoured such a step. A resolution recommending the creation of a second chamber in Madras was placed before the Madras Legislative Council in November, 1932, but it was defeated. Opinion generally in the province also appears to be opposed to a second chamber. The opinion of the Bombay Legislative Council was not invited on the subject, yet the Joint Select Committee has saddled Madras and Bombay with second chambers. Conservatism has been buttressed up everywhere.

The White Paper conferred large powers on the Governor in relation to provincial administration and endowed him with full authority to deal with matters relating to the maintenance of law and order and efficiency of the police. It seemed hardly possible to go further without making law and order a reserved subject, but the White Paper proposals did not satisfy the Indian Police Service, which with the help of the die-hards carried on a vigorous agitation in order to have the powers of the Ministers further curtailed. It placed its views before the Committee and in its Memorandum put forward proposals which amounted to the supersession of the future Home Member by the Inspector-General. The most important of these suggestions have been accepted by the Committee.

In several provinces Indians have been in charge of the Police department and no complaint has ever been made that they did anything to undermine the discipline and efficiency of the police force or misused the confidential information which they obtained in their official capacity. If they have shown a full sense of responsibility in administering the Police department, there is not the slightest excuse for treating them as political suspects in future. It may be desirable that the internal administration of the police should be left in the hands of the head of the department. But that the Governor should be given a special power to refuse his assent to the amendment of the Police Acts in force in the province, or of such rules made under them as in his opinion affect the organization or discipline of the police, is a gross reflection on Indian capacity and character and highly undesirable in the interest of discipline. The Inspector-General of Police will have free access to the Governor and will thus have an opportunity of influencing his mind. The Governor's decision to act against the views of the ministry will presumably be based on representations made by him. The Inspector-General would thus be sitting in judgment on the Home Member and the position of the latter would be intolerable.

The recommendation that the Governor should be asked in his Instrument of Instructions to direct that no records relating to intelligence regarding terrorism should be disclosed to any officer outside the provincial police force without his

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

sanction, is another eloquent indication of the position which provincial ministers will occupy under the new constitution. They are to be responsible for the maintenance of law and order, but they must obey unquestioningly the behests of the Governor. The excuse that the informants and agents would not feel secure that their identity might not be revealed if the minister immediately concerned could send for the records of the Intelligence Department will not bear a moment's examination. Indian Home Members have as a rule refrained from finding out the names of the persons through whom the Intelligence Department obtained information. But they have a right to examine the records and have sometimes done so. It has never been hinted yet that this has hampered the Intelligence Department in obtaining secret information. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the continuance of the existing practice will cause any trouble hereafter. To place a restriction of this kind is to lower the future Home Member in the estimation of his subordinates and to make the situation galling to a minister with the least self-respect.

The analogy of England where the names of the informants are not communicated even to the minister most directly concerned cannot be applied to India at present. The Prime Minister who, it is understood, has access to all secret records is the head of the Cabinet whose members stand or fall together. The Governor is in a very different position in relation to the ministry and action taken at the instance of the Governor by the minister responsible for law and order would seriously compromise his position with the Legislative Council. The Committee's recommendations are a triumph for the I. P. S. I have good reasons to believe that encouraged by its victory, it is trying to secure acceptance of the rest of the proposals it placed before the Committee.

The Central Intelligence Bureau, apart from coordinating the information received from provincial Intelligence Departments, works for various departments of Government such as the Army and the Foreign Affairs Departments, but it is controlled by the Home Department of the Government of India. The Committee recommends that it should in future be removed from the control of the Home Department and attached to one of the reserved departments. This is another proof of the inveterate distrust with which the authorities regard the future Indian ministers, whether at the centre or in the provinces.

It has been proposed by the Committee that the Governor may assume charge of any department of the Government if he thinks that it is necessary to do so to put down terrorism. The implications of this proposal have not been clearly pointed out. At present if the Governor is not satisfied that the ministers are taking such action as circumstances require, it is open to him to ask them to make room for another ministry. If he cannot find any ministry which will support him a constitutional crisis will have occurred, and he will have the right under the Constitution Act to assume to himself all such powers as may appear necessary to him to carry on the government. But the Committee appears to contemplate that the ministers will remain in office even after the Governor has withdrawn any department from their control. How any ministry can retain the confidence of the legislature by accepting so humiliating a position it is hard to see. It is to be hoped that the ministers will have sufficient self-respect not to remain in office when they are distrusted and slighted.

The existence of terrorism in Bengal should not be allowed to interfere with the normal operation of provincial autonomy. The existing unrest is due largely to the dissatisfaction in the country with the present form of government. The satisfaction of the aspirations of the people is the only way of putting an end to it. The speedy transfer of power to Indian hands is therefore urgently required in Bengal. To make the abnormal conditions that prevail there an excuse for the retention of control over essential branches of administration by the Governor would be to play into the hands of the terrorists. The Committee's recommendation is based on a very short-sighted policy. The denial of provincial autonomy to Bengal will be no remedy for the present situation.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

As neither the central legislature nor the ministries under the new regime are likely to be imbued with a passion for reform they might have been trusted to discharge their responsibilities with fairness and prudence, but their financial powers have been severely restricted. No bill relating to coinage or currency can be brought forward except with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The White Paper placed the same restriction on the introduction of a bill dealing with the powers and duties of the Federal Reserve Bank in relation to the management of currency and exchange. The Joint Select Committee has gone further and recommended that "any amendment of the Reserve Bank or any legislation affecting the constitution and functions of the bank . . . should require the prior sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion." The Governor-General will have the power to overrule the ministry to preserve the financial stability and credit of the Federation. He will be empowered to appoint a Financial Advisor to help him in the discharge of his responsibilities, who will take the place of the European Finance Member, for whom there will be no room in the new constitution.

The assumption underlying the controlling power of the Governor-General in matters relating to currency that the financial and commercial interests of India will be safer in the keeping of the British Government than in Indian hands is not supported by facts. The disastrous results of their exchange policy in 1920 which cost India heavily is too recent to require mention. The currency policy forced by the Secretary of State on India when England went off the gold standard, apparently against the views of the Government of India, is another illustration of the manner in which our trustees have looked after our interests. India was not allowed to do what England had done in order that the existing relation between Indian and British currencies should be preserved. The authorities fear that if India were given financial freedom she might alter the present policy, if a change appeared desirable in the interests of her trade and industry and the economic welfare of the people. This apprehension is justified, but it is idle to claim that the supervision of the Governor-General is essential for safeguarding the stability and credit of the Federation when its object is to prevent the framing of a policy in accordance with India's financial and economic circumstances. In any case there is no justification for preventing the consideration of legislation relating to currency or the Reserve Bank without the Governor-General's previous sanction, as the Governor-General will have the power to veto any measure which he considers unsound.

The powers given to the Governor-General in regard to the budget are so wide as to leave only a nominal authority to the Indian Finance Minister of the future. The Governor-General will have full control over every feature of the budget. Lord Reading said in justification of this in the debates which took place in 1930 and 1931 that what he had in mind was that intervention should take place only when it was proposed to raise an internal loan, at a rate of interest which would be financially burdensome and would injure the credit of India or when the budget was unbalanced. Here again the record of Government is not so clean as to justify their claim that they will be better guardians of the financial interests of the State than Indian ministers. Their policy with regard to loans has more than once caused dissatisfaction in this country and it is feared that the control of the Governor-General may be used in such a way as to prevent the full development of the Indian money market. The Round Table Conference has shown how powerful is the political pressure which British capitalists can exercise on the authorities because of the foreign investments in India. In order to protect our future the Indian Government may legitimately consider itself bound to take all prudent measures to enable India to rely as far as possible on her own resources. The fear that an unsound policy may be deliberately followed for political reasons appears to be unwarranted. Indians themselves have lent hundreds of crores to Government and are interested in the maintenance of its credit. Indian ministers therefore will not be tempted to follow unwise policies merely to injure England because their mistakes will recoil on their own heads and ruin the indigenous investor.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

As regards the balancing of the budget it cannot be seriously contended that the Indian Government will follow the suicidal course of habitually exceeding its means. A budget may occasionally have to be left unbalanced. Sir Malcolm Hailey placed unbalanced budgets before the Legislative Assembly in three consecutive years and depended on loans to meet the deficits. But it cannot be supposed for a moment that the future Government will as a matter of policy persistently leave the budget unbalanced.

No reasonable grounds have been put forward to show that the Indian ministers will disregard ordinary canons of financial prudence and inflict irreparable injury on the country just in order to spite England. The restrictions placed on their power are manifestly due to political distrust which is to be found in every part of the constitutional scheme.

COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

It is inevitable that the prospect of transfer of power from British to Indian hands should rouse apprehensions in the minds of British capitalists with regard to the protection of their trading rights and the capital invested by them in India. The matter was discussed at considerable length in the conferences and committees that took place in 1930-32, but it was considered almost entirely with reference to the rights of individual Britishers or British companies, trading in and with India. The question of trading relations and tariff arrangements between India and England never came within the purview of serious discussion. The report of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference contained a paragraph which referred to the desire of the British commercial community that a commercial treaty should be concluded between Great Britain and India. But the Committee of the whole Conference substituted for it another paragraph in which the reference to a commercial treaty was dropped and only the rights of the British mercantile community trading in India were sought to be safeguarded. When the subject of commercial discrimination was discussed in the Federal Structure Committee of the second Round Table Conference the representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce included trade relations between the two countries among the points on which in his opinion a settlement was necessary. This was objected to on the ground that it had nothing to do with the question of discrimination against a commercial minority. It does not appear that the matter was referred to again in any of the subsequent discussions. The White Paper was silent on the subject. The Associated Chambers of Commerce in their evidence before the Joint Select Committee made no reference to it. The Secretary of State for India placed a memorandum before the Committee revising and enlarging the White Paper proposals relating to commercial discrimination, but there was not the faintest suggestion in it that Indo-British trade should be accorded special protection. This question figured only in the evidence of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

The Committee has added to the resentment, deep and wide, which the excessive commercial restrictions placed by the White Paper on India's power to develop her economic resources in the interests of her children gave rise to, by recommending interference with the fiscal autonomy of India. It has recommended that the Governor-General should be empowered by statute to prevent the adoption of measures, "legislative or administrative, which would subject British goods imported into British India from the United Kingdom to discriminatory or penal treatment." The assurance that the Governor-General's power to intervene would be limited to restrictions the object of which was not to promote the economic interests of India but to injure those of the United Kingdom, does not in any way lessen the gravity of the step taken by it. The limitation affects the constitutional status of India and has rightly been resented throughout the country. Besides the memory of the complete economic subservience of India to England for nearly half a century and the fierce controversies roused by the dictation of our fiscal policy by British interests is too fresh in our minds to permit us to accept the Committee's assurance. It is to the fiscal autonomy convention that we owe such industrial development as has taken place recently in India. We cannot,

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

therefore, allow it to be interfered with on any ground. We are entitled to have the same power as the dominions to regulate our tariff policy as seems best to us.

A flood of light is thrown on the meaning of the word "penal" by the evidence of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. In the memorandum submitted by it a demand was made for the insertion of some safeguard in the constitution against the possibility of legislation "unduly penalising the British export trade." In reply to a question whether the Committee had in mind action "spitefully intended to do injury to British interests or which is political in its motives," its representative said, "We did not necessarily mean spitefully, sir, but we meant some legislative enactment such as the specific duty on plain grey goods which is now 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ annas per pound, which entirely prevented our competing in those goods in the Indian market." This shows that the Chamber wishes that the British Government should intervene not merely to disallow measures deliberately intended to injure British commerce, but to secure a position of advantage for Lancashire in the Indian market.

The Committee desires that the principle of reciprocity should govern commercial relations between India and England. The conception of reciprocity in its opinion implies that "when either partner is considering to what extent it can offer special advantages of this kind to a third country without injustice to the other partner it will have regard to the general range of benefits secured to it by the partnership, and not merely to the usefulness of the partnership in relation to the particular commodity under consideration at the moment." This means that the reciprocity of which the Committee speaks is only another name for Imperial Preference, and what assurance have we that the power given to the Governor-General will not be used to further this policy? This, as has been said both by Indian political leaders and the representatives of Indian commercial interests, may be agreed to by a self-governing India, but it cannot be conceded so long as we are unable to bargain on equal terms with England.

The proposals of the Committee, which deal with the future interests of the British commercial community, are based on the principle that Britishers domiciled in the United Kingdom and companies incorporated there shall have the same rights as Indians and Indian companies and shall be regarded as if they belonged to India. They will be subject to the same conditions in regard to trade and taxation. No differentiation will be permitted between Indian and British merchants and firms with regard to the purchase of stores or the allocation of contracts or the right to benefit by a policy of protection. The Governor-General and Governors will be given power to disallow, in their discretion, measures, whether legislative or administrative, which they regard as discriminatory in form or fact. Individuals and companies engaging in trade in India in future will be on the same footing as those that are already engaged in it, except in one case. If the State grants bounties for the development of an industry, companies which engage in it after the passing of the law, which authorises the payment of bounties, may be treated differently from those already engaged in it, and they may as a condition of eligibility for the grant be required to comply with the conditions laid down by the External Capital Committee.

In normal circumstances, it is a sound policy to place no restrictions on the development of trade and industry, except such as are in the interests of social justice, and leave private initiative and enterprise free but special circumstances call for special measures. The economic backwardness of India requires that special steps should be taken to further her interests.

The External Capital Committee, while not in favour of placing restrictions on the inflow of foreign capital, thought that discrimination might be made between foreign and indigenous capital in regard to the exploitation of wasting assets. "Where a concession is granted," it wrote, "to exploit a wasting asset, such as a mineral concession, no definite rules can be prescribed. It must be a question in each case whether it is better from the point of view of the national interest that a concession should be developed by external capital or left until indigenous capital may be prepared to develop it. Such concessions should only be granted to external capitalists, when it is clearly in the national interest that they should be developed."

(Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.)

The principle underlying this recommendation has the support of all Indians. Owing to the policy of the British Government in the past, India's commercial and industrial development has been greatly retarded. She has a great leeway to make up and is faced with the competition of interests, which owe their strength to the assistance and influence of Government. Unless she is allowed to give special encouragement to her nationals, she will have to wait indefinitely to achieve adequate progress.

That the rights of British and Indian traders should be regulated on the basis of reciprocity seems *prima facie* to be a fair demand. But it is to be noted that the power of initiative will rest with England. India cannot adopt special measures for the benefit of Indian trade and industry unless the British Government accord preferential rights to Britishers in England. To call such a relation reciprocal is to misuse words. There are so few Indians carrying on business in England and British trade and industry are so highly developed that England will never feel the need of special measures to protect her interests *vis-a-vis* India. Reciprocity between England and India will therefore mean the subordination of the interests of the latter to those of the former.

We do not desire that any injustice should be done to British interests, but we have every right to ask that vested interests shall not constitute a permanent barrier to our development. So long as attempts are made in the name of equality of opportunity to enable Britishers to retain the privileged position which political power has enabled them to hold, so long friendly commercial relations between India and England will be impossible. An understanding between them is possible only on condition that practical steps are taken to enable Indians to occupy the position to which they are entitled in their own country. As the Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State in their despatch on the report of the Simon Commission in September, 1930, "The possibility of reaching an agreement on these difficult matters depends largely upon the spirit in which they are approached. Notwithstanding the unfortunate history of the last few months we believe that there is sufficient goodwill on both sides to overcome the difficulties if they are frankly faced. The importance of reaching a permanent settlement of the question can hardly be exaggerated. More perhaps than any other single factor, it would help to create harmonious relations between Great Britain and India on the strength of which we could look forward with confidence to the future in which Indian and British enterprises could work together on terms of mutual advantage and respect." Had the British business community co-operated with Indians in finding out methods by which the desired result could be achieved the existing tension would have been considerably eased. But unfortunately, during the last six years, while they have denounced all measures suggested with a view to enabling Indians to get a foothold in those activities in which they enjoy a monopoly, they have shown no disposition to join hands with them in promoting their interests.

CIVIL SERVICES.

The Services Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference recommended that recruitment and control of the Indian Civil and Police Services should in future be in the hands of the Government of India and that judicial officers should be excluded from the cadre of the Indian Civil Service. The White Paper rejected both these recommendations. It laid down that the Secretary of State for India should continue to be the recruiting and controlling authority for these services, and as regards the appointment of civilians to judicial offices, it not merely kept up the existing system but made the Indian Civil Service officers eligible for appointment as Chief Justice of a High Court. It maintained the status quo even with regard to the recruitment of Indians. Indians and Europeans were to be recruited to the Indian Civil and Police Services in the proportions laid down by the Lee Commission. It however made two new proposals in this connection. A statutory enquiry should be held into the question of the future recruitment for these services five years after the introduction of the new constitutional order, and action on the results of this enquiry should be subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament. The Committee has

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

endorsed the recommendation of the White Paper regarding the system of recruitment but has proposed that the question of the recruitment of Indians in India in the prescribed proportions for both these services should be considered by His Majesty's Government. As regards the statutory enquiry it has recommended that no date should be fixed for it. It should be left to the Government of the day to decide whether the proper time for an enquiry has come.

The White Paper made the further progress of Indianisation more difficult than before. Under the Government of India Act it is entirely within the discretion of the executive authorities to lay down the methods of recruitment to the above-mentioned services and to determine the proportions in which Indians and Europeans should be recruited. The effect of the proposals in the White Paper will be to take away this power from the Secretary of State for India and to make any increase in Indian recruitment dependent on the approval not merely of the House of Commons but also of the House of Lords. In consonance with the spirit of the constitutional changes made in 1919, the rules relating to recruitment to the Indian Civil Service were revised in order to provide for the admission of Indians in substantial proportions. The necessary changes did not require the approval of either House of Parliament and were made by the Secretary of State in Council on his own authority. Again when the Lee Commission reported its recommendations were given effect to by the executive which was under no obligation to consult the legislature. Under the White Paper proposals, the Government of the day would have no power to take such action as it thought proper without first obtaining parliamentary sanction. The composition of the services is a matter in which we are vitally interested. It was expected that following the precedent of 1919 steps would be taken on the inauguration of the new constitution to bring the recruitment to the Indian Civil and Police Services in harmony with the spirit of the constitution, but what has been actually proposed is that simultaneously with the introduction of constitutional reforms steps should be taken to make the admission of Indians into the service more difficult than before. It is not difficult to understand the reasons which lie behind this policy. The White Paper shows that the only persons whom the higher authorities have confidence in are the Governor-General and the Governors. If as the trusted agents of Parliament they are to have adequate power to exercise their authority, the system of recruitment must be of such a character as to enable them to control the officers connected with those services on which the administration of the country depends in a special measure. As full reliance can be placed only on European officers, it has been thought essential that the proportion of British recruitment in what are known as the security services should not be reduced. The proposal that no change should be made in future without the approval of Parliament is probably the result of the fear that if the power of the executive is not curtailed, a Socialist Government may be so unpatriotic as to weaken the pillars on which British rule rests in this country. It ensures that no action will be taken which the Conservatives are opposed to. The White Paper however made a revision of the existing proportions of recruitment possible after the expiry of five years from the commencement of the new constitution, but the Committee is not prepared to go even as far as this!

The maintenance of the existing proportions was justified by the Secretary of State for India in his examination by the Indian delegates on the ground that a change in the composition of the services when a new constitution was to be introduced would be to expose the progress of India to an unnecessary risk. It has become the fashion for the authorities to resist our demands for the Indianisation of the army and the security services on the ground that it would be risky to undertake two experiments at the same time. Mr. Montagu made a radical departure from the old method of recruiting the security services on the eve of the introduction of the new constitution, but his rashness was followed by no disastrous consequences. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that if a similar step were taken now it would not prove equally safe. Indeed a change in the constitution is the strongest argument in favour of a change in the recruitment of these services. To change the constitution but to maintain the structure of the services unchanged is to follow two contradictory policies.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

The other services, the future of which was considered by the Committee, are the Indian Medical Service, the superior Railway Services, the Indian Forest Service and the Indian Service of Engineers (Irrigation). In the first two as in the case of the security services the existing situation has been left unchanged. There is to be no advance in the position of Indians and notwithstanding the repeated demands of Indians of all parties and communities for the formation of a superior Civil Medical Service distinct from the military Indian Medical Service, the I. M. S. will continue to have a virtual monopoly of the higher posts and to dominate the provincial medical departments. Roughly speaking, the Committee has recommended the continuance of the status quo in regard to all services which have an all-India character. However much they may differ among themselves some reason has been found for maintaining the British element intact in each case.

The Indian Forest and Irrigation Services which will operate in the transferred field will be provincialised. But the Committee observe that "our recommendation that the Forest and Irrigation Services should in future be recruited in India does not, of course, imply that the Governments in India should abandon the recruitment of necessary personnel from England." Strong Governors will doubtless profit by this observation.

ARMY.

As already stated, the Committee has expressed the view that there is no essential relation between the problem of Indianisation and the constitutional issues with which it is concerned. Such a statement has been made for the first time by an authoritative body like the Joint Select Committee. It is true that the history of the grant of self-government to the colonies shows that internal autonomy was conceded to them before they were able to defend themselves. But owing to the friction which subsequently arose on the question of the control to be exercised over the imperial forces stationed there, the colonies were given to understand that they must make their own arrangements for their defence, and it is recognized now that self-rule and protection by an outside power are incompatible. In any case we may be sure that the colonial precedents will not be followed in the case of India. We have been repeatedly told by those in authority that our inability to defend ourselves is an obstacle to the achievement of full self-government, and that full powers cannot be conceded to India so long as the Indian army contains British troops and a considerable proportion of the regimental officers is British. It is evident therefore that the question of defence has a vital bearing on the future status of India. The first Round Table Conference recognised this by appointing a Sub-Committee which made recommendations regarding the appointment of Indians as King's commissioned Officers and the examination of the strength of the British army in India.

It being clear that at least for all practical purposes self-defence is the life-blood of self-government, the Committee should have made constructive suggestions for the preparation of Indians for the defence of their country. But, instead of doing so, it has denied, as stated above, any essential connection between questions relating to the constitution and the creation of a national army, and only pointed out the difficulties which impede India's progress to military autonomy. It asks Indian political leaders to be "realists" and to face the fact that Indianisation cannot be carried out in accordance with a fixed time-table. It refers with approval to the conclusion of the Statutory Commission that the practical difficulties involved are too great to justify "a precipitate embarkation on a wholesale process of substituting Indian for British personnel in the Indian army" and adds that an additional difficulty arises from differences between the martial and other races of India. It tells us in other words that we must solve three problems—the training of Indian officers for the higher grades, the substitution of Indian for British soldiers and the development of the martial capacity of the people—before our ambitions can be realised.

It is unfortunately too true that India is as yet not capable of assuming responsibility for her defence, but her helplessness is entirely due to the policy pursued by

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

England since the fifties of the last century. It is well known that in the Indian army as reorganised after the upheaval of 1857, the number of British officers in a regiment was limited to seven and troops and companies were commanded by Indian officers, but the progressive increase in the number of British officers led to their being gradually ousted from the office which they occupied under the system adopted in the reconstructed army. While there was an advance, however slow and inadequate, in the position of Indians in the higher branches of the Civil Services in the sixty years that followed the insurrection of 1857, in the army we actually lost ground instead of going forward. This set-back was not due to our military incapacity. Lord Lawrence, who gave evidence before the Select Committee on East India finance in 1873, admitted in answer to a question put by Mr. Fawcett that the non-appointment of Indians as King's commissioned officers notwithstanding the Queen's Proclamation was due not to any want of ability or education in them but to "the pride of race of the English officers". When asked whether in that case he could say that the promise of equality made in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria was being translated into practice, he gave an answer which for its frankness and importance deserves to be quoted in full. "I say," he said, "that it is not, but then I think that the responsibility of that must be upon those who put forward the Proclamation. I think it would never do for those who are in authority in the present day and who see that there are serious objections to carrying out certain promises absolutely to shut their eyes and say, 'Well, it has been once laid down, and no matter what happens, it must be enforced'. The wiser way (I say it in all humility), it seems to me, is not to carry out such promises; to do as much in that way as you can do safely and securely and do it with a liberal and kind spirit but still not to do what you think politically evil. I think our hold in India and our position in India is a very peculiar one, and a very little, one way or other, might do a great deal of harm." Lord Roberts appeared to hold the same opinion. When Sir George Chesney, Military Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, pleaded for the admission of Indians to the higher grades in the army Lord Roberts strenuously opposed him and said: "I would resist the beginnings on however small a scale." More illustrations of the same character can easily be cited, but these two instances will suffice to show that the exclusion of Indians from the higher commissioned grades was not due to their incompetence but was the result of a policy deliberately and systematically followed by the British Government for political reasons. Those who ask us to be realists should ponder this carefully. If they realise the grave responsibility which rests on their country in this connection they will perhaps be less disposed to emphasise difficulties and more inclined to recognise their duty to undo the grievous wrong which has been done to India.

As for the pace of Indianisation it is a matter of common knowledge that the Assembly resolved with the concurrence of the Government of India in 1921 that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to Indians. This resolution which related to the infantry and cavalry alone, as Indians were not eligible then for admission to the higher ranks in the artillery and other units, required that 30 Indians should be appointed as King's commissioned officers annually. Government have now agreed to double this number, but owing to the change in the system of officering the Indian units requiring the appointment of the King's commissioned officers as platoon officers, about half of them will only replace the Viceroy's commissioned officers who are at present in charge of platoons. Not more than 30 Indians will thus be available for the replacement of English officers, which is the true meaning of Indianisation, and as from this small number Indian officers will be provided not merely for the infantry and cavalry but also for the newly created artillery and technical units, it is clear, that notwithstanding the apparent generosity of Government we are not yet getting what they promised to give nearly 14 years ago! There are certain other facts also which should be borne in mind in this connection. The Military Requirements Committee, appointed by Lord Reading's Government in 1921 and presided over by Lord Rawlinson, not merely approved of the resolution passed by the Assembly but recommended that the commissions to be granted every year to Indians should be increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. every year so that Indian and British officers might be

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

recruited in equal proportions in 10 years. Lord Reading's Government appointed another committee in 1922 to consider a scheme for the complete Indianisation of the army. It reported that if no untoward circumstances intervened, it would be possible to carry out this policy in 30 years, and its report received the support of the Governor-General in Council. It is true that subsequently both Lord Reading and Lord Rawlinson, for reasons which we do not know, threw their own proposals overboard, but we may be sure that they would never have accepted the recommendations referred to above even temporarily had they been dangerous or impracticable from the military point of view. If our critics will bear this in mind our demand for the Indianisation of the Army within a fixed period of time will not appear as outrageous to them as it does at present.

The recommendations made by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, which was presided over by Mr. J. H. Thomas, created the hope that the question of more rapid Indianisation would be considered in a sympathetic spirit by a committee specially appointed for the purpose. This committee was appointed in 1932, but notwithstanding the assurances given by Mr. Thomas it was neither furnished with the material that would have helped it to arrive at a sound decision nor allowed to discuss the matter. The question was withdrawn from its purview and it was curtly told that the number of Indian cadets to be trained annually had been decided already by His Majesty's Government, and that its only task was to consider the details relating to the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. The fact that the Government went so far as to break faith with Indians in order to avoid consultation with them on this vital question shows that the political motives which guided their policy in the past continue to influence them still. It cannot be adequately emphasised that it is not military but political considerations that bar the way to quicker progress in the Indianisation of the army.

It has been observed that proposals for the replacement of the British army of occupation in India by Indian soldiers excite even greater opposition than those for the rapid Indianisation of the army. We are told that the subject is too grave to be dealt with lightly, and that a hasty substitution of Indian for British personnel would jeopardize the safety of the country. The illuminating reports of the Commissions which were appointed to consider the organisation of the army in India in 1859 and 1879, however, make it abundantly clear that the British army is maintained in this country not to protect us from foreign aggression but to overawe us and to keep us down. Its purpose is to serve, in the words of Lord Lawrence, as "a grand counterpoise" to the Indian army. Besides, its size has varied from time to time. To take only one instance, it appears from the report of the Indian Retrenchment Committee that the number of British soldiers in India was about 80,000 when the Great War broke out. The financial difficulties of the Government of India led to its reduction. It is today about 60,000, but a diminished British army has not imperilled the safety of the country. One thing however has remained fairly constant during the last 75 years. Whatever the changes in numbers, the proportion between the sizes of the Indian and British sections has broadly speaking remained the same. It has been the policy of the British Government throughout this period not to allow the British army to fall below 40 per cent. of the Indian army, and roughly speaking this relation between the strength of the two armies was prescribed by the Army Commission of 1859, whose recommendations were intended solely to maintain British supremacy unchallenged. It is useless to talk of the progress of India towards self-government unless the policy of utter distrust which actuated the authorities in 1859 undergoes a radical change.

In view of its importance this subject received the attention of the Defence Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference. Mr. Thomas, who recognised the force of Indian opinion, said: "You cannot talk of Indianisation without keeping in mind that it presupposes a reduction in British troops. That is obviously a part of it." The Maharaja of Bikaner, who took part in the discussions, said that the Princes had never authorised Sir Leslie Scott, who placed their case before the Butler Committee, "to put forward the suggestion that British troops could never be withdrawn or Dominion

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Status granted because of the treaties with the States". He went on to say, "That is a view to which I personally and many others of us do not subscribe: we do not subscribe to that view because we do not want to stand in the way of the advance of our country, which is our motherland, in regard to these matters." The Sub-Committee recommended that the question of the reduction of the number of British troops in India should be subjected to expert investigation. The experts who examined the matter, after considering the question of efficiency and the probable effects of a programme of Indianisation, came to the conclusion that no immediate reduction in the number of British troops was possible. The argument on which this view is based is an insult to India. Doubts have been expressed by interested parties with regard to the capacity of Indians to become efficient commanders, but there have never been two opinions with regard to the fighting qualities of the Indian soldier. Given proper training he has never been found unequal to his duties. Notwithstanding the baneful effects of British policy in regard to the recruitment of the Indian army in the past, India was able to supply about a million soldiers during the Great War, and the pages of official publications testify to their efficiency and bravery. There may be political objections to the substitution of Indian for British soldiers, but the change cannot be opposed on military grounds.

The theory that only certain classes are fit for enlistment in the army is of comparatively recent origin. In the days before the consolidation of British rule the army of India was recruited from a much wider area than it is today. With certain exceptions, it was fairly representative of the country as a whole. The Bengal army which was responsible for the conquest of the Punjab was largely recruited in the U. P. and Behar. Three-fourths of it consisted of Brahmins and Rajputs who were the pride of their officers. As a punishment for the part it took in the Mutiny it was drastically overhauled and the previous policy in regard to recruitment underwent a great change. The classes which were formerly prominent in the army were reduced to a position of insignificance and the field of recruitment was steadily shifted northwards owing to the greater political reliability of the Punjab. It was precisely the martial qualities of the higher castes in the U. P. which led to their being looked upon as a danger and to their exclusion from the army. The Great War showed that, notwithstanding the policy followed for two generations, the old spirit lived in the excluded classes. Apart from this, the epithet "martial" has been applied to different classes at different times, and a perusal of the literature on the subject leaves little room for doubt that the changes that were made were based on political grounds. The Punjab, it appears, supplied not more than 10 per cent. of the army in 1856 but supplied 45 per cent. of it a few years later. This change could not evidently have been due to a sudden recognition of the soldierly qualities of the Punjab. Coming to more recent times, about one-fourth of the army was composed of men from northern India, excluding the Punjab, immediately after the Great War. The proportion when the Simon Commission reported was only about half of what it was 10 years earlier. It is impossible to believe that this reduction could have been due to deterioration in the martial qualities of the people concerned. As a rule national consciousness is regarded as a danger, and those classes are preferred which are easily led. And, as far as possible, even these classes are not allowed to develop a sense of unity. The Army Commission of 1817 regarded fusion as a danger to British rule, and said: "In working out the details of our proposed division of the Army, our main object has been to define the territorial formation of the Army of India with due regard to the great principle of *divide et impera*". That this policy has had its effect on the people is unfortunately true, but there is no reason to doubt that if nationalism is not frowned upon and suitable steps are taken the spirit of the people can be roused and a national army created within a comparatively short period of time.

BURMA.

The separation of Burma from India did not receive adequate consideration at the Round Table Conference. The delegates were not given the necessary time to consider so important a question. The matter was rushed through in a few minutes.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

The British Government seem to have made up its mind before the Round Table Conference met that Burma should be separated from India, and the Government of Burma have openly encouraged propaganda in favour of separation. It is for Burmans to decide the question, but there are differences of opinion among them on the subject, and they have not given a clear verdict either in favour of separation or of the maintenance of the existing union.

Separation having been decided upon, it is only proper that the interests of Indians residing in Burma should receive the consideration to which they are entitled. Indians who are asking for complete financial and commercial autonomy for themselves cannot deny this to Burma. We do not want that the power to pursue a policy calculated to promote its prosperity should be unjustly withheld from Burma, but we cannot allow any discrimination to be made between Indians and Europeans in Burma in regard to employment in the public services or of carrying on trade or following a profession. Indians should be treated on an equal footing with Britishers. The Committee however is in favour of restricting the right of Indians to enter Burma freely. When the Burma question was discussed at the Conference, it was pointed out that the discriminatory legislation which was passed against Indians in Sir Harcourt Butler's time had caused great resentment in India. It is with this knowledge that the Committee has come to a decision in favour of restricting the entry of Indians into Burma. This has caused considerable dissatisfaction among Indians, specially in Burma. Apart from this the Indian commercial community in Burma are of opinion that they have not received the same measure of protection as Britishers. We must see that they do not receive less favourable treatment than the latter and that their legitimate claims are not disregarded.

ADEN.

Aden too is to be separated from India notwithstanding past promises. A few years ago both the Township of Aden and the Aden Protectorate were under the control of the Government of India. Rumours about their intended transfer to the Colonial Office caused uneasiness in India and questions were put on the subject on various occasions in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Government of India repeatedly assured the legislature that before a final decision was arrived at the Indian legislature would be given an opportunity to express its opinion. But in 1927 the Aden Protectorate was transferred to His Majesty's Government without giving the Assembly any opportunity to discuss the matter, and it is proposed now that the Township of Aden, which the Commander-in-Chief said in 1927 "is peopled to a very great extent by our fellow Indian subjects," should be taken away from the Government of India. It owes its development largely to the Indian commercial community, but the Committee have proposed its separation from India, making however at the same time certain suggestions for the protection of Indian rights. The Committee have based their decision on two grounds. Aden occupies an important position in the scheme of imperial defence and the Arabs who form the majority of the population have made representations in favour of its transfer to His Majesty's Government. As regards the first argument it is enough to point out that as India is not even within sight of Dominion Status the continuance of existing arrangements need have caused no apprehension. As for the wishes of the Arab population, it appears from a speech delivered by Sir Phiroz Sethna last year in the Council of State that the real people of Aden desire no change and that it is only a few Arabs belonging to the hinterland who sent a petition to the Viceroy asking for the separation of Aden. We do not know what additional representations Government have received since last year, but we shall not be surprised if it is found on investigation that they do not express the views of the people really concerned.

INDIANS ABROAD.

Notwithstanding our preoccupation with the urgent problem of our future, our countrymen abroad have the right to expect from us that we shall continue to watch over their interests and give them such help as we can whenever they stand in need of it. The Indians in Zanzibar are greatly agitated over certain laws passed by the Zanzibar Government which they are afraid will spell ruin to them. One of the laws will deprive Indians of their rights to acquire agricultural land, although the

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

connection of India with Zanzibar is as old as that of the Arabs, and it has been admitted to be discriminatory by the Attorney-General of Zanzibar. Zanzibar which had never been guilty of racial legislation or of discriminatory treatment is now, it appears, following in the footsteps of Kenya. Mr. C. F. Andrews, to whom India is deeply indebted for his deep interest in Indians overseas and his readiness to make every sacrifice to help them, recently visited Zanzibar at the request of the Indian community. He holds that the laws above referred to will work to the serious detriment of the Indians, and has tried his best through his writings in the Indian press to enlighten both Government and the public and to urge them to take the strongest action possible to protect the Zanzibar Indians.

The Government of India who, I am glad to say, are at one with us in supporting the just demands of Indians overseas, deputed Mr. Menon to Zanzibar to report on the legislation complained of by Indians. His report has not been published yet. I have no doubt that the Government of India are taking action on it, but I hope that they will publish the report in order that the country may know the true facts and give them its full support. Meanwhile we should be informed of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Menon and the steps taken by the Government of India to have justice done to the Indian community. The situation requires the utmost strength and watchfulness. I trust that neither the public nor the Government of India will be found wanting in their duty. If racial distinctions are allowed in a place like Zanzibar we can well imagine what will happen to our countrymen elsewhere.

The situation in Kenya continues to give cause for anxiety. The settlers withdrew their demand for responsible government when the Labour party came into power, but they have not yet abandoned their efforts to acquire control over the administration of the colony. Their demand for political control has now been replaced by a demand for financial control. Another disturbing factor in the situation is the recommendation of the Carter Committee regarding the reservation of highlands for Europeans. Indians are already administratively prevented from acquiring land there. But the acceptance of the Commission's recommendation will, it appears, make the discrimination statutory. It is well known that the Indian agitation in South Africa was due to legislative discrimination against Indians. I hope that the lesson of that struggle will not be lost on the British Government. Should any attempt be made to place on the statute-book any measure discriminating against Indians as such, I am sure that the entire country will support the Indian community of Kenya in any protest that they may make, as it supported the Indians who fought heroically for the honour of their country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

CONCLUSION.

If I have correctly surveyed the principal features of the constitutional proposals they bear no likeness to the vision which we saw for a while when India participated in the first Round Table Conference. The purpose of the Conference was to frame a constitution, which would be a broad highway leading to the promised land of Dominion Status. But the Committee has shunned the words Dominion Status. This is the cardinal defect which disfigures its report. This fundamental omission is a sufficient justification for its recommendations being regarded with profound suspicion. It is a deliberate denial of the pledge which Britain gave us through its representative in 1929. The attitude of mind which this indicates is traceable in every feature of the report. Acknowledging no objective, it could not recommend any period within which Indian constitutional development should be completed; nor could it propose any method by which the constitution might expand and progressively adjust itself to changing political and economic circumstances. Under its proposals no advance will be possible except through parliamentary intervention. And it will doubtless be preceded by prolonged enquiries. We have been assured that the new constitution will contain within itself the seeds of growth. That political conditions in India will not remain stationary is, of course, true. New forces will arise but they will receive no welcome from an accommodating constitution. They will only meet with resistance, and progress will come about in the future as it has in the past only after a prolonged conflict with the authorities.

(*Mr. Kunzru's Presidential Address.*)

The Committee, which has left the future uncertain, gives no satisfaction even as regards the immediate present. Its proposals neither satisfy our political self-respect nor give us adequate powers so to shape our economic future as to enable us to come to the assistance of the poverty-stricken and starving masses. If we are not allowed to have our own currency policy, if we are debarred from giving preference to the interests of our people over those of outsiders, if control over measures relating to taxation and borrowing is withheld from us, how can we deal with the urgent problems of poverty and want? The insistent demand of the masses for a more bearable life has raised stupendous questions which *will not* be ignored; but we shall have no power to give a satisfactory answer to them. Economic problems are today the essence of politics, but it is specially in dealing with them that we shall find that our hands have been tied behind our backs. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald promised that the new constitution would be so framed as not to impede our advance to full power, but by prescribing indirect election for the Assembly, the Committee strikes at the root of our power and by encroaching on our fiscal freedom it takes away from us a right which we won after a severe and prolonged struggle.

The constitutional proposals concede the minimum of power and betray the maximum distrust of Indian legislators and ministers. The Governor-General and the Governors will be the despots of the new constitution. The higher district and police officers, on whom they will have to depend for the execution of their policies, will remain under their control and contain the same proportion of Britishers as before. The army which is the foundation of power will not be touched. Our destiny will be entirely in the hands of God's Englishmen.

We cannot accept such a constitution. I wish to indulge in no exaggeration, but I am clear in my mind that owing to the alterations made by the Committee, we shall be in a worse position than at present. The recent debate in Parliament has made it clear that the scheme before us has no chance of being improved. We have no power to put off its consideration, but if we could have our way I confess that I would ask for nothing at present but, realizing our weakness, wait for better days.

Our defeat will not be in vain if it makes us turn the searchlight inwards. We claim to represent the people, but we have yet to identify ourselves with their interests, and, by devoting ourselves to their service, to earn the right to speak on their behalf. We must bend our energies to the task of evolving a new social order which will be founded on justice and fellow-feeling and the dignity of labour. To introduce the light of hope in the darkness which surrounds the lives of the masses and to make them conscious that there is latent in them a force which can deliver them and their country from bondage—is a duty which we must not neglect any more.

An equally imperative obligation is the removal of conditions which tempt us to subordinate the general good to that of the little groups we belong to. The problem is not easy to solve and the attitude of the Government has added to our difficulties. As Lord Salisbury said in the debate on the Committee's report in the House of Lords, the communal award was based not on justice but on a 'jerrymandering' policy dictated by political considerations. But we cannot deny our own responsibility for our communal dissensions or shirk our duty to find a remedy for them. Bearing in mind that our squabbles in the Round Table Conference humiliated the whole country, we should assiduously cultivate a spirit which will urge us to arrive at a friendly settlement. We have to convince our opponents that we are a nation.

But communal concord is not enough for the achievement of complete unity. The recent discussions regarding constitutional reforms, however disappointing their results, have done us one good. They have widened our vision and made us think of India as a whole. They have enabled us to realise the unity of India and the identity of the interests of all Indians in a new sense. It is to the Greater India that we have seen that our thoughts must be increasingly directed in the future. The people of British India and the Indian States are one. The salvation of India depends on them both.

(Indians in Zanzibar : *Sir P. C. Sethna.*)

The President:—Gentlemen, all the delegates present will constitute themselves the Subjects Committee. The meeting of the Subjects Committee will take place at 12 noon tomorrow in this very Hall. The meeting will not be open to the press or the public.

The President then adjourned the session of the Federation till Sunday, the 30th December 1934, at 11 A. M.

Sunday, December 30, 1934.

The National Liberal Federation resumed its work on Sunday, December 30, 1934 at 11 A. M. The proceedings commenced with the singing of the prayer and welcome songs by Sangit Choodamani Pandit Vinayakboi Patvardhan, Principal, Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Poona.

Resolution I—The Year's Losses.

President:—Fellow-delegates, the first resolution relates to the death of Sir Provash Chunder Mitter and Mr. A. P. Sen. It runs as follows:—

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the great loss the Liberal Party has sustained in the deaths of Sir Provash Chunder Mitter and Mr. A. P. Sen who rendered good service to the country and to their party.

The resolution, on being put from the chair, was passed unanimously, all standing.

Resolution II—Indians in Zanzibar.

The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna (Bombay) :

The resolution which has been entrusted to me reads as follows :—

- “(a) The Federation views with grave concern and resentment the sudden adoption some months ago by the Government of Zanzibar of several “decrees” the cumulative effect of which must inevitably be to make it impossible for the Indian community to earn its living in a land where it has been established for a long time prior to the establishment of the British Protectorate. These decrees place them at a disadvantage as compared with their European commercial rivals and create bitterness between them and the Arab and African communities. The fact that the Land Alienation Decree imposes even on Indians born in Zanzibar disabilities which do not apply to Arabs born in Arabia who are not British subjects clearly shows that the new legislation is aimed against Indians. Such differential treatment of Indians in a colony under the direct control of His Majesty's Government which insists on equality of Britishers with Indians in India gives rise to separatist feelings and tends to destroy the unity of the Empire.
- (b) The Federation records its appreciation of the prompt action of the Government of India in deputing Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., to investigate the situation on the spot. It regrets, however, that Mr. Menon's Report has not yet been published and urges its immediate publication and the announcement by the Government of India that they have full sympathy with the grievances of Zanzibar Indians and will strain every nerve to get them redressed and to have the status of Indians in Zanzibar placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.
- (c) The Federation also urges the early publication of Mr. Menon's Report on Marketing Legislation in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, which legislation is believed to be detrimental to Indian interests.”

Ladies and gentlemen, the question of the status of Indians overseas has been very prominently before all political bodies in this country and our Federation as well has, year after year, submitted resolutions for the consideration of Government. The Government of India were in the earlier years somewhat indifferent to the subject, but

(Indians in Zanzibar : *Sir P. C. Sethna.*)

since the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardings there has been a change in this direction and efforts are being made by the Government of India to see that the position of Indians overseas is greatly improved. Let me refer to the attitude of the Government of India in regard to the South African question. They first sent a deputation which was followed by two delegations within a space of five years. The position of Indians there has not very considerably improved, but I would leave it to you to imagine what would have been the position if the Government of India had not taken what steps it did. Similar is the case in Uganda, Kenya, Fiji and in other places. Our Indian friends in Zanzibar, however, claimed that they were better off than Indians elsewhere; but unfortunately during the last few months even Zanzibar has had a severe blow and what this is, you have understood from the wording of the resolution I have just read out, which tells you of the several enactments that have been rushed through and the result of which will be tantamount to asking the Indians to leave Zanzibar and to completely pauperise them in the matter of their investments of lakhs of rupees there in the clove trade. There are six decrees under different names, namely the Money-Lenders Amendment Decree, Land Alienation Decree, Clove-Growers' Association Decree, Agricultural Produce Decree, etc.

Ladies and gentlemen, this has been done expressly for the purpose of benefitting the English rivals, who also trade in cloves. In fact, Zanzibar supplies the largest percentage of the world's demand of cloves and our Indian friends, not for decades but for centuries, have invested large sums of money at present amounting to about eighty lakhs of rupees in the clove trade as also in advances they have made on mortgages of clove estates. On account of world depression prices of cloves fell as did prices of other commodities. Government have taken steps by resorting to methods which have never been practised so far in any other part of the world. In Uganda, traders are heavily indebted to banks but no relief is offered to such traders by imposing similar restrictions on banks. In Zanzibar however Indian mortgagees are not allowed to foreclose mortgages or for the matter of that to do anything to recover their amounts, a hardship that is unheard-of anywhere else. Why Government are resorting to this very unusual method is that Government administration in Zanzibar is very lavish, so lavish that because they cannot impose now a high export duty such as they used to formerly to increase their revenue and meet the cost of their extravagant administration, they want to make up by creating a monopoly in the hands of the British traders in Zanzibar, and that is what we are objecting to.

Ladies and gentlemen, I said that the cost of administration in Zanzibar is heavy. The revenue is seven shillings per head while that in Uganda is £ 1.16.0 per head and yet in Zanzibar they pay very lavishly to officers and they have a far larger number of officers than they need. Whilst the cost of administration was only one lakhs in 1905 it rose to 60 lakhs last year. To meet such high cost they raised the export duty on cloves by degrees from 5 p.c. to somewhere between 30 and 40 p.c., whilst in Madagascar it is only 5 p.c. The "decrees", or Bills as we call them, were rushed through in July last. They are unquestionably drastic and revolutionary in their nature. It was so admitted by the mover of the "decrees" himself. Again, Mr. Wiggins, a former official if I remember rightly—he was previously the Law Member—severely criticised the action of Government that the Clove-Growers' Association was a Government invention to create a Government monopoly at the expense of the Indian trader. He added that the proper name for the Clove-Growers' Association should be the Clove-Grabbers' Association. In short, it cannot be denied that the idea is to make all parts of Africa where British supremacy prevails a white man's colony. A British official, Sir Allan Pim, in his Financial Report of Zanzibar for the year 1902, says it cannot afford a European staff on the scale it pays. It was only the fatal ease with which funds were received in the past from the clove industry which enabled them to do so; but that was leading them to bankruptcy.

We have not many English friends overseas but we have certainly one in the Rev. Charles Andrews. He decided to visit Zanzibar some months ago to report on the situation. Before he landed from the ship he received an invitation from the Acting

(Indians in Zanzibar : *Sir P. C. Sethna & Mr. Bharucha.*)

Resident Mr. McElderry. Such courtesy is not usually extended to Britishers who befriend Indians; but the Acting Resident may have done so because of a guilty conscience. The Europeans in Zanzibar know that they have done wrong and therefore they tried to pacify Mr. Andrews before he got to know the exact situation from the Indians themselves. The Acting Resident passed on Mr. Andrews to the Collector of Customs Mr. Bartlett who was forced to admit that all these "decrees" were bound to do incalculable harm to Indians in Zanzibar. To many other questions put by Mr. Andrews very unsatisfactory replies were given.

Now as a result of the endeavours made by the Indian public by resolutions passed in different centres, the Government of India kindly sent Mr. Menon, I. C. S., to report on the whole situation. Mr. Menon is now back. Mr. Menon's report has been considered by what is known as the Emigration Committee attached to the Government of India, but Government have not yet chosen to disclose the purport of that report. Either it is condemnatory of the Indians themselves or it finds fault with the Zanzibar administration. I for one will not be surprised if it is the latter; but whatever it be, it behoves Government to disclose the contents of the Report without any further loss of time.

I hope therefore you will unanimously pass this resolution and ask Government that the report be published immediately and matters set right. We have been told times out of number that the British Government regards India as a partner in the British Commonwealth. If what they are doing in Zanzibar is a sample of the equality they are offering, then we can lay no reliance on their professions but we are confirmed in our view that all such talk of equality is mere sham and that the injustice that has been done for years past is intended to be continued in the future, to judge from what has so recently happened in Zanzibar.

Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution before you is one which vitally concerns Indians not only economically but one which affects also the international status of India. Of all the anti-Asiatic legislation that has been passed during the last twenty years, I think it would be difficult for us to find any legislation comparable in its inequity to the decrees which have been passed against Indians in Zanzibar. The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna has detailed to you what those six decrees are and if you will permit me, I shall analyse what these decrees in reality mean. Take, for instance, what is known as the Money-Lenders Decree. It virtually means a moratorium. It means expropriation of private property; it violates sanctity of private property.

Ladies and gentlemen, as you know of all discriminatory legislation passed, the most hateful is that which has a retrospective effect. This legislation has such retrospective effect and it is to be deplored for that reason. The Indian community by its enterprise and initiative has built up the economic prosperity of Zanzibar and now that a prosperous trade is built up it is to be regretted that Europeans should find it desirable to pounce upon what Indians have built with years of labour and enterprise. The Money-Lenders Decree is likely to create estrangement between Arabs and Indians. And for this reason, that the Arabs realise now that under the Decree they are entitled to put off payment to their creditors. The creditors realise their helplessness with the result that the relations prevailing between Arabs and Indians will be embittered all along.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna has stated to you that the clove trade of Zanzibar is its principal trade, supplying as it does the greatest portion of the world's demand for clove. You will perhaps be surprised to learn that Zanzibar supplies 88 per cent. of the entire demand of the world for clove. Now, what the various decrees have done is to impose a tiny licence fee of Rs. 5,000 on any dealer, who desires to carry on trade! There are hundreds of petty dealers to whom such an exorbitant licence fee would prove prohibitive. The imposition of this fee means simply this that instead of telling the Indian traders in plain terms to get out of the trade and leave a clear field to the European exploiter, they have done this in an

(Indians in Zanzibar : *Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha.*)

indirect manner. The effect of it is that 15,000 Indians, who are in Zanzibar and who directly or indirectly depend on the clove industry, will have to come back to India and find some sort of employment in a land where unemployment is so rampant.

Ladies and gentlemen, the most surprising part of it is that at no time, so far as we learn from reports, the Arab community in Zanzibar demanded this type of legislation which is given gratis from the Protectorate of Zanzibar! If the economic condition of the Arab natives were such that a grave national crisis would have arisen in Zanzibar, such sort of decrees would have had some justification. The purport of it is clear. It simply means this, that now that Indians have built up trade and commerce of Zanzibar the Europeans want all that for themselves. I am afraid, judging by the nature of the decrees, they will succeed in their purpose.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Government of India have acted with some promptness in deputing Mr. Menon to investigate the problem on the spot, but they have failed to show equal promptness in the publication of that document. One of the reasons of delaying publication may be—I am not sure about it—but it is reported that after the passing of the decrees, a Commission has been set up to investigate as to what effect these decrees will have on the economic condition of the Indians! It is a strange Government which first rushes through legislation and then sets up a Commission to investigate into the consequences the legislation will entail! It is reported—and this fact is not refuted—that if the recommendations of the Commission are such as would induce the Government to change or modify the decrees, they will do so. I do not know how far they will do it. They may tinker with the problem here and tinker with the problem there, but if anyone believes there is going to be a wholesale and radical change of the economic conditions of the Indians in Zanzibar, I think he will be greatly mistaken.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have already pointed out that there was no justification from an economic point of view for passing all these decrees. If there was acute economic crisis it was only fit and proper that the Government of Zanzibar should have, in consultation with the Indian opinion there, devised some such measures for debt reconciliation as has been done in the Central Provinces or as is contemplated in other provinces. They could have resorted to different methods of ameliorating their conditions.

Ladies and gentlemen, the ultimate effect of this legislation will be that the Indian community will be repatriated. So also, if the Arab cultivator cannot alienate his land to the mortgagee, the question will be: how will he raise money for cultivation? And if his credit is curtailed it will be only a tragedy of bad intentions self-defeated.

Ladies and gentlemen, if this Federation has been content with passing this mild resolution, it is not because we do not feel acutely the inequity that is perpetrated upon our brethren, but it is because India in her present political state cannot do anything more. But let us assure our brethren overseas that if at any time any opportunity occurs whereby it is possible for us to have their grievances redressed, this country and its legislatures will never be backward in extending a helping hand to our friends. I, therefore, commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Loud cheers).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. S. G. Gokhale, one of the Secretaries to the Reception Committee, then submitted to the Conference messages from the following persons regretting their inability to attend the session but wishing it all possible success:—

The Chief Saheb of Ramdurg; Mr. Jamal Mahomed, Madras; Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, Agra; Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Benares; Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Khamgaon; Mr. Syed Munawar, M. L. C., Bombay; Mr. B. T. Mantri, Islampur; and R. B. K. V. Brahma, Nagpur.

(J. P. C. Report : *Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.*)

III—Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report and Indian Constitutional Reform.

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri :

Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen :

I HOPE you will allow me to speak in this (sitting) posture. As is the practice in the case of important resolutions, I shall first read this one to you.

"The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound regret at finding that the Joint Select Committee's report, instead of removing the glaring defects and shortcomings of the White Paper proposals that were pointed out by the Federation at its two previous sessions, has, in utter disregard of almost the entire body of Indian opinion of all shades, including the British Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee, introduced further highly objectionable and reactionary features, rendering responsible government in the provinces and the centre, which the British Government profess to give to India wholly illusory. The Federation is convinced that any Constitution based on the lines of the Joint Select Committee's Report will be wholly unacceptable to all shades of Indian political opinion and will, far from allaying, very much intensify the present deep political discontent in the country. This Federation, therefore, does not want any legislation based upon the Joint Select Committee's Report."

This resolution, without going into detail, sums up the general feelings of the Federation on the subject. It would be difficult for me to cover the whole ground even if I had three hours' time. I propose, however, with your good leave, to exercise the privilege of an elder and, without being bound too closely by the rule of relevancy, to go round the subject, as it were, and after some observations on the general character of the proposals made therein, to dwell a little on the general policy of the Liberal Party and its position in the country. I spoke upon the subject at the Calcutta session of this Federation, *i. e.*, the session before the last. On reading that speech again yesterday I was struck by the degree to which it would be perfectly apposite today—in spite of the feverish activity of this Committee whose report we are considering and of the political events in this country—so little change has really taken place in our political prospect. I said then when we were only considering the White Paper and nothing was known yet of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's work—I said then that, if it were in my power, I would do without the forthcoming constitution for India. Now that the Joint Select Committee has reported after a laborious and exhaustive enquiry, I have only to say that my opinion, formerly unfavourable, has become greatly aggravated (hear, hear), and it is impossible to contemplate with anything like ease or peace of mind the enactment of this Constitution and the way it would affect, not merely our political fortune in the future, but our daily transactions in the various legislatures of the country. The Committee, however, have taken very good care, and any one who reads the report of the proceedings in Parliament will be struck by the thoroughness of the preparations that seem to have been made for the inauguration of the new regime, absolutely irrespective of what the Assembly in Delhi might have to say and of public opinion throughout the country. It would appear from what the Secretary of State announced in Parliament that the Government of India and the various provincial governments have been consulted upon the important question whether the Constitution would be in actual fact workable and worked by the people for whom it was meant, and the answer seems to have gone across the water that the Constitution would be workable, and that all over the country there was a sufficiency of persons prepared to operate it. I will not read to you what Sir Samuel Hoare or what Colonel Amery seems to have said, but I would read just the most authoritative statement on the subject made by Mr. Stanley Baldwin. It is a clear statement meant to reassure the members of both Houses; it is a very short passage.

"It is true that there has been a good deal of wordy denunciation from members of Congress, and it is a fact that other political parties have criticised it; but this does not mean that there will not be responsibly-minded Indians, [evidently we here do not come within that category (laughter)] who are ready to play their part in the new Constitution by the time the Constitution becomes law. We have, as a matter of fact, made enquiries during the last few days and received assurances from all the provincial governments on two points. First, that in their view, the proposals are workable and secondly, in their view, there will be people to work these proposals."

Now, I suppose it was an uneasy fear in the minds of the Government that they were fabricating a thoroughly unacceptable Constitution that made them feel the ground as to whether it was favourable. I told you before, and this resolution, which I read out to you and which, I hope, you will accept with unanimity, states our conclusion, that we wish with all our hearts that we were let alone. For what would this Constitution be? As far as I can see, while the Government will be able to get people to work it, there are other people, who, in their humiliation and grief, will set their hearts if possible on seeing it superseded by a better constitution. It is human nature all over the world, that when a constitution meant to be democratic is of the contrary nature and irks people in a hundred ways in their daily work, they will not settle down to the ordinary social or economic or educational or other ameliorating work, but will spend all their energies in removing the absurd features of their Government. That has been proved over and over again. There would be much to do, much urgent and important work to do. Men, however, will not find it possible to do it till this, their greatest annoyance, is removed. And what will it result in? Continued wrangles between the Government and the people. This Constitution may work in a way, but there will be no peace in the land, nor will the relations between England and India be improved the least bit; the bitterness will be several times worse. Curiously enough, and it is in crises like these where the same question is viewed from various standpoints, a strange phenomenon occurs. It is extraordinary that in the House of Commons where this subject was under discussion, a statement should have been made by a critic from the extreme right—which might have been spoken by me or by the President. See how strangely the words seem to hit the situation. This is what Mr. Churchill said: "Of course, the Government will win; we do not doubt that. When they have won, what will they have gained? They will have gained the right to impose upon India a system wholly unsuitable to the welfare of its people and abhorrent to all who speak in their name. They will have plunged vast regions into prolonged political agitation and disputation which will proceed not only in every province but also at the centre and the summit of the Government of India." Mr. Churchill's commentary upon it will not be mine, but his words I need not change. There are other passages which I have here with me, but I will pass over them, as this sufficiently illustrates the point.

ABSENCE OF DOMINION STATUS.

Now, the chief offence of the document, which is sweetly worded and conveys the sentiments of the greatest affection and tenderness for the people of India, is that it does not contain the words "Dominion Status". We contend, ladies and gentlemen, that Dominion Status has been promised to us on the highest authority (cheers). It is not merely a Viceregal declaration as we call it, although it was the lips of the Viceroy that uttered it. He had the authority of the British Cabinet of the day and he stated so. But if it were only the Labour Government that had made the promise, it would not still perhaps be quite so authoritative as to command the highest respect. After the first session of the Round Table Conference and again after its second session the Prime Minister brought this subject before Parliament. The subject was debated, and although on the first occasion no vote was recorded, on the second the Prime Minister's statement was passed by a vote of the House. Now, that statement asked for the approval of Parliament on the Government's Indian policy which was being worked out by the Round Table Conference. That policy with regard to the future Indian constitution certainly was the policy which was enunciated by Lord Irwin on behalf of the Government. References were made to this subject of Dominion Status in Parliament, and if a vote of approval was given to Indian policy, which embodied this declaration of Dominion Status for India, may we not claim, I ask, that the word of Parliament and not merely of the Government of the day is pledged? (Loud cheers). When I add that the second debate was held after the General Election of 1931 and the establishment of the National Government, you will see that the case is complete against the present Ministry. What Parliament has given, only Parliament can take away. The present Government, stepping into the shoes of the Labour Government who gave the promise, evidently do not love it—they would fain take it back. Their spokesmen referred to it with disapprobation. "What is this that

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we have inherited from our predecessors?" Among them, some leading members expressed their desire if possible to annul it. But they dared not do so, because the sanction of Parliament would be required. Sir Samuel Hoare himself did not once use the expression. Apparently, his tongue has some inborn aversion to it. Sir John Simon—whom, by the way, after his boycott in India, they have now resurrected and put in a place of great power—Sir John Simon referred to this subject, and the only thing he could bring himself to say was that the policy of Britain with regard to Indian political evolution had been clearly stated in that great document, the Montagu declaration of 1917, which used the words "progressive realisation of responsible government by India." It is this expression which Lord Irwin interpreted to mean "Dominion Status." Sir John Simon with his legal perspicacity apparently did not approve of this interpretation. He could not repudiate this: he, therefore, ignored it and went back to the original text. Other speakers did the same. Only Mr. Baldwin declared, in response to a pressing demand from Mr. Lansbury, that his party would stand by all the pledges that had been made, and that no distinction would be made between the pledges. Even he forbore to use the hated expression. But during the debate in the House of Lords, I grieve to have to say that it was left to the Archbishop of Canterbury to declare in so many words that his repugnance to this expression in connection with India was so great that he would advise all people if possible to give up its use. I am reminded of a certain community in South India, who when a person is on his death-bed, naturally gather round him and await, in solemn suspense, the dreaded moment when they have to pronounce in his ear the last word which might redound to his salvation. That word is "Narayana"—beautiful, sacred word carrying the most venerated associations. Why should they hesitate so much to say it? Because it is to be the last word which the man hears during his life and it is, therefore, to be pronounced at that very moment when life quits the body. But how could you be sure of that? (Laughter). So invariably what happens is that they wait until life is actually extinct and then summon up courage to pronounce the word. While yet there is life, somebody or other moves amongst those that wait and asks most anxiously, "is it time for *that word, that word*?" Now Dominion Status somehow or other fills British statesmen with that dread (Laughter). Whose end they are anticipating with such mortal anxiety I wonder! It must be, ladies and gentlemen, the end of India's exploitation (hear, hear), the end of India's domination by Britain (cheers) which they dread. Well, if they have that dread, is it not with a corresponding degree of tenacity that we should cling to the words? And yet I hear it said occasionally by some of our statesmen, "Why bother about Dominion Status which is after all a couple of words, provided you have a good constitution with excellent provisions in its various sections helping you on towards that destiny?" Well, although I dissent decisively from this view, for a moment let me accept it for the sake of argument. Now, let us examine this constitution, denying you the ideal or the goal of Dominion Status. Does it give you anything like consolation in the various provisions and arrangements it embodies? No. It is a reactionary constitution, meant to forge stronger fetters than ever upon our growth, denying to us the right and the initiative to make necessary changes in the constitution and then making the constitution at the centre as anti-national and as anti-democratic as possible.

" DELIBERATE DENIAL. "

Now, ladies and gentlemen, neither in the goal it has nor in the steps it takes is this a constitution that we may, for a moment, look upon with favour. And yet they have made arrangements to carry it out and apparently there are, amongst our own compatriots and colleagues, amongst our own countrymen and countrywomen, whose fortunes are intimately bound up with ours, to whom India belongs as much as to us; there are people whose consent, express or implied, has already gone forth, whose co-operation has already been promised, to the enactment and the operation of this constitution. Our President, referring to this question of Dominion Status, after examining every aspect of it, with great hesitation described the attitude of the Joint Select Committee's report to you as "deliberate denial". Now, a paper of great power in this Presidency, generally friendly to Indian aspirations, whose articles I read with great attention, because even when unfavourable they are usually couched in a tone

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which conveys no offence, that paper finds fault with the words "deliberate denial." Well, I think, ladies and gentlemen, those words are by no means excessive in their import. It is not open repudiation that has been perpetrated, but Government have a way of defeating a promise, which they no longer like. There is a firm refusal to fulfil the promise. Is that any better than 'deliberate denial'? I do not know. Shall we say 'obstinate ignoring'? Is that more appropriate? Could we apply any words which may sound pleasing to the ear in describing this transaction? Ladies and gentlemen, I find it difficult indeed to think well of a document which upsets the purpose of our struggles and puts aside the promises made by the highest authority in the land. We may not describe it as a breach of faith. No. It just falls short of it. It is a deliberate denial, I repeat the words of the President without hesitation.

Now, I want to say a word about the safeguards. We have been taught a hundred times over that we are unstatesmanlike, unused to the operation of a democratic constitution, that truly what are known as conventions lie embedded at the bottom of the Imperial Constitution. We know nothing of all these things and therefore we object to safeguards; safeguards there must be in any constitution. Since we Indian people are ignorant of the conventions necessary, British legislators have to put them down in the actual constitution, that is what they have said. Now, it might surprise British statesmen, if we tell them that we also know about safeguards and we are quite willing to accept a certain type of them. In fact, safeguards were allowed by Mahatma Gandhi when he went to the Round Table Conference. Between him and Lord Irwin, it was agreed that such safeguards as could be demonstrated to be in the interest of India were to be put in. Well, that held ground for some time, but as I told you, the Government which made the promise was soon replaced by another Government which did not wish to carry out the promise. The result was that a very large number of safeguards got into the constitution which were not in the interest of India which could be proved to be against the interest of India, but which Sir Samuel Hoare, in his elaborate evidence described as "in the joint interest of Britain and India". (Laughter). Now, one step backward has been taken authoritatively. Instead of being purely in the interest of India, safeguards admittedly in the joint interest of Britain and India were put in.

But it was left to the original author of the promise, who by this time had become Lord Halifax—a change of name perhaps requiring a change of attitude—it was left to him to say that he could get up on any platform and prove that every one of the safeguards was really in the interest of India. Now I have no desire to be over-critical. But I think his Lordship was wise not to try the feat as he would have found it outside his nature and character. The fact is that everybody who came and asked for a safeguard got it inserted in the Constitution—investor, capitalist, policeman. That is how it went along. If each of these safeguards could be said to be in our interests, what should we think? That we were in such extremity that it was really better to submit to those bad terms than to resist. That means it is blackmail which we paid or have to pay lest worse befall.

APPEAL TO PRINCES.

In my speech at Calcutta, I ventured to say a word to my erstwhile colleagues at the Round Table Conference belonging to the princely order. Our obligations to them are great. I shall not forget or underrate them. I remember the great acclamation with which we welcomed their advent at the Round Table Conference and their proposal of a Federation thus making central responsibility possible. But they have got to come in as a help to our country and not as a handicap (Hear, hear). In one of the first speeches I made at the Conference—my speeches are not generally read and that is why I refer to them myself—I pointed out that the new Federation idea was on a co-ordinate level with the previous idea of Dominion Status. They were of equal might and potency, but while some of us might be more keen on Dominion Status, others might be more keen on Federation. I begged all in the name of the future of India to work with one heart for both the ideas, each without impairing the integrity

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or usefulness of the other, Dominion Status without injuring Federation in the least, Federation without injuring Dominion Status in the least. I had a presentiment that something of the kind would happen. It has happened. The Princes, who time and again proclaimed their enthusiasm for the Dominion Status of India seem now to bestow more of their affection on Federation and are apparently willing that deductions should be made one after another from Dominion Status so long as their Federation idea is not touched. That, I think, is a great harm which the Princes are doing to our cause. I gave utterance to my fear in Calcutta and I repeat it here, imploring them to guard themselves against the fate which might overwhelm them, the fate of those who are content to be used as blocks in the way of India's march to her destiny. They may be safe today, but one day India will be fully aroused and competent to express herself and treat properly those that did not help but allowed themselves to be used as hindrances to her destiny. (Loud Cheers). Let us also remember this. It is sometimes forgotten and sometimes misrepresented, *viz.*, that till the Princes came on the scene and gave a new direction to our aspirations, we were thinking solely of British India. It was British India's dominionhood that had been contemplated, and when Lord Irwin made his declaration of 1929, he had no notion whatever that the Princes would come in and seek a share in the benefits and advantages of Federation. After we met in London the Princes approached us of their own accord and said "Federation will be incomplete without us." Ladies and gentlemen, please do not believe that we invited them; but it was they that made the offer to enter Federation in order to make things comfortable to themselves. We accepted it as it seemed to be an inexorable condition of central responsibility. Having so taken us to their bosom, I do hope that the Princes will see to it that our Dominion Status is not marred in any way on account of Federation.

NO CO-OPERATION.

We have been asked in the name of the traditions of the Liberal Party to be true to ourselves. It would appear that our chief title to distinction is our readiness at all hazards to co-operate with the Government. Do you answer in your conscience to that description? I will put the question in another form. We are admonished to co-operate with Government in the enactment of this constitution, to express our willingness that it should come into this country and shape her destiny. In the first place, are we invited to co-operate in the practical denial of Dominion Status or the refusal to fulfil the promise of it to our countrymen? Is our consent, our willing co-operation, asked for in that regard? Now, we may be chronic cooperators (Laughter), but, Mr. President, I do not think we shall go that far. Are we asked to welcome and abide by this constitution, riddled as it is with all the safeguards and reservations that could be possibly invented by the wit of man? Is it such a constitution that we must recommend to our people as being in their interests, as calculated to secure their welfare and take them on to their destiny of Dominion Status? I do not think this Liberal meeting will go that far. Ladies and gentlemen, in considering this matter will you cast your minds back a little and enquire what is the co-operation that we have received? After the first two Round Table Conferences, the third was so re-constituted that the Liberal Party was kept out save for one. And then it gave place to the Joint Parliamentary Committee upon which there sat some Indians of weight, of distinction, of wisdom. Their services are amply acknowledged in this sweetly worded report (Laughter). Their wisdom is commended but not a single suggestion that they made was accepted, not a single thing that they objected to was dropped. That is the cooperation we have received. If on the heels of this phenomenon the Liberal Federation, accepting the invitation so cordially extended to them gave full cooperation in the enactment of this constitution, that would be a transaction unparalleled and unprecedented in the political history of the world. Now, Sir, it is impossible for the Liberal Party to give an atom of co-operation (Applause). To co-operate with our friends, with those who wish well to us, with those who hold out to us the hand of comradeship would be noble. But co-operation with those who treat us with the utmost distrust, who do not care for our most earnest representations, who frame a constitution in utter disregard and defiance of our dearest wishes, what is co-operation with them, I ask? What word would you suggest? I do not know, but

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I call it suicide (Loud Cheers). If that is what we are asked to do, whoever else may be willing—and there seem to be many such in India—it is not the Liberal Party. (Hear, hear).

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

I am afraid I shall have to stop here. I do not want to cause any uneasiness to the President (Laughter and cries of 'Go on'). There are two observations of a somewhat general nature which I should beg your permission to make. They concern the roots of our policy and of our position in this country. Our party has many critics, rather too many I should say and a good few from amongst ourselves. Well, they are all welcome. Inside critics, outside critics, sympathetic critics, hostile critics, all are welcome. We are not many, we do not pretend to wield a great influence in directing the course of events. There are many defects to which we plead guilty. Our house badly needs to be put in order. All this is granted and granted without reserve. But what follows? Have you observed, ladies and gentlemen, one curious feature of the situation? We are always spoken of with contempt. And those who write in journals, young men with fluent pens seem to dip them in the ink of ridicule. Let them. But there are occasions when they think otherwise of us and remembering our existence enquire earnestly, "Where are these gentlemen? What are they doing? Why don't they come to our help? What does this man think? His words would be opportune now. He has friends in England; his voice carries weight. Why is he dumb?" Is it any wonder when our ranks include men who have held high office, who have filled distinguished positions, men who have known difficulties at first hand and grappled with hard facts and realities? You have Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, you have Sir Cowasji Jehangir. By the way, Sir Cowasji has achieved immortality. His name has got into Hansard. A Member of Parliament has conferred distinction on him by describing him (Laughter).—I hesitate to repeat the words (More laughter)—as a ewe lamb that has strayed into the Assembly. Is he a lamb, first of all? (Laughter) But if he were a lamb, is he a ewe lamb? (Loud laughter). I should call him a fighting ram (Prolonged cheers and laughter). Well, we have amongst us those whose voices are sought in times of difficulties and are capable of giving safe direction. If this party exists only for the purpose of guiding the political movement, of giving warning now and then, of showing the lines of promising developments, if it merely keeps the political movement on its properly laid rails, I contend that it would be still worth the while of the public to keep us alive, functioning with such efficiency as we are capable of. It surely would be desirable to become a political power in a deeper sense. There are many who think that a party which does not put forward candidates at an election, which does not carry many seats, which does not annex municipality, and district board and village committee, and which does not swoop upon school committees and temple committees and industrial managements and turn them from their legitimate functions into means of its own aggrandisement,—that a political party of that kind has no right to exist. I may be a heretic, but I do maintain that it is no disgrace to a party not to win success at elections. On the contrary, I contend that no political phenomenon is more worthy of attention, more full of lessons to students of contemporary affairs than the defeat of a good, honest, patriotic man at the polls merely because he has not pleased the people (Hear, hear). I do not think it at all discreditable to a man that he has gone down in an honourable fight. What if we do not get places in the Assembly? We still are elders, knowing life somewhat deeper than other people, knowing the shoals and the rocks that have to be avoided in guiding our ship to safety. Such men have a value and I am content that we should continue to perform our most necessary, though often neglected task. One remark that Sir Austen Chamberlain made in the interesting House of Commons debate, I must pass on to you. Did he feel, I wonder, that he and his party might be accused of having weakened us as a party? Was it in self-defence that he cast the blame for our failure upon our own heads? He said we were guilty of cowardice, we were faint-hearted, we did not make sacrifices and go forth courageously to fight for this constitution which we knew in our hearts was for our good. He believes that we must spring forward with enthusiasm to embrace it and hold it up to our countrymen as that for which they have been struggling for the last fifty years (Laughter). Now, ladies and gentlemen,

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we decline decisively and emphatically to hold up Sir Austen Chamberlain's baby and invite our countrymen and country-women to kiss it.

Just one more observation if I have time. ('Go on'). There is need for me to apologise for the length of my remarks (Nō, no). There is need for me to be grateful for the attention with which you have heard me and the approval that you have extended to my remarks. I hope that, while I may have exhibited some warmth of which I am not supposed to be capable, you will not consider that I have exceeded the limits of propriety or in any way lowered the standard of dignity and decorum which has always characterised the proceedings of the Liberal Party. We are not supposed to show temper; we are not supposed at any time to be agitated; we are not supposed even to resent insult. (Laughter). If I have tempted you this afternoon occasionally to forget your nature and show a little of those qualities, an exuberance and superabundance of which are supposed to mark the authentic patriot, I do trust, ladies and gentlemen, that you will acquit me of having abused your confidence and your kindness (Loud and prolonged cheers).

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution which has been moved by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and to which you have listened with such attention. You are aware, ladies and gentlemen, that after the White Paper was published, the Federation had two opportunities of considering the matter and the Federation in the resolutions they had adopted at the last two sessions, pointed out the glaring defects and the short-comings of the White Paper proposals and those short-comings were pointed out not only by the Federation but by almost all political organisations in the country. After that, as you are aware, you had the joint sittings of the Parliamentary Committee and the British Indian Delegation in London. That Delegation consisted, as you are aware, of people of various communities including Moslems and other minorities. At the end of the deliberations of that Committee, all the British Indian delegates including Moslems, Christians, Anglo-Indians and others handed a memorandum to their English colleagues pointing out what was wanted in order to make the scheme acceptable to India and also pointed out what was necessary to be dropped from the proposals in order to make them acceptable.

Ladies and gentlemen, what has been the result? As Mr. Sastri pointed out to you, not a single suggestion made in that memorandum has been accepted, not one undesirable feature objected to by these people has been dropped. It has often been said that India is not united in its demand. At any rate, here was the united demand by the British Indian delegates consisting of all communities. That delegation consisted of nominees of the Government themselves who, as I have said, comprised people belonging to all communities and still how unceremoniously their suggestions have been disregarded altogether. But as if the White Paper proposals were not reactionary enough, the Joint Parliamentary Committee has gone much further in that direction. Instead of removing a single defect of all those pointed out by the Federation and other parties in India, they have added and piled up still further reactionary features to the scheme. They have very much increased the powers of the Governors and the Governor-General and they have in every direction lessened the power of the popular legislatures. The Governor can interfere in any legislation, can pull up his ministers in any department if he, in his absolute discretion, considers that what is being done is inconsistent with the special responsibilities with which he is charged. Similarly, the Governor-General has absolute power of interference in such cases. Then, ladies and gentlemen, what has been done is that other safeguards have been tightened in every direction and most especially in the matter of what is called "commercial discrimination." With regard to these safeguards, the position is this that India is going to be deprived of the legislative powers that it has got now.

Ladies and gentlemen, this reform scheme, which is supposed to lead us some day to full responsible government, begins by depriving us of some of the powers that we have got now and puts us backward in these matters. With regard to British companies incorporated in England, not only companies that exist now but companies that may, in the future, be domiciled in England, the Indian legislature is powerless to impose

any conditions as to capital, as to directorship, etc. But going still further, with regard to shipping, they are absolutely rendering the Indian legislatures powerless to enact any legislation which will secure to the shipping of this country the coastal trade. As you are aware, almost every country has to restrict the coastal shipping to its own nationals ; but here under this proposed scheme, it would not be competent to the Indian legislature to enact any measure which would impose any discriminatory obligations on English companies. And the mockery of it is, we are told, that " we are not doing anything wrong in putting this restriction because we are granting you reciprocity." That is, England will not impose any restrictions on Indian shipping in English waters. But, is it ever possible in the near future or even in the distant future that Indian shipping will be able to compete with English shipping in English waters? Then, what is the use of this reciprocity to us? These are the ways in which the White Paper proposals have been worsened by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. As if that may not be enough, ladies and gentlemen, they have gone further and they are going to strike at the very root of the judiciary of this country. At present, you are aware, the post of the Chief Justice of any chartered High Court cannot be held by members of the Indian Civil Service. The White Paper did not touch that ; but the Joint Parliamentary Committee has gone further and said that hereafter the members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for the post of Chief Justice. A charge of that character is bound to discredit the judiciary and lessen all the prestige and confidence that the judiciary has enjoyed in this country all this time. Ladies and gentlemen, they say, all the safeguards are necessary, because as Mr. Sastri has pointed out, we are inexperienced in parliamentary government, but the real object of the safeguards is to bind you hand and foot and to preserve their own trade in this country.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, British trade, which is so dear to them, they want to maintain in this country, but may I ask for a moment whether by imposing such unrighteous restrictions, they are going to preserve their trade in this country? England has to make her choice between her trade and political power in this country. Some day or other, she has to surrender political power to this country; she cannot keep it for ever ; but if she does not surrender political power in time and with good grace, she will lose both political power and her trade in this country. (Hear, hear). Mr. Stanley Baldwin rightly observed: "You cannot force India to buy British goods at the point of the bayonet." If India is given no freedom in her own country, if India is not allowed to be mistress in her own house, she would be driven to intensify the Swadeshi movement, so intensified as to substantially cripple, if not destroy altogether, British trade in this country. No safeguards will avail England if the Indian nation is aroused as one man to see that those who have treated us in this manner are given merited reprisals. Does England require those conditions to be produced? Does she want that all goodwill between this country and England should be destroyed? Is this constitution, designed as it is, calculated to promote goodwill? And if there is no goodwill, as I have pointed out, British trade in this country cannot be preserved.

Then, ladies and gentlemen, it is said that the British Government has been assured by the Governments in this country that this Constitution is workable and will be worked. No doubt, the constitution will be worked when it is going to be imposed upon us in spite of us. But, as I have often observed, there are two ways of working a constitution. What is wanted is to give India a constitution which will make people peacefully and quietly sit down to work it. The test is this of any constitution, whether it is a constitution which is acceptable to the people for whom you designed it. Is it a constitution which the people for whom you designed it are prepared to work peacefully and in the right way? Can this constitution be ever worked with peace and contentment? There will be irresistible temptation to work it with the object of forcing the pace and creating situations which would make the working of the constitution very difficult and thus forcing the hands of England to reconcile the whole matter at a very early date. Is that the situation which the British Government wish to create in this country, or, is it not necessary to create conditions

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by which there will be peace in this country, there will be goodwill between Britain and India so that India will progress towards the early realisation of Dominion Status as she desires ?

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not want to detain you any further, as Mr. Sastri has elaborated the whole position very clearly and forcibly. The answer of the Liberal Federation to this Constitution is this, it is wholly unacceptable; it will never create peace in this country but on the contrary will increase strife, and discontent and will very much deepen the existing discontent. I, therefore, second the resolution.

Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra (U.P.).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in the first place, I must apologise to you for a short speech which you will probably welcome; the reason is that I did not know that I shall have to make a speech and in any case, so early and at this stage. However I have very few points to place before you. I am one of the youngest members of the Liberal Party, in spite of my grey hair; I think this is the very first occasion on which I have attended an annual meeting of the All-India Liberal Federation, and I am obliged to the President for having given me an opportunity to address this House. I have been a Government servant, and as such I had not much occasion of addressing large audiences. Therefore, you will kindly excuse me for my shortcomings and hear me with some indulgence. The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri has spoken on all the important aspects of the shortcomings of the proposed Constitution which the Government are thinking of practically inflicting upon India. There is no political party in India which welcomes the proposed Constitution; it has been condemned more or less throughout the country, rather more than less. When, as Mr. Sastri has pointed out, even we the "chronic co-operators" are going to say that we do not want this legislation, I suppose it is high time for the British Government and even the British Parliament to think thrice before passing the proposed legislation, as it threatens to do at present. As the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report has spoilt the whole constitution, it is no use passing any legislation on its basis at all. If for nothing else, I would say that the vested interests, which are going to be created on account of what is known as the Communal Award, would alone spoil the whole thing. Only this one point is enough to condemn this proposed legislation. You know, ladies and gentlemen, how difficult it is to get round any vested interests which may be created at any weak moment. It was said that nothing but an agreed solution would be acceptable to the British Government in respect of the communal settlement. Well, I belong to Lucknow; I was then in service, but I attended the Congress at Lucknow in 1916 as a visitor, and I know that the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was really an agreed solution, and I do not see why it should be abrogated because one party to that compromise now desires to have it no more. Unless the Hindus and Muhammedans both agree that it might be abrogated, I think the Lucknow Pact should hold the ground to-day, and should be considered to be an agreed solution of communal differences. I do not see any necessity why the so-called Communal Award or decision or whatever you call it, should be inflicted upon us, when the Lucknow Pact should still hold the ground. As I said, if for no other reason I would have most whole-heartedly supported the proposed resolution only on account of the Communal Award. But there are many other points which I need not dilate upon, as all of them have been dealt with so ably by Mr. Sastri in his silvery eloquence. I do not propose to take your time much further, and I support the proposition that any legislation based upon the White Paper or upon the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report will not be acceptable to India.

When we say this, ladies and gentlemen, it must be said in amplification of the proposition that, even at the risk of being credited with what they call a slave mentality, whatever it may be, I firmly believe that it would be proper for the Liberal Party not to decline to work the Constitution, if it is inflicted upon us. We will not co-operate in having this legislation passed, but if it is really passed in spite of us, then you know that there would be people who will come forward to work it, and we all know that they will not work it in the interests of the country as patriotic members of the National Liberal Federation and moderately-minded Indians who are as good patriots as any others. Why should we not work the Constitution? Why should the working of

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even such a constitution be left to others who may prove to be selfish? Therefore, I beseech you, that if in spite of our protest, in spite of the protest of the whole country, this constitution is inflicted upon us, if Parliament passes the proposed Government of India Bill, our best men should come forward to work the Constitution and prove it to be detrimental to the best interests of the country. With these observations, ladies and gentlemen, I support the resolution.

Mr. M. D. Shahane (Central Provinces).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I must confess that I am still under the spell of Mr. Sastri's speech and do feel that I may not be able to add anything to the indignation and resentment against the Select Committee's report and proposals which his speech has aroused amongst us. But I wish to refer to a particular recommendation of the Select Committee to which our President has referred in his address at length. I mean the system of indirect elections to the federal centre. The President has told us in his address that if the Select Committee had recommended the most democratic constitution with this provision, he would have had no hesitation in asking us to reject it. It would be better for me to quote from the Committee's report the reasons which prompted the Committee to resort to this retrograde step of indirect election for the Assembly. The recommendations of the Committee are practically those, I think almost word for word, given in the Chairman's address. The report says: "The relationship between the representative and his constituents is described as one in which case it ought to be the happiness and glory of the representatives to live in the strictest unison and the closest correspondence . . ." They say that if indirect election to the central body is embodied in the Constitution, this happy consummation would be possible.

It is interesting to note here the words which the Committee have used. When first I went through the passage, it struck me that there can be no constitution or no institution, in which this strictest unity is possible; unless it is the institution of marriage or, in the case of political institutions, only if the representative were nominated. I have a friend of mine in the C. P. legislature, who always gets up and says that he is the most faithful representative of his constituency because he represents the Government House. He is a nominated member of the Council and I suppose if the learned and wise members of the Joint Select Committee wanted to create for us a body the members of which are in complete unison with their constituents it should have given us a body composed entirely of nominated members instead of giving us a body which will be elected by the provincial legislatures in different groups. Not being content with giving us indirect election, the Select Committee goes forward and says that as the different interests in the country, the commercial interests, the racial interests, the religious interests etc., will not be content with indirect election of the representatives of the central body by the provincial legislature as a whole, they propose that the representatives should be sent by different groups in the provincial legislatures and in order to safeguard certain interests which may not be safeguarded by the ingenious device proposed by them, they create certain electoral colleges which will represent and elect other representatives to safeguard the vested interests in the country. It might be asked whether it were not possible for the Select Committee to recommend the constitution of electoral colleges in the country which could elect the representatives to represent their special interests in the central body instead of going to the legislatures.

I wish to refer to another point to which I suppose one of the speakers after me will refer in detail and to which I made reference in my address at Madras also and that is the deliberate intention with which even women are sought to be divided against each other. I do not intend to go into details regarding that proposal because a sister of ours is going to speak after me; but I do believe that the Joint Select Committee in accepting the White Paper proposals to divide women's constituencies in India into different groups on religious grounds, have tried to check at its source the growth of new nationalism towards which all of us are looking with the hope of giving the politics of India a better chance. They have tried to divide us at every possible step and to render it impossible for the voice of the nation being heard in the legislature. I do not suppose

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it is necessary for me to place before you the various retrograde steps which the Joint Select Committee have proposed. But representing as I do the younger section in the Liberal Party, the resentment which we feel against these proposals, let me assure you, is far greater and far deeper than the resentment which perhaps the leaders might feel and as such, on behalf of the younger section of the Liberals, I recommend all of you to pass this resolution unanimously and press it on the country with all the strength at your command (Cheers).

Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay) : Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I think the previous speakers have in detail spoken on almost all important aspects and there is very little left for me. However, I wish to refer to one or two aspects of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report briefly. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has already drawn pointed attention to the worsening of our position in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's recommendations regarding what is called commercial discrimination. What strikes me as a young inexperienced man in this business is how at the first Round Table Conference anybody could at all accept the principle of reciprocity in regulating commercial and trading relations between two such unequal countries like India and Great Britain regarding commercial and industrial development. However, that principle appears to have come to stay and the principle of reciprocity had been worked out with ruthless logic in the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report with the definite result that the industrial and commercial development of India has been put off by Greek Kalends.

I would rather refer to the other aspect and that is what is called the fiscal autonomy of India which the Joint Parliamentary Committee profess to confer. As a result of the recommendations, as you may be aware, ladies and gentlemen, of the Joint Select Committee's report on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme India was said to possess fiscal autonomy, powers to regulate conditions in ensuring commercial and industrial development of the country. I am one of those who believe that that convention, though it has been honoured perhaps in letter, has been broken more than once in actual spirit. I just want you to consider for a moment whether fiscal autonomy is at all possible under Indian conditions when regulation of an important thing like currency and exchange is beyond the jurisdiction of responsible ministers. If you, ladies and gentlemen, will determine for a moment how an important industry of this country, *viz.* the cotton textile industry has been paralysed during recent years by cut-throat competition from Japan and if you analyse the conditions, I am sure you will agree with me that one important factor which enabled Japan to effectively beat Indian cotton textile industry was Japan's power to regulate the value of her own currency. So long as that power is denied to this country, I, for one, refuse to believe that India can ever enjoy fiscal autonomy without the right to lay down, from time to time, suiting our conditions, the value of her currency.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, goes a little further. It says, under new conditions fiscal autonomy will cease to exist and as new India, inexperienced in all such matters, will have to be supplied with some guidance, the Joint Parliamentary Committee suggests that the constitution itself might embody certain principles which would regulate trade between Great Britain and India. A few days ago, in Delhi, I heard the news that the British Government and the Government of India jointly were preparing a New Year's gift for this country in the shape of a treaty between India and Great Britain.

I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, you will agree with me that with the existence of a trade treaty, which is meant to guide the trading relations of these two countries in future, that feature will alone make the whole situation unacceptable to this country. Because, what is the test of any political constitution in any country? The test I apply is that the powers it confers upon the people are such as to make possible the amelioration of the living conditions in the country, to raise gradually the standard of living to one of general convenience and comfort. If you apply that test to the constitution which is proposed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, I am sure the conclusion can only be that it would fail to work that test.

There is another feature to which I should like to draw your attention, which confirms our past experience, that whenever the conflicting interests of this country and Great Britain are considered, the interest of India always suffers. His Majesty's Government have given a definite decision that Burma shall be separated. We, always standing for the right of self-determination, cannot justly oppose separation if Burma desires it. We are concerned with the position of our own countrymen in Burma, and look here at the sense of fair play and justice displayed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee when they say that Indians cannot be given an unrestricted right of entry whereas British subjects shall enjoy unrestricted right of entry into Burma. Well, the sense of impartiality which has been displayed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in denying a right to Indians which has been preserved for their own countrymen, clearly shows what treatment, what justice, what fair play, what accommodation we can receive at the hands of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Joint Parliamentary Committee is not satisfied with assigning a position of permanent inferiority to Indians in Burma, but makes special efforts to make out a case that Indians deserve the treatment. The Joint Parliamentary Committee thinks that the methods pursued by the Indian money-lenders are to be deprecated. I have known the British nation as possessing a keen sense of business. If the British bankers and British capitalists could resort to better methods and take over the trade of Indian money-lenders, I am amazed why they have not taken to this business. Without taking into consideration the enormous stake which the money-lenders in Burma have at present, they are trying to run down Indian money-lenders and put them in a definitely inferior position in Burma, which is, to say the least, most unsportsmanlike.

There is another safeguard that has been devised by the Joint Parliamentary Committee over and above the safeguards in the White Paper and that is that British imports in future shall not be subject to any discriminatory or penal treatment by the future Indian legislature. I have tried in vain to find in the J. P. C. Report a definition of the discriminatory or penal duties. But it is significant that the British commercial interests represented to the J. P. C. that the specific duty on Lancashire piecegoods was penal.

With these words, I support the resolution.

Mr. Radhey Shiam Rastogi (U.P.) :—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, Allow me, Sir, to make a few remarks about myself before I say anything about the resolution proper. It was about a week ago, when I was at Allahabad that Mr. Chintamani asked me to accompany him to Poona and join the deliberations of the National Liberal Federation. I was simply overwhelmed at the idea of taking part in the deliberations of a party which includes in its fold some of the most prominent political stalwarts in the country. My feelings for the time being were similar to those of the poet John Keats, when he saw Chapman's translation of Homer for the first time, and compared himself to "a watcher of the skies when some new planet swims into his ken," or to the stout Cortez, when

" With eagle eyes,
He started at the Pacific,
Silent upon a peak in Darien."

If I have come here it is largely because I have been encouraged by one of the foremost of Liberals, and partly because I thought it my duty to raise my voice, however feeble it may be, against the constitution that has been proposed for this country. I have come here to ask British statesmen to bury the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee underground so that it may provide food for the worms or to consign it to the Thames so that it may lie deep in water "full fathoms five." It is for this purpose that I have come on the platform to-day.

Sir, I am not a politician. I am still, as it were, an infant in politics who has not cast off his swaddling clothes. I have rarely addressed important meetings on political subjects and it would be a sheer presumption on my part to go into details of intricate political reforms when there are more competent persons in this House—persons like Mr. Chintamani and others—who know more of constitutions, who have been

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. Rastogi.*)

in close touch with the Government machinery and who on account of their experience can speak with weight and authority on the subject. I shall however confine myself only to certain points. By birth I belong to the banking community, to what is called the commercial class; by profession I am a lawyer. So I think I shall be justified in confining myself to the commercial discrimination clause, which forms one of the most odious features of the report, and to certain recommendations that have been made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, about the judgeships of the High Courts.

When I read this report—this lengthy report extending over four hundred pages—I am reminded of a certain maxim of G. K. Chesterton, that while brevity is the soul of wit, "long-windedness is the soul of satire." What is this report, I ask? It is a long satire on Self-government and India's aspiration for its attainment. To put the matter in brief it tells us, "You Indians are unfit for self-government; we the British people who have been your trustees and guardians, do not think it proper for you to attain self-government, either in the near future or in the distant future."

The recommendations of the Committee on commercial discrimination form the most odious feature of the report. One of the primary functions of self-government is that we should have control over our industry, commerce and trade. But what do we find in this report? The authorities in England have done their best to keep this country in economic bondage. I, Sir, attach more importance to the economic emancipation than to the political emancipation of the country. If India at any future period makes herself economically self-sufficient and self-supporting, then I think that she will be soon able to attain political independence. The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report provides that under the new constitution the Governor-General will have the right to interfere and pass any orders he likes irrespective of the wishes of the legislature on questions relating to tariff, imports, etc. The restricted liberty of the legislature brought into being by indirect elections is further hedged in and restricted by the constant interference of the Governor-General under his "special responsibility." In fact I find that instead of getting any real self-government our rulers have taken away the little which we already had. I am definitely of opinion that this report merely does not grant us any self-government but it deliberately avoids granting any sort of self-government, nay on the other hand it takes away whatever we have already got.

Now coming to the other point, I find that the Select Committee has recommended that in future the office of the Chief Justice in High Courts will be open to members of the I. C. S. Up to this time this post was reserved for the members of the bar. I may remind the members of this Federation that in the meeting of the Advocates' Association which was held in this very city of Poona in March 1934 under the presidency of Dr. Katju it was urged that only members of the bar should be allowed to come into the panel of the judges of the High Court and that the members of the I. C. S. should not be recruited for the judgeships of the High Courts in future. Henceforward under the new constitution not only will the members of the I. C. S. continue to be appointed as Judges but they will also be appointed Chief Justices of High Courts as well. We asked for bread and we have been given a cartload of stones! What is the important qualification of a judge of the High Court? He should be one who should know full well the principles of law. Do the members of the I. C. S. satisfy that requirement? From the beginning of their career they are busy in the administration of law and order and performing executive duties. They come here as Joint Magistrates and some of them rise by and by to the position of the District Judges and later on as Judges of the High Courts. They are busy mostly with the administration of criminal law before they are appointed Judges of High Courts. They know practically little of civil law and the complicated questions of the Hindu and Mohamman Laws. For one successful I. C. S. Judge we can point out a number of them who have proved unsuccessful. Is there not a wealth of legal talent in this country? I can definitely say that the lawyers of this country are second to none and whenever they have been given a chance on the bench they have not been found wanting. In legal acumen, intellectual subtlety, profound scholarship and forensic ability, the Indian lawyers compare favourably with the bar of any other country of the world.

There are many other recommendations in this report, but I do not propose to deal with them. That duty will be performed by others. However, I wish to make one or two general observations. The English people who rule over us will neither in the near future nor at any distant date grant us self-government however strongly we may ask for it. The British people are a nation composed of "incorrigible hypocrites." They never say what they mean and they never mean what they say. There is always some sort of mental reservation among the British statesmen. I like Mr. Winston Churchill not because he has sympathy for us, not because he is going to advance our cause, but I admire him for his refreshing candour, when he said that no British statesmen or member of the Cabinet ever thought or contemplated of giving self-government to India at any future date. I wish to read out certain extracts from the writings of one or two great Englishmen which reflect the general attitude of Britishers on the question of self-government being granted to this country. Mr. Justice Beaman of the Bombay High Court wrote in the *Empire Review* of February 1919.

"We did not take India nor do we keep India for the Indians. ... We took India solely in the interest of England and hold India in the interest of England. ... Every reform, every large measure, all important administrative changes should be referred to one standard and one standard only, the interest of England."

This is what we find writ large on every page of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report. With your permission, Sir, I like to read one more quotation from a speech delivered by Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet a few years ago.

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of Indians. That is can't. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold it. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

The use of the word "goods" reminds me of a certain story about George I when he was brought over from Hanover in Germany to be made King of England. He could speak English only very imperfectly. As the royal procession passed through the streets of London, the King overjoyed at the shouts of welcome he received and desiring to assure the people of his beneficial intentions called out to the enthusiastic crowd: "We have come for your goods." Some one in the crowd retorted in reply: "Yes, and for our chattels too." The English people proclaim to Indians from house-tops: "We have come to your country for your good." Our bitter reply to them is "Alas! long long ago we found out that you have come not for our good but for our goods and chattels too."

Sir, It is generally said that India is in the trust of England and it is the duty of England as trustee to educate Indians in the art of self-government. Personally I do not believe in the idea of education of one country by another in the art of self-government. As remarked by Gladstone, "it is liberty alone which fits men for liberty." You cannot give training in liberty to another nation. Long ago Lord Macaulay wrote in his famous essay on Milton that many politicians were in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free unless they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learnt to swim. *If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery they may indeed wait for ever.*

Sir, this is a very critical moment in the history of the country, and it is very necessary in the interest of our motherland that all political forces should work in co-ordination for the attainment of the common goal. When I say so I should not be misunderstood. I do not wish that one party or the other should sacrifice its principles for the other. Every organization is perfectly entitled to have its own principles. But under the present circumstances when it is the object of all political parties in this country to have Dominion Status or Swaraj, it is extremely desirable that they should combine and co-operate so far as possible in the attainment of this common object.

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. Rastogi and Mr. E. Vinayaka Row.*)

I would not say further. But I sincerely hope that our leaders will bear this in mind at this most critical juncture in the history of the country.

Mr. E. Vinayaka Row (Madras) :—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting the proposition before the House. I do not want to go into the details of the Joint Select Committee's report. Sometimes one hears the question asked "is not the report good in parts?" I do not want to controvert that proposition. If it is good in parts at all, it is only in the sense of the proverbial Curate's egg being good in parts. It is no good, it has to be thrown away it will not serve any useful purpose.

The next question is what is the spirit in which the Joint Select Committee has met India's demand for Dominion Status. At the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms those who were opposed to Indian aspirations discovered the problem of the Moslem minority in India and brought it to the forefront to obstruct progress on national lines. One clog was put on one of the wheels of the machine of constitutional reform. When the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were on the anvil they discovered and put forward the problem of non-Brahmins and another clog was put on the second wheel. When the Simon Commission went round the country they forged yet another problem, that of the depressed classes, and yet another clog was put on the third wheel. I believe the Churchillites have in reserve one more clog in their cupboard which will be brought out when the next enquiry comes whenever it may be and that is the problem of the Hill tribes and the Aborigines whose interests have to be safeguarded by English civilians as against Aryan invaders from beyond the North-West frontier who have made India their home only for about 5000 years !

All these and other problems were attempted to be solved by all the progressive parties in the country at the various conferences held in India and at successive Round Table Conferences in England. Suggestions were made to England in a very friendly and reasonable spirit in the hope that what was meant was a fair discussion with a desire, with a bona fide and genuine desire, on the part of everybody concerned to accept what was the best compromise that could be had in the circumstances. All the time these discussions were going on English politicians engaged themselves in the discovery of new parties and new special interests which can be moved to the front on the chess board of Indian politics to thwart the aspirations of India. While the various suggestions made by the progressive sections of Indian publicists were either brushed aside or put into the background all attempts on the part of die-hard Englishmen and their Indian allies to put obstacles in the way of progress were encouraged and brought to the forefront. India's demand for Dominion Status as voiced by all responsible political parties in the country was moved into the background step by step and stage by stage. In completing this process the Joint Select Committee has added insult to injury by giving expression to their evaluation of Indian public opinion in the following terms :—"Alleged manifestations of public opinion are often of doubtful value."

Well, Sir, if a party having a very large following in the country puts forward in a straight manner the Nation's demand they are told by English politicians and their allies: "My dear fellows, you may be very large in numbers but you are not very well informed, you are not well experienced, you do not know the intricate complexities of the art of government; therefore we shall put aside your recommendations." And another party in India makes very nearly the same demand and that party is composed of men grown grey in the service of the State, grown grey in the service of the Nation, well, how are their recommendations met? They are told, "well, your sweet reasonableness we admire, your patriotism we commend, but pray whom do you represent, what following have you in your country?" Their recommendations too are put aside. What happens? Suggestions are sent out to India for the manufacture of new parties, new labels and new slogans, which are supposed to manifest "public opinion". And these improvised parties are supposed to speak in the true voice of the nation. But can this go on for ever?

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. E. Vinayaka Row and Mr. Kamat.*)

There are still many in India,—and I am happy to say that I am one of them,—who can say with a clean conscience, "England with all thy faults I love thee still." It is our duty to tell England quite in time that these safeguards outlined in the Select Committee's report will not work in the long run. They will not be really the safeguards that will count when any serious trial of strength occurs. There is only one safeguard which will be found to be unfailing, which will do good to England and to India, and that safeguard is that England should win the heart of India by playing the game, by implementing to the letter and in the spirit the promises made by responsible English statesmen on various occasions. We ask England to stand by and give full effect to the promises and declarations made by Viceroys and by the Prime Minister, with the authority of Parliament and with the approval of the Cabinet. The report of the Joint Select Committee has thrown to the winds these solemn promises and declarations and we are expected to acquiesce and not to protest. This is unfair, un-British. The lessons that we have learnt of British institutions and constitutional progress teach us that promises made should be kept. We ask Englishmen to do that.

Some friends say that there is no use in asking for such things at this stage. They say that with the large Conservative majority in Parliament India's case is lost and Parliament will not change a comma or a full stop in the Bill that will be submitted to it based on the Joint Select Committee's Report. This position is not quite correct. I shall recall to your mind one or two incidents. Lord Curzon, a distinguished member of the Conservative party, was the head of a delegation that went to Constantinople to secure a treaty with Turkey. After protracted negotiations the Turks put forward their terms and Lord Curzon put forward his. Lord Curzon rejected the terms of the Turks and insisted upon the final terms offered by him being accepted and intimated to the Turks that if they refused to accept them he will treat the matter as closed and leave the same day without any treaty. The Turks refused and gave a send-off to Lord Curzon. The train steamed out and for some reason stopped after passing the outer semaphore. Lord Curzon gave orders for steaming back and the treaty was concluded and the Turks had their way. When the Parliament Act of 1911 was opposed by the House of Lords in the belief that their constitutional position was impregnable the Conservatives thought that the Liberals cannot succeed in their programme for the reform of the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith met them on their own ground. He got the assent of His Majesty for the creation of 100 Peers to neutralise the adverse Conservative majority in the Upper Chamber and announced his intention to recommend the creation of 100 Peers to get over the impasse. This had a magic effect. The Conservatives found out that the list of 100 names for peerage was ready and that Mr. Asquith meant business. The Conservatives yielded and the Parliament Act of 1911 became law even without the creation of 100 new Peers.

Unless effective constitutional and political pressure is brought to bear on any question you cannot expect the Conservative party in England to yield. We do not want the bitterness inevitable in a great constitutional impasse or the stress and strain of political controversy which must cause uneasiness not only in England but also in India. As a friend of England, I appeal to England in the name of the Liberal Party, "We have always been friends of yours, we wish to continue to be friends of yours, provided you treat us as equals and not as inferiors who should be content with anything that you choose to give us." With these words, I commend the proposition to your acceptance.

Mr. B. S. Kamat (Bombay):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as the proposition before the House expresses a profound regret at the reactionary changes made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, I wish to confine myself to some of the reactionary changes suggested by the Joint Parliamentary Committee especially in the provincial field. The Rt. Hon'ble Sastri referred, while he was speaking about Dominion Status, regarding the spirit in which pledges have been observed by the British people. I shall only draw your attention to a declaration by the Prime Minister of England at the end of the First Round Table Conference regarding the spirit in which he promised that His Majesty's Government would shape the constitution for India. He declared: "In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period

(J. P. C. Report : Mr. B. S. Kamat.)

it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India, through the new constitution, to full responsibility for her own government." I should like to see, in the light of this pledge, whether the reserved powers especially in Provincial Autonomy have been so framed. You are aware that we have been advised in some quarters not to look at the trees but to look at the wood as a whole. Unfortunately, there are so many trees in front, there are so many thorny trees, we can't find the wood. Now in the sphere of provincial autonomy, we have been told that the special responsibilities of the Governor were necessary under the peculiar conditions of India and I believe that the British Indian Delegation admitted that to a certain extent special responsibilities were necessary to be placed in the hands of the Governor. But all that we insisted upon was that these special responsibilities should be exercised in a limited sphere, *viz.* to maintain, during emergency, peace and tranquillity of the province. Now the Joint Parliamentary Committee desires that the Governor should exercise these special responsibilities even in the transferred sphere, if that were necessary, which means if the peace of the province were supposed to be menaced even by another measure say under the portfolio of the minister for land revenues or for the matter of that for public health the Governor will have the right to interfere with the ministers for land revenue or public health. This is no doubt a reactionary feature. If, for instance, there was to be a bill for consolidation of fragmentation of holdings and if there were huge agitation in the province on the score of any such measure, the Governor would have the right to interfere in the land revenue Department. This is perhaps a sample of the provincial autonomy which we shall get under the new constitution. I think this contravenes the principle of the Prime Minister as it prejudices the advance of India to full responsibility.

Take, again, the commercial discrimination. Supposing under the provincial Minister for Public Works Department there came a case where he has to choose a public tender, say, for a big bridge or something like that in the Public Works Department, and suppose there were two tenders, one from an Indian firm and the other from a British firm, and supposing the Minister in charge of the Department honestly felt that the tender of the British firm was not to the advantage of the Presidency and the Indian tender was in every respect to the advantage of the Presidency, and supposing he accepted that, would the British firm have the right to grumble that the Minister had exercised racial discrimination and in that case would the Governor interfere? And the answer from Sir Samuel Hoare in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee was that if the Governor felt convinced, under the circumstances of the case, that there was partiality against the British firm, he has every right under the commercial discrimination clause to interfere even in the portfolio of the Minister for Public Works Department. This again is a sample of provincial autonomy which we shall get under the new constitution. Such a safeguard, I consider, is only administrative interference. The fact of the matter is that the Joint Parliamentary Committee does not like to give us any real power and the reservations introduced are not intended to lead us to full responsible government but only to protect British vested interests. This is the picture of provincial autonomy. It only leads me to make one observation and it is this. What is the moral? All methods of political pressure in India during the last few years have failed, whether they are our own constitutional methods or the methods of our friends outside the Liberal Party who are still asserting that we shall not get any advance by constitutional methods. Not only the sweet reasonableness of the Liberals has failed to make any impression whatsoever on the Joint Parliamentary Committee; even the united voice of all the parties in India as presented through the Joint British Indian Delegation has failed. It is rather a disappointing story, inasmuch as you will find that unity fails, constitutional methods fail, and even unconstitutional methods fail, where self-interest of the Britishers comes in. That is the moral which we can draw from this Joint Parliamentary Committee's report.

Then, again, in the provincial sphere, there are certain other reactionary features, which are not seen in the existing constitution; for instance, the Governor

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. Kamat and the Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna.*)

will have the right to pass the Governor's Act, a thing unparalleled in any other constitution. He has simply to send a mandate to the Legislative Council that he wants a particular measure within a certain time and the Council is expected to bow to his decision, or he can pass the Act. He has also the power to pass temporary ordinances if necessary, a power which the Governor-General now has. In the financial sphere he has the right to interfere with the budgetary arrangements and in the name of his special responsibilities to restore any reduced grants by the Legislative Council or to have certain additional grants introduced in the budget, if he thinks that that action is necessary, so that you will observe that whether in the administrative sphere of the transferred subjects or in the legislative sphere or day-to-day he has unlimited powers in the name of his special responsibility to interfere not only with departments such as the police department but even departments like land revenue, public health, public works. Thus, if you take a general view of the situation the constitution now suggested is worse than the existing one. I think the problem before us is whether we can work such a constitution to the advantage of the country. Well, so far as our participation in the legislation before the House of Commons is concerned, the resolution before us is clear that we shall have nothing to do with placing the proposed constitution on the Statute Book. I think this is a logical conclusion since the constitution suggested is, as I have shown, worse than the existing constitution. On these grounds, Sir, I support the resolution and have no doubt the House will accept it.

The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna (Bombay) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, It is now a little over five weeks since the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report was released on the same day, viz. the 22nd November, both to the Indian and the British publics. From that day till now, not a day has passed when we have not read adverse criticisms in the Indian press or speeches from platforms condemning the Report.

With the exception of my friend Mr. M. R. Jayakar who is a distinguished visitor at this meeting today, I believe Mr. N. M. Joshi and myself are the only ones who are present here and who also happened to be members of the British Indian Delegation in London who went there to confer with the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee. Both Mr. Joshi and Mr. Jayakar will agree with me when I say that soon after the proceedings commenced we discovered that some of the 32 members of the Committee were friendly to Indian aspirations and helped us throughout. There were others recognised as distinguished British statesmen whose knowledge of the Indian question was limited and who gave out that they had an open mind on the subject and they would decide as they thought best. There was yet a third class of members who were openly antagonistic to the Indian cause and who entirely favoured the views held by what is known as the Die-hard section in London.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we discovered that we were not having things go our way, we felt it was necessary to place in the hands of the members of the Committee a memorandum conveying the views of the British Indian Delegation. That memorandum, as has been told to you this morning by more than one speaker, was perfectly unanimous and yet its recommendations have been altogether cast aside! As one of the signatories to that memorandum, let me assure you that the recommendations made therein were based on one and one consideration alone, namely, to bring about a satisfactory solution of the difficult and complex Indian problem so that Indo-British relations in the future may be placed on impregnable foundations. The Committee have ignored our recommendations; but we can lay the flattering unction to our souls that if the Indian members were not present to deliberate with the members of the Committee and express their views as forcibly as they could, the Joint Select Committee's Report would have been much worse than what it is. If the Committee have not thought it fit to pay any heed to our recommendations it would be absurd on the part of Government to ask or expect Liberals to appeal to the Congress or other advanced political parties to accept the new constitution and work it in a spirit of cordiality. If Government do not care to conciliate moderate Indian opinion they have no right to expect that opinion to stand by them. If moderation has now become a rarity in India Government have themselves to thank for it.

(J. P. C. Report : *The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna.*)

It would not be fair to condemn the Report wholesale; but we should examine in what directions the Report shows an advance if any, and in what directions there are set-backs. I am prepared to admit that in the provincial sphere there is an advance inasmuch as practically all the subjects are transferred; but on the other hand there are so many 'safeguards' and 'special responsibilities' of the Governor that it practically amounts to giving with one hand and taking away with the other. There are so many safeguards that there would be justification in saying that we are given not self-government but safeguards government (hear, hear). But if even that be so, I for one think that no sane Governor or Governor-General will resort to these safeguards indiscriminately. I would go further and say that he would be insensible to British interests if he did so because in that case he would be responsible for the deadlocks and constant friction that would inevitably follow. In the centre, there is an advance but there are serious set-backs. The advance lies in the fact that with the exception of those reserved departments, which are under the exclusive control of the Viceroy and his immediate advisers, all other departments will be transferred to Ministers but again with 'safeguards' and 'special responsibilities.' As to set-backs they are mainly three. The most important is that elections to the Federal Legislature are 'proposed to be made indirect and not direct. I must confess I am very surprised that the Secretary of State should have subscribed to this view after having stood out for direct election so strongly during the discussions. You, Mr. President, have dealt so lucidly in your illuminating address and at such length on this all-important point that I need not dwell on it any longer except to say that the proposal is tantamount to setting back the hands of the clock and is perhaps the worst of all the recommendations made by the Committee and it should be our endeavour to see that direct elections will be resorted to. The second set-back is in the matter of those reserved departments which are to be controlled by the Viceroy and his advisers. Those advisers will not have a vote and the Viceroy will have the final say. This is a distinct set-back as compared to the present position when the Viceroy cannot decide without carrying the members of his Executive Council with him. The Viceroy will deal with these questions as he pleases and the Ministers will not even be consulted which will mean a worse position than is the case to-day. The third set-back to my mind is that under the present constitution its logical development would result in responsible government and Dominion Status whereas under the proposed constitution that is not at all possible.

Now, as regards 'safeguards', you will see that many more have been introduced than were contemplated in the White Paper. The British must realise that in process of time their hold over the administration must necessarily decrease and that Indianisation must necessarily be on the increase. Napoleon described the British as a nation of shopkeepers. That should be regarded as a compliment and we see that many of the safeguards are distinctly with a view to maintain their hold on their trade with this country. At the same time it must be recognised that these safeguards or some of them would not have been imposed were it not that a section of the Indian public by their action and by their words have made clear their intention of harming British commercial and other interests as best they can when power was transferred to their hands. Is it any wonder therefore if in British interests some of the safeguards have been introduced which I for one believe would never have found a place in the Report if our friends on this side had displayed better sense? I have always held that it is distinctly to the interest of both countries that Britishers and Indians should cooperate in matters of trade and commerce.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and other speakers have already referred to commercial safeguards, fiscal autonomy and administrative discrimination. Being a businessman myself I may be permitted to add thereto. In regard to commercial discrimination, I would like to point out to this meeting that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of fifteen years back was ever so much more liberal than what the Joint Parliamentary Committee now recommends. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report says as follows:—

" Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear".

(J. P. C. Report : *The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna.*)

That belief unfortunately still continues and yet the Joint Committee, instead of allowing the fiscal convention to continue to stand as it is, has made a distinct attempt to cancel or minimize it by preventing us from introducing what they call "penal legislation against British trade". Paragraphs 343 to 350 of the Report deal with this question and give power to the authorities to interfere in such matters. This suggestion, as the President in his speech informed you, came upon the British Indian Delegation not only as a great surprise but at the fag end of the sessions. We asked the Secretary of State to explain what he meant by penal legislation against British trade and give some instances of it. He said that he could not give any instance there and then. I myself then offered to put a case before the Committee and invited the Secretary of State's opinion. I said that if an arrangement existed whereby India agreed to the import of Japanese piecegoods for a certain quantity per annum and if later on Japan insisted on an increase in that quantity or otherwise she would retaliate by not purchasing cotton from India or purchasing only a much smaller quantity and if as a result thereof India would agree to the Japanese demand for a larger import of Japanese piecegoods into India, would that be construed as a penal legislation against British trade? The Secretary of State told the Committee that he would not consider such legislation as penal legislation against British trade and yet a careful study of the paragraphs of the Report I have mentioned shows that it would assuredly be regarded as "penal legislation" and Government could interfere. That, to say the least, is intolerable because it means that India would thereby be compelled to help Lancashire and sacrifice her own interests.

May I again refer to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in para 344 of which the authors say that clearly it is the duty of British Commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of Indians which are higher than the interests of any community? They go on to advise Englishmen to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of Government in the wishes of the people. At the same time they asked Indians to abstain from advocating differential treatment aimed not so much at promoting Indian as at injuring British commerce. All that is being upset by the recommendations now being made and no adequate reasons are given for this change of policy so detrimental to the interests of this country.

The grossest piece of injustice in the matter of commercial discrimination is perpetrated in the fact that they have not agreed to restrict our coastal shipping trade to the nationals for which we have been fighting for the last so many years. It has been proved to the hilt that British shipping interests in India have done their worst to strangle Indian shipping concerns and have greatly succeeded in doing so involving losses of lakhs of rupees. British concerns under the proposed arrangements will not be restricted to the slightest extent and will carry on their practice of crushing Indian concerns as best they can as they have done in the past. You will remember that some years ago there was introduced in the Legislature a Bill for restricting coastal shipping to Indian companies known as the "Haji Bill". That Bill narrowly missed being passed by reason of the fact that the life of that Assembly just then became extinct. There was severe opposition to the Bill from Europeans in India and in England and perhaps the bitterest critic was the *Statesman* of Calcutta. Its then Editor, Sir Alfred Watson, in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee made an admission which is worth quoting. He said as follows :—

"I am bound to say, speaking as a European, that the Indians have a case for a large share in their coastal shipping and although I opposed the Bill very strongly because it savoured of expropriation I recognise that Indian Company after Indian Company which endeavoured to develop a coastal service has been financially shattered by the heavy combination of the British interests".

This proves my assertion that British shipping companies have so far not acted fairly throughout. As regards Sir Alfred's contention that the Bill savoured of expropriation, let me inform you what is not generally known that a Conference was held by Lord Irwin at Delhi to which the representatives of the different shipping companies were

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invited. I was present to represent one of such Companies and we very clearly explained that there was no idea whatever of any expropriation. We suggested that the British Companies might be compensated from out of the revenues of the Government of India if they could make out a case for compensation.

The Report tries to justify the Committee's decision on this head by relying on the basis of reciprocity as much as to imply that there is nothing to prevent Indian-owned companies plying their ships in British waters. Is anything more absurd heard of and is not this advice downright hypocrisy? Would it be possible for us to compete with British-owned ships in European waters? The authors of the Report are fully conversant that for very good reasons it would be next to impossible for us to do so. Reciprocity is mere sham. Let me give you one instance. On paper it is permitted to anyone in the shipping trade to become a member of the Baltic Exchange. Requests were frequently made but Indians until recently were denied admission because no one would even venture to propose or second their nominations and yet reciprocity is recommended! What I have said of the Baltic Exchange applies equally to other commercial bodies in London. When the first Indian was elected a member of the London Commercial Sale Rooms on 17th December 1929, the *London Times* in its issue of the day following made the following comment :—

“Hitherto by tacit understanding observed over a long period admission to the Rooms had been restricted to English merchants. As a consequence the principals of Indian firms in this country have been placed at a considerable disadvantage. Although one is a member of the London Jute Association they could only deal on the Exchange often through junior members of the staff...That a privilege freely available in the past to foreigners has in practice, if not by rule, always been denied to His Majesty's Indian subjects has long been a grievance with members of the community”.

Reciprocity, if it is not to result in unfairness, must necessarily imply a certain measure of equality or similarity of conditions in the countries concerned; otherwise it is a case of a fight between a giant and a dwarf and nobody knows that better than the authors of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report.

Another fact not well-known to us in India is that some years ago the British themselves wanted to drive out the Japanese from the coastal trade of India. They however discovered that the Japanese had a very small share of our coastal trade; but what really dissuaded them from their purpose was the fear that if the British threatened to remove the Japanese from the coastal trade of India, the Japanese would meet the same by reprisals against the British in other parts of the world. They therefore very prudently dropped the idea. The claim is made that the British allow all foreigners to ply in the British waters. They do so simply because the coastal trade of England in foreign bottoms does not exceed two per cent. of the total trade.

From the time of the first Round Table Conference we put up a fight that the Government of India might be empowered to restrict what are known as the basic or key industries or infant industries to Indians. This is the case in most countries. We had every right to expect that our contention would be upheld; but it is quite otherwise, as you can find from the Report. Such discrimination against non-nationals may happen in very rare instances or not happen at all but to deny us this right savours of unfairness when such right is exercised by almost every country in the world. The British constitution itself provides instances of discriminatory policy and the British Dominions exercise discrimination not only against foreign but also against other members of the Empire. As regards immigration, franchise, trade licenses and the right to hold property, British subjects can be and are treated differently in the Dominions. More than that Section 26 (1) of the British Act commonly known as the Nationality Act specifically lays down that nothing in that direction shall prevent the legislature or the Government of a British possession from treating differently different classes of British subjects. This will convince you that the Committee deliberately withhold from us what they have so freely allowed to the Dominions.

(J. P. C. Report : *The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna.*)

Let me now turn to the subject of administrative discrimination in regard to which Mr. Kamat who spoke before me gave an excellent example. Let me illustrate the point by another similar instance. Supposing tenders are invited for a particular work and a British firm tenders and the amount of the British tender is Rs. 10 lakhs and that of an Indian firm is Rs. 9,80,000. The Minister in charge dare not accept the tender of the Indian firm under the proposed conditions even if against the excess in price of Rs. 20,000, there is the distinct advantage to the country of the work required being done in India and which would give employment to so many Indians. Is that not a distinct hardship and is that not going back upon existing arrangements? Let me add that no British firm has ever had cause to complain against Indian Ministers in this direction. May I quote from the Simon Commission's Report which says :—

“An understanding analogous to the Fiscal Commission has been arrived at in one other region. The Secretary of State has relinquished his control of policy in the matter of the purchase of Government stores for India other than military stores. The Government of India in agreement with the Legislatures are now free to buy stores in India, in this country or abroad as seems best to them and the Secretary of State, though he is by statute responsible to Parliament, has undertaken not to intervene”.

It would appear that this state of affairs cannot now continue. I may mention that there was much discussion in the Committee in regard to administrative discrimination. We can quote several instances and would like to know if in such cases a Minister's action will be considered as administrative discrimination if he decided against British contractors or British merchants. For example :—

If a State Railway purchased coal of the same quality and at the same price from Indian collieries instead of from British-owned collieries ;

If there are two public utility companies in a city and if the Municipality decided to buy over the European-owned Company and took no objection to the Indian-owned company continuing;

If any restrictions are imposed on non-Indian Exchange Banks;

If Government refuse the renewal of licenses for mines, plantations, forests which were previously given to non-Indians ;

If Government guaranteed the capital required for industrial development to any Indian Companies;

If Government entered into* an arrangement with a non-British concern like Fords for the manufacture of motor cars in preference to making such an arrangement with Austin or Morris, would all such cases be regarded as acts of administrative discrimination? Surely, they would be so according to the Report as drafted, which means that we are bound hand and foot and are denied any free action. Can anything be more preposterous? We are told we are given reforms; but the scheme is so very reactionary in so many particulars that it makes us lose faith in the sense of British fairness and justice which we had at one time.

Mr. Kamat, in concluding his speech, made reference to the last sentence of the resolution. That sentence reads :—

“This Federation therefore does not want any legislation based upon the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report.”

What is the exact interpretation of this sentence? We do not approve of all the recommendations which are made by the Committee. We therefore want Government to so alter them as to make them acceptable to the Indian public or else there are bound to be many deadlocks and constant friction which will not bring peace and prosperity to the country. On the other hand, we realise that Government and the Committee are all conscious of their overpowering strength and of our utter helplessness. They have taken advantage of that situation and made recommendations in

(J. P. C. Report : *The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze Sethna and Mr. B. B. Roy.*)

the report which they could not have dared in the past or will not dare in the future to offer to any British Colony or Dominion. We have not asked for anything which does not exist in the constitutions of Australia, Canada, South Africa or New Zealand. Even British commerce provides numerous instances of discriminatory policy and the British Dominions exercise such discrimination, not only against foreigners but also against other members of the Empire, even though they are British.

There are many other items in the Report of great importance from the Indian point of view such as the absolute omission of any reference to Dominion Status and various other matters. They have however been dealt with at length and with great clarity by the other speakers and as there are yet many other speakers to follow I must stop at this stage. Before resuming my seat, however, I would like to make it clear that our unfortunate position is such that there is no possibility of our 'rejecting' the reforms, no matter whatever interpretation is put on the word "rejection." We will have to work the reforms *volens nolens* in the circumstances in which we are placed. I may point out that we are assembled for this session of our Federation in the capital of Maharashtra. Poona is the native city of a great Indian leader, the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak and I would remind you of his motto in regard to reforms namely "Take what you can get and fight for more." It seems to me that this is all that we can do and that is what we should do.

I cordially support the resolution.

Mr. B. B. Roy (Bengal) :— Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great disadvantage to me to have to speak after Sir Phiroze Sethna. Previous speakers have dealt with most of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's proposals, and I wish to touch on only one aspect.

It is being said by the supporters of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's proposals in England that the Committee might have stopped at provincial autonomy and might not have granted central responsibility at all. In fact, we have been told that it is a great concession on the part of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to admit a tall that some day in the future British India and the Indian States together would be granted responsibility at the centre. Now, ladies and gentlemen, many preceding speakers have made clear to you the nature of the central responsibility which is being given to us. We are being granted a system of indirect election to the Federal Assembly which will reduce responsibility at the centre to farcical conditions. We know that there would be several administrative spheres which will be shut out of the control of ministers at the centre; the Reserve Bank and the Railway Board will not be under their control and there will be many reservations and special powers in the Governor-General. We are not going to have central responsibility automatically; central responsibility depends upon the fulfilment of at least half a dozen conditions precedent. We have been told in season and out of season that the burden of central responsibility cannot rest upon British India alone. The system itself cannot start until fifty-one per cent. of the Indian States seats are filled in such a manner as to represent 51 per cent. of their population. Nor is there a time-limit by which the States must declare their readiness to enter the Federation.

Ladies and gentlemen, even Federation itself cannot come into existence unless a financial enquiry has been made and unless the British electorates and the two Houses of the British Parliament are convinced that the Reserve Bank is in excellent working order: that the export surplus has been restored; and that generally India's financial conditions are sound. That shows how nebulous the whole position is. With these words, I commend the resolution now before you.

(At this stage the Session was adjourned for about an hour to enable the delegates to attend the tea party arranged in their honour by Khan Bahadur M. N. Mehta, C. I. E.)

(J. P. C. Report : *The Hon'ble Pt. P. N. Saprū.*)

The Hon'ble Pt. P. N. Saprū (U. P.):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, Sir Samuel Hoare has told us that if this Bill is thrown out, he does not see any prospect of any new Government dealing with the complicated problem of India at an early date. Speaking for myself, I should say that I shall consider it a piece of good fortune to this country if this Bill is thrown out (hear, hear). I speak with no mental reservations, but I say with some confidence that this constitution represents no advance over the present position. In some respects indeed it would make our position very difficult for the future. We have a duty to perform towards posterity and we cannot allow on an occasion like this to speak with mental reservations. This constitution concedes no real power whether at the centre or in provinces, but places certain vested interests in a position of great advantage.

Sir, if you examine the scheme, what is it that you find? I venture to say that the scheme of provincial autonomy envisaged by the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report is less than the scheme of provincial autonomy envisaged by the Prime Minister's declaration at the first Round Table Conference. I venture to assert that it is even less than that contemplated by the Statutory Commission which was condemned by all sections. This Statutory Commission has laid great stress upon the joint responsibility of ministers. The Police will be only nominally under the control of Indian ministers. The Police Acts and the Police Regulations will be under the control of the Governor. The special branch of the C. I. D. will be, for all practical purposes, under the Governor and Indian ministers, who will have to pass orders in regard to deportation; will not be allowed access to secret reports on which the orders will be based. We have been referred to the constitutional practice in England in regard to these matters. Well, gentlemen, the members of the Joint Select Committee are not the only people who know something about the constitutional theory and practice; and I should like them to tell us whether there is any statutory provision to this effect anywhere in the Instrument of Instructions of any self-governing dominion.

Ladies and gentlemen, the responsibility that you will get in regard to finance, commerce, railways, currency and banking, will be entirely illusory. The Governor-General will have power to call a special joint session of both Houses in regard to matters which relate to reserved departments and special responsibilities. That means that in joint sessions, the Indian progressives will always be in a hopeless minority. The logical consequence of the development of this constitution will be an oligarchic dictatorship. It is a constitution which can only lead to some form of dictatorship and it will not be a dictatorship of enlightened people. And speaking as a man who holds certain definite views on economic and social questions, I say that I have no use for this constitution, which will not bring relief to the suffering millions of this country (hear, hear). We want a dynamic state in India, we want a state which will enable the social and economic problems of this country to be solved with courage. A constitution of this character, which is of such an oligarchic nature, can never satisfy the needs of a changing India. The very idea of responsibility is inconsistent with the idea of indirect election. I am quite clear in my mind that as Liberals we cannot agree to a constitution like this.

Sir, I do not wish to take much time, but I wish to say that we cannot agree to this constitution. It is open to His Majesty's Government to force this constitution upon India, but it will settle nothing. The struggle for India's freedom will go on unaffected by this constitution. It may be circumstances will compel us not to ignore this constitution; but we shall enter upon our task not in a constructive spirit but in a militant spirit. I have, therefore, no hesitation in rejecting the scheme as entirely unacceptable to us.

(J. P. C. Report : *Mrs. Sushilabai Deshpande.*)

Mrs. Sushilabai Deshpande :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have stood before you to support the resolution which is already before you. While doing so I propose to confine myself only to that aspect of it which affects us women.

Whatever the new constitution may be, I urge that it should provide equal franchise for both men and women; and since the J. P. C. Report has failed in doing so, this is one of the reasons why we women should oppose it. At present the ratio of women to men electors for provincial legislatures is approximately 1 : 20. While under the proposed constitution the same would be raised to 1 : 5. To submit to you the facts and figures. According to the proposals of the Franchise Committee, the women's electorate would consist of as many as six millions of voters. But looking to the number of men voters, the number of enfranchised women is too small. If the reforms proposed by the J. P. C. Report are carried out, 29 millions of men will be able to record their votes, while barely two millions of women will be in a position to exert their right of voting. No doubt, the Committee has proposed to enfranchise six million of women, but I hope you will agree with me when I assert that the J. P. Committee has failed in the object, because, out of the calculated six million women voters, some four million will have to put in an application before they can qualify themselves to record their votes.

But what I have to place before you is that the enfranchisement of women should be brought on a par with that of men. My humble appeal to you in this respect is, why should women have an inferior position in matters like this? Why should sex equality not guide us to approach this question? Have not women's education and the contact with the West changed the idea of women's position in other walks of our social life? By conducting various institutions, and carrying on different movements, have they not proved their ability to take their place in social as well as political matters by the side of men independently of any question of sex? The presence and participation of women in all activities of nation-building will certainly have a very healthy effect on our national life. The importance of securing an increase in the number of enfranchised women cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. The remedy for doing this is, as proposed by the Joint Select Committee, the withdrawal of the application requirement. But that will at the most secure the right to vote only for six million of women. But what of the rest? On behalf of women, I may assure you that nothing short of absolute equality with men in the matter of recording their votes would satisfy us.

This National Federation of ours, therefore, should undertake a reform in the Hindu Law of Property by necessary legislation. In this matter too, I have to remind you that equality of status between men and women should be the ideal of our legislation, because it is so all over the world. That alone will set the matter at rest. Even the proverbially conservative English Law has accepted this principle, with the result that several statutes, passed in 1925, have levelled down the difference in sex; and both daughter and son now inherit the property of their parents in equal shares.

The other most objectionable feature of the J. P. C. Report is the distinction it seeks to make between women of different castes. This is a most mischievous attempt to divide women as they did in the case of men. As women we strongly resent this, and more so because this distinction is being forced upon us against our desire.

I again request you, ladies and gentlemen, to vote for this resolution and carry it unanimously, trusting that you will not deny women their due rights. With their intelligent co-operation alone, India will be able to achieve her cherished goal of Swaraj.

(J. P. C. Report : *Sir Cowasji Jehangir.*)

Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart. (Bombay).—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, we have now before us the future constitution for India nearly in the final stage at which many of our countrymen have been working and which has been watched with the greatest interest and anxiety by the whole of India. You all well remember that the first attempt to investigate this question was made by His Majesty's Government without the assistance of any Indian. That was so strongly resented in this country by every school of thought that they had to think better of their plans and this ultimately resulted in what is now known as the three Round Table Conferences. The idea was that Indians should be consulted and a constitution drawn up with a maximum amount of unanimity. That maximum amount of unanimity has now, we find, resulted in a constitution in which expression of opinion from Indians has been rejected and a constitution presented for our consideration drawn up by English statesmen. One would have thought that a constitution formulated for a country would contain in it some elements, would contain in it some provisions suggested by the people of the country. But we must acknowledge our sore disappointment at the result and the worst aspect is that the constitution not only does not meet with our approval, but that it has become a party question in England and instead of Indians being consulted as to what they want for their country, a wrangle has been going on between politicians and statesmen in England as to how much should be given or how much should not be given. We are out of the picture; we have been out of the picture for the last number of months, silent, expectant and disappointed spectators of an ugly, in some cases malicious, wrangle between classes of Englishmen, some more favourable to us than others. Everybody's expert advice has been called for, the Civil Servant's advice was called for, the policeman's advice was called for, advice of Lancashire was called for, the shipping interests were consulted; everybody's advice seems to have been accepted in some way or the other. The only advice tendered, which has been rejected on a wholesale scale, has been the advice of Indians themselves (Hear, hear). I should think, ladies and gentlemen, that I have not exaggerated the position. During the three Round Table Conferences, it was the privilege of some Indians led by the distinguished father of my honourable friend, who sits behind me (the Hon. Mr. Sapru) to make suggestions after suggestions with regard to the amendment of the constitution. These suggestions developed in three years were embodied in what is now called the Joint Memorandum. As other speakers have said but it is well worth repeating, that not a single suggestion made in that Memorandum which was the result of four years' work was found acceptable and in order to show you the amount of unanimity that was contained in those suggestions, I would remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that the first signature to that Memorandum was that of no other person than a Muhammedan and that Muhammedan was the Aga Khan. And if advice of a man like the Aga Khan was also rejected in a wholesale manner, is there anything to be surprised at, is there anything at which Englishmen in England have cause to complain if the constitution is said to be unacceptable? Now this is more or less repeating what has already been said to you, and what you must have read dozens of times within the last few months. It is really more essential than repeating things that have happened, to consider what is to be done in the future. Unfortunately for this vast country—it is a misnomer to call it a country, it is a continent—with different religions and different languages and different creeds, it is not always possible to get unity. If there were unity in this vast continent, it would have been one of the miracles of the world and therefore I do not think it fair to ask for unadulterated unity in our demands. We admit sometimes with shame and regret that there is no unity in this country when unity is possible. But to base a constitution on the ground that a country having a population of 350 millions is not united and to put into that constitution provisions, irksome provisions, provisions likely to wreck the constitution, is not statesmanship. We were told, not once not twice, but over and over again that some of these so-called safeguards had to be inserted in the constitution due to the expression of opinions by some of our countrymen. I realise that if we were in the position of Englishmen having governed this country for 150 to 200 years, we would have taken notice of these expressions of opinion by Indians. But is it fair, again I ask you, to put such weight upon the opinion of Indians who may in rash moments have declared that they are prepared to kick out the Englishman and deprive him of all his trade

(J. P. C. Report : *Sir Cowasji Jehangir.*)

and commerce in this country ? They have said that, I know it, and unfortunately for us whenever such statements of opinion are given expression to, they are printed in the biggest print in all newspapers in England. But, who are these men who have said that their one desire is that the future constitution shall be used for unjust and inequitable purposes ?

I contend, ladies and gentlemen, that those men are few and far between in this country. I admit that they may go on increasing in number till they are spread all over the country, if history goes on repeating itself, but at present I contend that they are few in numbers and that undue weight and importance has been placed upon their words and deeds and even their feelings. Is it intended that if a few men in a certain school of thought give expression to opinions which may be detrimental to the interests of their own country, the whole country should suffer ? That is what it has come to. For the sins of a few in this country, the whole of India is being penalised. But, let me tell you frankly that there is a school of thought in England which is only too glad to take advantage of any argument that they can get hold of to stop India from attaining the goal of self-government. There are men whose business it is to exaggerate every argument that can be placed before the public in England detrimental to our interests. One of our duties in the future is to educate public opinion in England. We have suffered enough for want of the education of public opinion. I will give you just one instance of what I mean.

England with its vast population contains millions of people who have never heard more than that there is a country called India, who do not know the size of India, who do not know anything about the present Government of India, who are completely ignorant of the difference between the Hindus and Muhammedans. It is these people who are today deciding our destiny. Government takes its complexion from the majority in the electorates. This is really true in England. It may not be so in any other part of Europe. And whatever the Government in power may be anxious to do, it will hesitate to do so if there is evidence that mass mentality is against them. Under these circumstances, it is possible for an organised gang of mischief-mongers to go round the country and frighten the poor, ignorant but honest electorate,—when I say ignorant, I do not mean illiterate—frighten them out of their lives and their wits. Well, these mischief-mongers have done their work fairly well and they have frightened the masses in England. We are now seeing the result. India is out of the picture ; Indian public opinion is not heard, and even less cared for. The struggle is going on between two schools of thought in England as to what this country is to have. We must and it is our duty to proclaim as loudly as we can that this constitution is unacceptable to us. Our voice may or may not carry over the thousands of miles, but it shall never be said in the future that this constitution has been imposed upon this country with the willing consent of any school of thought and that is all we can do to-day. We must clearly state that the constitution is yours, the responsibility for the disasters that may result both to this country and to England and to the Empire is yours. We have done all we can to warn you. We have done all we can with our weak voices to tell you, to beg of you, to desist ; if you insist, take the responsibility and do what you please.

Now, I am going to touch upon one very important aspect of the case which has been explained to you by our revered leader the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri in poetic language, language which is his alone in India (hear, hear) and may I tell you language spoken by few Englishmen, (hear, hear); he alluded to the question of Dominion Status. The goal of our party is Dominion Status and by that we mean Dominions' Status as enjoyed by the Dominions to-day coupled with the Statute of Westminster. Now, as you know, no mention has been made of Dominion Status in the whole of the report, but I will be wearying you if I repeat how often and by what persons the undertaking was given to this country that our goal would be Dominion Status. Mr. Sastri said it was nearly a breach of faith. I will put it another way, I would call it "a deliberate attempt at a breach of faith." (hear, hear). Now, it is upto you, ladies and gentlemen, whether you allow that attempt to be successful. This attempt is made, it is most deliberately made and it may become a breach of faith, a real breach of faith, in a year or so.

(J. P. C. Report : *Sir Cawasji Jehangir.*)

To-day I am prepared to admit it is a deliberate attempt (hear, hear). If we eliminate that undertaking, then our position not only becomes hopeless but desperate.

I have met Englishmen who have called this omission of the words Dominion Status a breach of faith. England has ruled this country for nearly two centuries with merely a handful of men. How is it possible for them to do it? There were two causes; France failed, Portugal failed, England succeeded. The analysis of that success is simple. The one is that India is not a country but a continent, and secondly, the men who came to govern and represent England in this country did sow the seeds of justice and equity. They brought to India a high sense of duty and to the best of their ability and with the many limitations under which they suffered, they tried to govern this country as between Indian and Indian with justice and equity. That was appreciated, and when a Government officer even in the districts gave his word it was carried out, it was as good as a bond sealed, signed and delivered. He gained the confidence of the people and he remained here for nearly two centuries to govern India. And what do we find now? We find that a solemn promise given to this country by the statesmen of England and as Mr. Sastri explained this morning, even endorsed by Parliament, is being set aside! Well, if this goes on I have no hesitation in saying and I would like to warn my English friends that England will not have to decide when they are to leave this country for us to govern. They will have to leave it, they will be forced to leave it by the force of public opinion which will unite notwithstanding different languages, different religions, notwithstanding the differences between communities, notwithstanding the enmity between the major communities and the only thing that will keep India and England together, is the Englishman's sense of justice, and his determination to honour his own words, whatever be the sacrifice. If that continues, if that determination is shown by England and by her representatives in India and if they will honour their pledges, the connection between England and India, I venture to suggest, will remain for ever, it will be a silken thread of love and friendship which will never snap; but, eliminate those great qualities which have distinguished Englishmen all over the world, and India will be separated from England sooner than England realizes.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, party politics is all very well and good in domestic matters in England, but if party politics is going to play monkey tricks with the constitution of this country, may God help England and may God help India (cheers). Our salvation lies in our determination to make England stick to her pledges, our determination to see that we shall honestly express our opinion from public platforms and in private conversation also. I regret to state that there are some of us who will get upon the platform and shout for independence and raise the banner of revolution, but in private conversation will be subservient and bow low. That will not attain Swaraj, whatever party these men belong to. What we want now above everything else is honesty and moderation; dishonesty and extremism will bring us ruin, moderation and real honesty will lead us to the goal of our ambition and may God help this country to adopt a policy that will not be framed to serve individuals but to serve this country. (loud cheers).

Sir Govindrao B. Pradhan :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I only joined the Liberal Party this morning and very unwillingly I have been dragged before you to make my speech after many speakers, who have discussed almost all the important aspects of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report thread-bare. In the words of Shakespeare a twice-told tale is troublesome in the second hearing. So, I will not take much of your time. But really speaking, it is the President's desire and the command of some of my friends that I have got to speak, whether I know what to speak or not. I have spoken more than once on the White Paper, which is like an ugly child with a squint in the eye and a snub nose; its face is pitted with small-pox. The Joint Parliamentary Committee's report is an uglier child as one eye is removed and a part of the nose is cut off. Yet I am told that it is a very beautiful child and I must not only adopt it but love it. Many persons say that you will be given provincial autonomy. Is it, I ask, a provincial autonomy when I am told that I am to be the master in my

(J. P. C. Report : *Sir G. B. Pradhan and Mr. T. R. V. Sastri.*)

own house, but I must keep a particular number of servants, I must give them particular salaries and when I have not enough money to feed my children, to clothe them and to pay the medical charges, another man pokes his nose in my affairs and says that he will look after them as I do not know my own interest? The whole of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report is based upon this logic; it is based upon the distrust of the Indian people, upon the selfish interest of the Englishmen and yet they say that it is in your own interest! The Prime Minister himself at the first Round Table Conference and before the House of Commons expressed his views that communal electorates can never advance a country in self-government. If this is a poison to England, if this is a poison to European countries, how is it beneficial to this country?

Ladies and gentlemen, the new constitution is unacceptable from all points of view and our British statesmen are forcing the same upon us. I am reminded of a story in the Ramayan and it is this. Even when persons of different opinions who are enemies of each other are assembled at one place to settle their differences and a serpent happens to come near them; then the serpent being a common enemy they forget their differences and join hands and kill the common enemy, the serpent, first and then settle their differences. In the same way, under the present circumstances, we should all set aside all our differences and join hands together in not accepting the new constitution.

Sir, I have now only one observation to make. Ladies and gentlemen, the British people forgot the words of their Queen: "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward." There is no contentment in the land now. But, what do we find now? Those, who wanted to co-operate with them, have been driven out. A time may come when they also shall be driven out of India, as observed by my friend Sir Cowasji. (loud cheers).

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to support the proposition that has been placed before you. The point on which I am going to concentrate is contained in the very last sentence of the resolution. We express our great dissatisfaction and the unacceptability of the provisions contained in the Joint Select Committee's report. We express it at this late hour, because the form in which it was finally given to us is of recent date. We have no reason to be surprised at the form which it has taken. If you remember what took place at the Round Table Conference, you must remember this that immediately the Tories got to power, they wanted to break the Round Table Conference. The Round Table Conference consisted of representatives of the British Government, and the nominated representatives of India. The Tories did not like the idea of the British and Indians sitting together and settling the future constitution of India. Our representatives came to know of this and they protested immediately and the Round Table Conference went on as if nothing had happened. But all the time the Tories had decided what should be the shape of the recommendations ultimately to be made. In the Joint Select Committee's report there is a passage in which they described the conditions under which India lived under the Moghul Empire. I am not going to inflict upon you a reading of the whole passage, but I want to read only two sentences on page 3 of the Report :

"The interests of the subject races were made subservient to the ambitions, and often to the caprices, of the monarch; for the politic toleration of Akbar and his immediate successors disappeared with Aurungazib. The imperial splendour became the measure of the people's poverty. . . .

This passage is a description of the Moghul Empire introductory to expatiating on what Britain has done for India. But may I ask whether those sentences do not apply to the present British rule? It is true that in that passage, speaking of the Moghul they speak of the monarch. We have now to speak of a people: their ambitions take precedence of the interests of those who have been brought under their rule. When I was at college, I had for my text two important essays of Macaulay, one on Clive and the

other on Warren Hastings. I have forgotten the whole of it; but one sentence has stuck in my memory. "The little finger of the Company was heavier than the loins of Suraj-Ud-Dau a . Looking back to the time when I read the passage and the impression it made on me and applying it to the constitution which we find to-day, one can say that the burden of Empire, as it is, sits more heavily on India than all the burdens that we had to bear under the Moghul Empire. And may I say that the form which the Joint Select Committee's report has taken is entirely due to the fact that our Tory rulers desire that this burden should rest on us for ever ?

Ladies and gentlemen, they have taken good care in the Joint Select Committee's report, as far as human ingenuity can manage it, to perpetuate their footing in this country. It seems to me that the new constitution that they propose to give to us, in every phase, contains material upon which we can readily come to the conclusion that this constitution is one which cannot be acceptable under any circumstances. Let us for a moment think of the constitution that we want and the constitution that is given to us. We wanted a constitution that will automatically take us on to our goal without much interference in the future. And it is stated in the Simon Commission's report that the constitution should be such as would take us on to our goal, without periodical examination and change of the constitution. But, on the other hand, what they have given to us is a constitution full of obstructions at every step of our progress, obstructions which we cannot remove by any effort of our own. (hear, hear). Many speakers before me have put before you the various aspects of the proposals contained in the Joint Select Committee's report; it is not necessary for me to refer to them again; they must be in your memory. Take the present constitution as it is. Under it, we can have a transfer of all the departments in the provincial government. Assume for a moment that all the subjects are transferred, you are no doubt subject to the control of the Central Government which will have the right of entry if anything went wrong, but subject to that restriction you can function as a self-governing province in all spheres of activity. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that that would be far better in the provincial sphere than the constitution that is given to us under the Joint Select Committee's report. In every sphere the dictation of the policy will be in the hands of the ministry; the execution will be in your hands. As this report itself says speaking of the transferred and the reserved departments, "In the one sphere, you were to exercise control over policy, in the other you can criticise, you can refuse supplies but you have no responsibility." But if those departments are transferred, the policy will be in your hands, the execution will be in your hands and the responsibility will be in your hands. I should prefer the existing constitution with its possibilities of improvement along these lines to the new constitution that is sought to be imposed upon us.

I wish to examine only three aspects of the constitution that is proposed to be given to us. The one in regard to the Dominion Status has been already referred to by more than one speaker. The report not only does not contain any reference to Dominion Status but has positive argument against Dominion Status being possible at any time. There is one passage in which they state that the ultimate possibilities are laid down in the preamble to the Act of 1919 and nothing has been said subsequently which carries the matter any further. Remember that during the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee, there were witnesses who gave evidence that Dominion Status had never been promised to India at any time. It is for that reason that it is absolutely essential to state in the new Act that Dominion Status is the goal of India. The majority report not only does not refer to the goal of Dominion Status, not only does not admit that the matter has been carried further beyond the preamble to the Act of 1919, but insidiously inserts an argument that at no possible future period can India contemplate the possibility of complete equality with the Dominions or Dominion Status.

Discussing no doubt another question and incidentally touching upon this matter, the report says this. It is this: "A completely united Indian polity cannot be established either now or so far as human foresight can extend at any time". That,

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no doubt, is stated in connection with some other matter, but nevertheless it is there, and it is an argument that will be pressed when the time comes for considering whether Dominion Status is possible for India. We shall then be told that the federation and the autonomy of the provinces and the States were inconsistent with Dominion Status, because there are insuperable obstacles in the way of States fitting in and this passage will be then cited against us.

I wish to refer to two other matters; one is in regard to the indirect election by the members of the provincial legislature of the members of the Assembly. It is not merely indirect election but it is also a communal election; each community chooses its own representatives for the Assembly. If these people who are forging the terms of the future constitution for us were really friendly to our aspirations, would they not at least here have avoided communal elections? Their intention here as elsewhere is to keep the communities apart. In the Joint Select Committee's report very little power is vested in us to improve the constitution.

In this connection I may also mention the second chambers. Now, we are told that both in the matter of second chamber, in the matter of indirect election and in fact in any other matter in regard to which we shall have to change the constitution, we have to apply to Britain. Both Houses of Parliament should accept our proposal. By a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament the change has to be effected. It will be effected by the issue of an order in Council. The members of Parliament will have the power to reject any proposal that you may suggest for the alteration of the constitution in any respect. I do not propose to refer to other matters which have been dealt with by the previous speakers. You have no power to alter the constitution in any direction without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

The Tories think that the time is now propitious for thrusting on India a constitution burdened with safeguards and restrictions which will make it impossible for India to reach complete self-government within a measurable length of time. They consider that this is the moment at which they can pass legislation according to their will. Therefore, we must emphatically express our opinion of the constitution offered by saying, "No, thanks. We do not want this constitution." We consider that the condition in which we are is on the whole better than that in which we shall be under the new constitution. It takes us outside the line of progress. It will make it impossible for us to move along right lines. Both in direction and in the pace of progress the new constitution is unacceptable to us. We prefer to remain in our present condition until more auspicious times dawn upon India. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I commend the proposition to your acceptance.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay)—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my only justification to detain you for a few minutes is that I feel it necessary to lend my support to this resolution from the point of view of the common people of this country, from the point of view of the masses and the working classes. Like the other sections of our country, the masses instinctively desire self-government. But let it be admitted that the masses in this country will not be content with mere self-government in which they will not have their due and proper share. For this reason, I shall examine very briefly, Mr. Chairman, the scheme of the Joint Parliamentary Committee for self-government in this country. After having read the report very carefully as well as having gone through all the Round Table Conferences and the meetings of the Joint Select Committee with Indian delegates, one of the deepest impressions made on my mind is that of distrust of the Indian people, which exists in the British people. This distrust, let me make it quite clear, is not confined to the common people of this country, but it is a distrust of all Indian people including Princes and commercial magnates. If the British people have the least confidence in the Indian Princes, where was the need for the reservation of the subjects of defence, foreign affairs and ecclesiastical affairs? If the British people have the least confidence in our commercial magnates like Sir Cowasji Jehangir, where was the necessity for the creation of the second chambers which are the preserves of vested interests and for the imposition of the commercial discrimination safeguards?

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Mr. President, I feel that all the safeguards, at least most of the safeguards, are inserted in this constitution because the British people have no confidence in us; the British people distrust all sections of the Indian community. If this is so, ladies and gentlemen, when should Indians expect full self-government? Are they not to expect full self-government till the last rupee of British capital in this country is paid off? Are we not to expect full self-government till the last Britisher in the Indian army, in the Indian Civil Service has left this country? Are we not to expect full self-government till the last British firm has wound up its business or the last British barrister or Doctor has left this country? This distrust of the Indian people has given rise to numerous safeguards, reservations, special powers, restrictions upon the powers of responsible government in this country. These reservations and special powers and restrictions form a very serious and heavy reduction in the self-government which is our goal, namely the Dominion Status, the self-government which we expect to get. The scheme, therefore, is inadequate as offered to this country. The scheme is not only inadequate as an offer of self-government, but the scheme is vitiated from the point of view of the common people of this country on account of several undemocratic devices with which it abounds. In the first place, although the Princes joined the federation, the representation of the states is not to be by election but by nomination, according to their due share. Besides, the representation given to the nominees of the Indian Princes and weightage given, there are second chambers established in order that the will of the common people should be frustrated in all these legislatures. These second chambers are obstructions in modern times. Not only the second chambers are established, but fearing that perhaps some time the Lower Chamber may force its will upon the second chamber, the lower chamber is to be elected by the indirect form of election. However, we shall consider what this form of indirect election will lead to. For instance, the Bombay Presidency has to elect 16 members to the federal second chamber and these sixteen representatives are to be elected by the upper chamber of Bombay consisting of 30 members. What kind of election is this that 30 members should elect 16 members for the upper chamber? Not only the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report contains all these undemocratic features, but they restrict the franchise also. I admit that the franchise has been extended from 3 per cent. to 14 per cent. of the population in this country, but 14 per cent. is not the whole population. I admit that representation has been given, special representation has been given to labour as well as depressed classes. But, when the Joint Parliamentary Committee gave this special representation to labour and the depressed classes, they saw that this representation was much smaller than what would have been given to them according to their number. Not only that but they saw that the second chambers would see that the will of the people will never be carried into effect.

Mr. President, I have no desire to detain this assembly any longer, but let me make one thing clear. It is this. If the British people did not desire to give to the common people of this country full self-government, if they had given a moderate advance towards self-government without all these undemocratic features, as moderates we might have perhaps accepted this advance, inadequate though it may be. I am sure some people, in spite of the undemocratic features of the new constitution, would have accepted the constitution if there had been full self-government, but the people in this country cannot accept the self-government which is neither adequate nor democratic.

With these remarks, I support the resolution. (Loud cheers).

Mr. S. A. Megherian (Bombay).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before I support the resolution, I want to declare that I will exactly take five minutes of your time. The proposition before you, or rather the resolution before you, has been amply explained by very able speakers, the ablest of whom was the mover (hear, hear). I am not going into the merits of it. All aspects have been already well discussed and expounded, and I will confine myself to an appeal to the English public and the English statesmen of the day, who have imposed on this country, in our opinion, an unacceptable constitution. I ask them to look back and see how it is, and why it is that Empires like the Roman, like the Turkish, like the Russian fell to pieces.

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They fell because justice and equity ceased to operate within their boundaries. Those Empires fell, not because they were weak institutions, but because the statesmen who were governing them were not capable of devising laws and methods necessary to meet the changes (hear, hear). We have been accustomed to accuse revolutionaries for revolutions, but in my opinion, we should rather accuse reactionaries and tyrants.

It has been said that many of the provisions in the Joint Select Committee's report were put down there because of certain extremist views held in this country. Alas, they seem not to have taken into account the wisdom shown by the more important and seasoned politicians of this country. If they want a proof of political wisdom, what better example can they wish than the decision that this Federation has just passed to remain true to the creed of Dominion Status.

There are many among us, and I am one of them, who believe that the disintegration of the British Empire at this juncture in history, when curious forms of Government — call them Nazism or Communism — are being imposed upon civilized countries, would be a fatal blow to the future of human culture and progress. That is why I propose to fight with equal determination the terrorist in this country and the diehard in England.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I support and ask you to support this resolution unanimously, not because it is for the good of India alone but with the full knowledge that by rejecting the Report you shall have rendered a service to humanity at large.

Prof. R. H. Kelkar (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, in supporting this resolution, I do not wish to refer to any of the points referred to by previous speakers, but I shall only confine myself to one point altogether omitted till now and I shall be as brief as possible.

The whole constitution is the result of the distrust of the British statesmen in the capacity of the Indians, a distrust which is partly the outcome of ignorance and partly the result of prejudice, carefully cultivated by interested parties. I can forgive the British people even though it is not an easy task; but I cannot tolerate, I find it difficult to forgive the distrust that is shown by the Rulers of the Indian States. They have demanded all sorts of privileges, nomination and weightage in the Federal Assembly, and they are not prepared to give even a promise of self-government to their own subjects, nor are they prepared to trust the Federal Government, in dynastic and other affairs, even though they are going to have a share in that government.

That does not however mean that I blame all the Rulers. There are honourable exceptions. There is for instance the Chieftsaheb of Aundh who has shown the rare courage of attending for the first time a political gathering of this kind. But how small is this number? Scarcely a dozen out of the six hundred and odd in the whole country.

The situation is full of despair. To the suggestion that has been thrown out to us from high quarters that we should not withhold our support to the new scheme, we, especially the Liberals, who have very little of power in this country, very little of following,—we, the Liberals, whose leaders are regarded by some of our own countrymen as back numbers in politics—to that suggestion, I will give this answer.

In the days of the Great War I remember to have seen a cartoon in which the principal figures were the Kaiser of Germany and the King of the Belgians. "Look Sir, you have lost everything," said Kaiser; "No, not my soul," was the immediate reply from King Albert. This very answer we shall give to Britain: "We have lost everything but not our soul." I have to request you to give this answer not only in this hall and now, but also outside and repeat the same as many times as it can bear repetition.

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With these words, Sir, I support the resolution and hope you will carry it unanimously

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U. P.):—Mr. President, brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to support this resolution whole-heartedly, but I do not propose to go into any details of the proposals contained in the White Paper or in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report. Those details have been thrashed out before you during so many hours and most of you are familiar with most of them. I would like to look at this question from a wider point of view. I do not, of course, expect to see all my ideals realised in my own lifetime or even in the next generation, but my point of view is that any steps that we take should be on the right lines, so that our future progress may not be impeded and that our path may be as smooth and as straight as we possibly can make it. If I look at the question from that point of view, I have no hesitation in saying that this report not only does not lead us on to the path of progress, but it takes us backward. It will create more obstacles than we have at present. What in fact is the objective before many people who are not politicians? Their objective is to see the whole people of the country happy, prosperous and contented and in order to reach that ideal, they feel that the people should have power to regulate their own destinies in their own way.

Now, if we look at the proposals contained in this report, all vested interests are more firmly entrenched than they are at present. On the question of Dominion Status many of our delegates have spoken and I shall not dilate on that point. If there is anything praiseworthy in the whole melancholy discussion about the distribution of seats and so on, it is this that Indian women with one voice rejected any special electorates based on communal considerations (hear, hear). That praiseworthy demand of women has not been accepted and the women themselves have been split up into communal electorates against their wishes! Anybody, who is really interested in the future welfare of the country, will at least theoretically agree that communal electorates are opposed to our progress towards real nationality. Now, as a practical man, I recognise that for a short time we might perhaps have to compromise on a question like this. But if our rulers have the best interests of India at heart, if they really want to take us on the path of real national progress, they would have at least inserted certain provisions limiting the period of these special electorates and laid down a certain programme by which within a certain definite period these separate electorates will disappear. I do not mind particularly how many years it would have taken, but I would die with comfort if I know that a time would come when these cursed communal electorates are going to disappear for ever. If the proposals had contained any provisions of that kind, then I would have said that our rulers were really intending to put us on the real road to progress; but, on the other hand, they have entrenched minorities more firmly by giving them more than their proportionate share of seats in the legislatures and thus leaving them no incentive to come to terms with the majority and thus help to form a complete nationality.

I may next mention the question of Indian States. Well, we want, every body wants, and I want it as firmly as others, that Indian India and British India should consider that their interests are closely bound up together. But they have now entrenched the States in such a manner that the States will never agree to forego the excessive advantages that they have got. If we look for what the States have given up, we shall find that they have not given up anything, and each State will have a treaty of its own guaranteeing to it all its present privileges and rights. On the other hand, they are 25 per cent. in population, but will have 33 per cent. representation in the Lower House and 40 per cent. representation in the Upper House. Well, now I ask whether the States will ever consent to reduce their representation and come into a line with all the other parts of the country? Some think that this proposal is a deep dodge to keep Indian States definitely and firmly entrenched against the aspirations of the people, who aim, some time or other, to attain full democratic government. There are many other obstacles which these proposals have put in our way and which it would be exceedingly difficult to remove in future.

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Then, as regards constitutional amendments it may be said that after a certain number of years, Parliament will appoint a commission, and heaven knows how long it will take to get any change made in the constitution. There are again many safeguards which hamper our progress to Dominion Status which, so far as I am concerned, contains all the substance of independence.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, from this point of view I consider that the proposals before us are a step backward, and will make our future progress even more difficult than it is at present.

There are a certain number of people, who are always asking the Liberals—they think of us when they are in difficulties—to give at least their support to these proposals. They are threatening us that even if the Liberals oppose them, there is a danger of these proposals being withdrawn. As regards Sir Samuel Hoare, in his speech made recently, he urged that these proposals should be accepted even by the diehards in England. We have at present, he said, a large Conservative majority : let that Conservative majority pretend to do something for India ; and he asks his British people, including the diehards, to accept the proposals, for he fears the advent of a Labour Government or some other Government which may be more favourable to Indian aspirations.

Now, Sir, I would rather wait when the conditions are not as favourable as they might be. Such a waiting policy is no new one in politics. We saw recently in Kenya that when the Labour Government was in power, the white colonists lay low, because they knew that they could not get what they wanted from the Labour Government, but as soon as the National Government came into power, they again renewed their demand and this policy of waiting for a more favourable opportunity is well-known.

If we want to alter the proposed constitution, it cannot be altered except by an upheaval. I do not want a revolution, I only want changes which can be effected in a gradual manner and I say that these proposals are what we should not accept, as they do not provide for such gradual evolution.

There is a story told of the Duke of Wellington. It is said that he had written some compromising letters to a lady and somebody who had got hold of those letters wanted to blackmail him by threatening to publish them. The rough soldier replied : "Publish and be damned." I am not going to say in the words of the blunt soldier to Sir Samuel Hoare, who had been my chief for some time : "Withdraw your proposals and be damned" ; but I have no hesitation in saying to those, including Sir Samuel Hoare, who threaten to withdraw these proposals : "Withdraw them and I shall thank you for this mercy." (Loud cheers).

Pt. Haradatta Sharma (Punjab).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, there are so many proposals of a reactionary and retrograde character in the Joint Select Committee's Report and in the White Paper that the scheme as a whole is vitiated. The constitution based on it will be most harmful to our national interests. The scheme is, therefore, entirely unacceptable to us. All national-minded people in the Punjab, as in other provinces, have condemned the report. I may go further and say that the people have lost all their faith in the British Government as they have not kept their solemn pledges and promises. There is very great resentment in the minds of the people verging on disappointment. Looking to these conditions, I think it will be very difficult for us to attain the goal of Dominion Status.

I whole-heartedly support the resolution.

Prof. M. D. Altekur (Bombay).—Mr. President and friends, several distinguished speakers have spoken on the Joint Select Committee's report. They have looked into the Report. I propose to look at it though the proposals contained in it are not worth looking at. We have seen from the analysis of the proposals that this new scheme of reforms does not mark an increase of popular power. It does not also

(J. P. C. Report : *Prof. M. D. Atkar & Mr. J. N. Basu.*)

give us sufficient means to increase the prosperity of this country, because there are so many commercial and economic safeguards and responsibilities. My own test of the goodness of the reforms is whether by working them and whether by means of them, this country will be more nationalist than it is today. But we have been told that "you have no agreed solution to the problem, therefore you must take what we give you." Now, the point is this: does this new constitution do anything to bring about an agreement in this country and lead us to attain our goal? I am quite clear that this new constitution creates new avenues of quarrels and new vested interests. In fact, to my mind, this new constitution is not merely a catalogue of safeguards. It is really a treaty between vested interests old and new, dead or alive, active or inactive and the British Government; it is nothing short of that and certainly we cannot be a party to a constitution which is of that nature.

The other thing I want to bring to your notice is this that as a consequence of the offences that a few youngsters might have committed in one or another part of the country, the youth of the country is practically being taken as full of criminal tendencies. The youth of the country is going to be the future citizens of the country and to take it for granted that they are all criminals is a course I cannot accept. I do not approve of terrorism. The disease of terrorism must be got rid of. The best way to do that is to make the youth of the country feel that they have a fine future before them. I know thousands of them; but I personally do not think that something is being done to make them more hopeful. There is a complaint that the moderate party or the Liberal Party cannot attract young men; and this reform scheme does not make the situation hopeful. I fear that the thrusting of the scheme upon this country will make the younger generation of this country less hopeful and less optimistic. The proposed scheme is worse than the present situation as my distinguished teacher and friend Dr. Paranjpye has properly described it. Now, look at this scheme from another point of view, look at the safeguards, and the conditions under which the Ministers will have to work. For instance, law and order will be transferred but the C. I. D. will be the special responsibility of the Governor. What is this transfer of law and order when the C. I. D. is not under the Ministers? Mr. Sastri has told us that it will be suicide if we accept this scheme. Mr. Sastri is an imperial statesman and he is not given to use harsh words. But you have heard his deliberate opinion and you will do well to follow it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that you are unanimous with regard to this resolution. They may thrust this scheme upon this country but the result will be disastrous for England and for India.

With these words, I commend the resolution for your acceptance.

Mr. J. N. Basu (Bengal)—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think it necessary to urge before you any more arguments for the acceptance of the resolution that we are considering. To make a constitution acceptable, there are two principal elements to be considered. One is that it should satisfy the sentiments and aspirations of the people for whom it is intended. The various arguments to which you have listened to-day must have convinced you that there is nothing in this scheme of constitutional reforms which can satisfy any Indian. I do not want to go over the same ground again.

The next point is whether the scheme is workable. Well, if the scheme does not satisfy the public sentiment and if there is no willing assent by the people to the scheme as put forward in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report, the working cannot but be hindered. There are some who have accepted the scheme in part. But such partial acceptance will disappear when the scheme is sought to be worked. Reference has been made by some of the previous speakers to the character of the machinery that the scheme intends to set up for us. The machinery will be of a unique character in the history of constitutions. If you look at the centre, there will be a conditional and a partial responsibility. The conditions are not going to be satisfied very soon.

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. J. N. Basu & Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha.*)

They may take time, and responsibility will require years to come, and then the conditions to which reference has been made by the previous speakers show that the responsibility contemplated is of an exceedingly diluted character. There will be Ministers at the centre, but they will have very little power to discharge the responsibilities they will be vested with. Look at the financial aspect of the new constitution. The questions of commercial discrimination and of currency and exchange have been put forward before you. There has already been a Reserve Bank Act. Then the Railways which constitute the principal method of transport in this country are not to be interfered with by the legislature, and the Governor-General will earmark the bulk of the revenues for the reserved departments ; while the Ministers will be required to raise the revenues the bulk of them will be spent without their assent for purposes other than those on which the Ministers may desire to spend money for the benefit of the people. It has been urged by the Honourable Mr. Sapru and Mr. Joshi that the crying need of the people is raising their standard of living. We cannot allow them any longer to live in a worse condition than animals. Any constitution that comes must vest Ministers not only with power but with the capability of spending money for the welfare of the people. But under the constitution as contemplated by the Joint Select Committee's report their financial capability will be crippled so as to make them almost useless. It will be giving power only in name. They will be required to move forward with their feet tied. That will be the position of the new Ministers. Further, the Governor-General and the Governors have been dragged into the daily administration. This will mean that there will be an additional expenditure, as there will be Councillors of the Governor-General with the necessary staff and so forth. The Governors will have special responsibilities to discharge and they will require the necessary staff for the purpose. So, in addition to the ordinary normal expenditure with an extended system of legislatures, there will be all this additional expenditure and you must remember that our taxable capacity has almost reached its limit. How are we going to find the money ? That is a feature of the new constitution which we must not lose sight of. It is not a workable constitution.

Sir, Dr. Paranjpye has called your attention to one very important fact. Every constitution that is introduced should contain in itself the elements of progress and expansion, but the constitution that is placed before you by the Joint Select Committee contains the seeds of retrogression, not of progress. The communal decision of the British Government is now a part of the Joint Select Committee's report. You will remember the history of separate communal representation. Now, under the Joint Select Committee's report, it has come to us in a much more pronounced and almost vicious form. It is clearly and boldly stated before the world that in this twentieth century when caste systems and the differences between peoples on the ground of creeds, etc. are being gradually obliterated, when culture is advancing, the Joint Select Committee wants that there should be communal representation not only in the legislatures, not only in the ministries, not only in the permanent services, but also in the judicial services ! Can you think of a more retrograde measure than that ?

Gentlemen, there is so much to be said on the report and every Indian feels keenly about the matters stated in it. I shall not take up your time any further.

I commend the resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, when the great war was in progress India helped Britain with men and money, because India believed that Britain was fighting for the vindication of the principle of self-determination. India sent hundreds of thousands of her sons to bleed on foreign soils. India, one of the poorest countries in the world, made a war gift to the extent of a hundred million pounds to England, one of the richest countries in the world. The war period has elapsed ; now comes the question of constitutional settlement and we have now before us the report of the Joint Select Committee : that is all we have got in return for our war sacrifices ! We have been asking for bread and they have given us stone. That is how the report can be described in one sentence.

(J. P. C. Report : Mr. N. C. Bharucha & Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan.)

Ladies and gentlemen, to give you one instance of how these reforms are illusory I shall refer you to the recommendation of the Joint Committee on Defence. It was agreed at the Round Table Conference that Defence should be increasingly a matter of Indian concern and that responsibility for it should in future increasingly rest on Indian shoulders. But how far has the Committee acted on this agreed principle in its recommendations? The military budget has been made non-votable and thus it has taken away from the purview of the future Federal legislature at one stroke of the pen a big slice of fifty crores of defence expenditure, which means nearly 42 per cent. of the country's entire revenue. We cannot even discuss how this amount is to be spent. Then, if this be not illusion of responsible government, what else can it be?

Ladies and gentlemen, various speakers before me have referred to commercial discrimination which they said would soon be coming to us. I am afraid it has come to us already in the form of the Indo-British Trade Pact which the Government hope to conclude soon! This will transplant the recommendations of the Joint Committee on commercial and other forms of discrimination much in advance of the rest of the constitution. This advance packet of a part and parcel of the Committee's recommendations will render the fiscal powers of the future Federal legislatures largely illusory. That is one of the reasons why the resolution which I support calls the scheme wholly illusory.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Liberal Federation has done a great service to this country. It has conveyed to Great Britain unerringly the views of the Liberals on the proposed reforms. It is for Britain now to decide whether she will have India as a contented partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations or as a withered and distorted limb which may be a source more of weakness than of strength to the Empire.

Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan (Madras):—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the President has already whispered to me that I should not speak for more than five minutes. Some of you may be under the impression that I am going to speak about a militant policy for the National Liberal Federation, for the reason that I spoke at the Subjects Committee meeting about the need for sustained work throughout the year and for the adoption of measures for capturing the imagination of the masses. I am not going to advocate any such militant policy at this public meeting, (Cheers) because the Hon'ble Mr. Sapru, our young Secretary, has already assured us in his speech that it would be his business to adopt the policy. On the other hand, I have come here to preach for peace all round (Cheers)

This is the Christmas season, and the motto is "Peace on earth and good will to all men". His Majesty the King-Emperor, who is above party politics, has sent his Christmas greetings and message of good will to the people of India. Let us reciprocate the greetings to the British statesmen. As long as the proposed reforms are not acceptable to any classes of Indians, let us ask them to leave us alone in peace and not bother themselves by thrusting on us any legislation based on the J. P. C. Report. Let them also know that any scheme of reforms proposed for India will succeed only when they have secured the *good will* of the people of India. (hear, hear).

The Liberals—sometimes called Moderates—have all along been considered as the pet children of the British Government. The Liberal organisation counts, among its members, ambassadors, members of the Privy Council and of the India Council, ex-Members of the Executive Councils, ex-Ministers, merchant princes and financial magnates; and they have all along been co-operating with the Government, even against abuse and calumny by other political parties in India. If such sober-minded Liberals, who devoted seventeen pages of foolscap for the Resolutions on the White Paper last year, are now satisfied by stating their views in a single Resolution of a dozen lines and, at the end, say that they do not want any legislation from the Parliament at present, there must be something wrong about the proposed reforms and something really serious about the whole affair. I will commend this aspect to British statesmen to ponder over carefully.

(J. P. C. Report : Rao Bahadur Sivan & Mr. Chintamani.)

My friend, Mr. Bharucha, was talking about our having sent men and money during the Great War. When we sent our men to the front and sent all our funds to Great Britain during the War, did we make any stipulation that, at the end of the War, the British Government should give us any substantial reforms to India, as a recompense for the sacrifices made by India? No. On their own initiative, the Britishers of those days wanted to show their gratitude to India by giving us the first batch of constitutional reforms and by assuring us that more was to follow. Really speaking, we, Liberals, have always had faith in British statesmanship and in British justice.

One word more. The Britishers are cricketers and used to say that, as cricketers, they always played the game. I must say that they played the game in 1914 before the War, they played the game in 1919 after the War, and they probably played the game even as late as 1932. It is a different story during the last two years. Advice given by representatives and friends of India has been discarded, in favour of that given by the short-sighted diehards; and, in my opinion, with regard to the grant of Dominion Status to India, the Britisher has got into a scare. (Applause).

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (U. P.) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I trust that you will extend to me, in some measure, the indulgence which you have given to those who have preceded me and will allow me to say a few words on the resolution in obedience to the mandate of our honoured President. I will not, I assure you, take you through the details of the Joint Select Committee's report or of the White Paper scheme of which this report is an amplification. I will not detain you with an invitation that you should admire the beautiful literary passages of this elaborate document. I am glad to confess that in spite of the fact, to which Sir Charles Napier drew attention in one of his minutes on Indian affairs, that the commercial instinct kills noble sentiments, the noble lords and the right hon. gentlemen, who constituted the Joint Select Committee, were able to give a good account of their literary capacity, at the same time that they showed that the commercial instinct had not been dead in them (cheers). I will put a few brief questions and shall give answers to them: the answers will be monosyllabic as far as possible. Why is it that we want any reforms at all? It is for achieving definite ends. We wanted, in the first place, that the sentiment of national self-respect should no longer be hurt. Patriotism has been described by a great British statesman as national self-respect. We wanted that that feeling, which has been wounded all along, shall at least be gratified. The question is, do the reforms offered to us gratify that sentiment? The answer is "No."

We wanted reforms in order that we might have legislatures and executive governments answerable to legislatures to adopt measures for the improvement of the economic condition of the people of the country. Will the reforms, that are now offered to us, enable future legislatures and future governments to take such steps without illegitimate interference from external non-Indian authorities acting in interests other than those of India? The answer is "No."

We have been anxious not merely as a patriotic but also as a constitutional party that everything that is in man's power shall be done to help ordered progress in our country and to avert anything that might be called catastrophic changes. Now, what are the conditions that lead to produce revolution? They were stated not by an agitator but by Her Highness the late Begum of Bhopal. She said that hungry masses and discontented classes were the seed-beds of revolutionary movements. Will the classes after the reforms be contented, and will the masses hereafter be well-fed, well-clothed and well-housed? The answer again is an unqualified and emphatic "No."

We set our eyes upon the goal of dominion status. We did so because dominion status was merely the technical expression of what Mahatma Gandhi called the substance of independence. It has been promised to us by a section of British statesmen and by His Majesty the King himself. Are we going to have dominion status?

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.*)

"No." At all events, has it been held out to us as an objective which is capable of attainment after a certain time as the result of these and successive stages of reforms? The answer is "No." The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the House of Lords and speaking as a liberal-minded supporter of Indian reforms, expressed the hope that the phrase "Dominion Status," which was capable of infinite misunderstanding might be abandoned for ever. Leaving the Archbishop of Canterbury to whom reference has already been made in the course of discussions, I mention another one who played a great part in the politics of his own country, the Marquess of Crewe who was Secretary of State for India for five years. The Marquess of Crewe, who certainly is not a rash man, took it upon himself to say in the House of Lords in the debate upon the Joint Select Committee's report that dominion status was a "cant phrase." Might it be, Mr. President, that when British statesmen told us that dominion status was the goal of British policy in India, they were consciously indulging in the utterance of a "cant phrase?" There is no cant intrinsic in the phrase "Dominion Status." There was a time when dominion status could be understood but not explained, much less defined. But this can no longer be pleaded in the face of the Statute of Westminster. To the Archbishop, the Marquess and other Englishmen, who professed inability to understand the content of the phrase "Dominion Status," my answer is to refer them to their own Act of Parliament, the Statute of Westminster. As my Right Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri said this morning in one of the greatest and noblest speeches of his noble life (hear, hear), we may even be asked to be content with the omission or even the avoidance of the phrase "Dominion Status" provided the measure of reform now offered to us was in itself satisfactory. One of two views could be taken by moderate-minded men eager not to create difficulties but to produce an atmosphere of friendliness favourable to the successful working of the new reform scheme. They may be content with the definition of the goal as dominion status even if the first step was not satisfactory; or they may be content, even if the goal was not properly defined, with a satisfactory first step. In the present case, the British Government have neither agreed to the definition of ultimate objective nor to the formulation of a fairly satisfactory reform for the present. Well, why is not the scheme satisfactory? The answer to that question is in the speeches which have lasted for about six hours and it will be a work of superfluity on my part if I were to enter into an argumentative statement as to why this scheme is unsatisfactory. Therefore, I will cast my observations into the form of a catechism. We wanted a responsible central government for British India. Is it a part of the coming reform? The answer is "No". If you turn to the first chapter of the report of the Select Committee, you will find a sentence in which a responsible central government for British India has been dismissed as an impossibility without any limit of time. We wanted that we should have an effective voice in the determination of measures for the defence of our own country. We wanted to be able to take steps for the speedy, if gradual, nationalisation of the army. Shall we be in a position to do that? "No". We wanted the British garrison in India which, in reality, is an army of occupation designed to hold this country in safety for a conquering power at the expense of the conquered people—we wanted that that garrison should be reduced by successive stages until the whole of the army of India shall be an Indian army defending the motherland and not a foreign army of occupation. Will the future government and legislature of India be in a position to take even the first step in that direction? The answer is "No."

We shall continue to be in the same position in which we are at present, a position of utter helplessness and impotency. Our present Viceroy, the other day at Calcutta, speaking before the European Association, made a claim that no one in India would question the sincerity of his sympathy with Indian aspirations. He has more than once expressed his hope that he should be the first constitutional Governor-General of India. Under the new constitution, will the Governor-General of India be any more constitutional than he is at present? The answer to that question is writ large in the blackest characters upon every page of the Joint Select Committee's Report. The Governor-General of India will be a greater despot than he has been until now. The Governor-General will have powers legislative, powers financial, powers administrative, powers indefinite, powers unlimited, to do what he thinks is good for India.

(J. P. C. Report : *Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.*)

really speaking to do what he is convinced is good for England. We said that whatever might be the measure of self-government that India might be endowed with, control from England should be replaced by control on this spot. The answer that has been vouchsafed is in the form of a despotic Governor-General subordinate in every minute detail to the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State.

Ladies and gentlemen, what will be the legislature of two chambers as proposed under the new constitution of which even the popular house is not to be elected by the people as it is at present? In the aim of advancing us towards our goal of constitutional government, the Joint Select Committee have with a coolness, that may be admired though it cannot be respected, taken away what we have been enjoying since the year 1921. For the purposes of their own internal controversies this measure is put forward as a guarantee of the safety of British interests while we are told on the strength of the very shadowy central responsibility that is proposed that self-government is going to be conferred upon the people of India. In the Government of India what will be the power of the future Finance Minister nominally responsible to the legislature for the finance of the country? Coinage, currency, expenditure upon defence and a large number of other items, he may not touch except with the previous concurrence of the Governor-General! Not less than 80 per cent. of the central revenues will be spent upon subjects beyond the power of the legislature to control. This new constitution, without conferring any real power upon us and our representatives, takes away the right of direct election of the central legislature that we have been enjoying at present.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are told that there is going to be provincial autonomy and that it is going to be real and genuine. Even then it will be our bounden duty as members of the Liberal Federation to decline to look at it unless it is accompanied by central responsibility. Actually, there will be no genuine provincial autonomy. Because the Governors will be far greater despots in the future than they are now. The Governor will have the right to interfere with Ministers. The salaries of Ministers are going to be made non-votable. Now, I wish to know in what respect, to what extent, in what manner, it is alleged that there will be a real and genuine provincial autonomy. I shall be grateful to any friend of mine who will be able to lay his finger on a particular spot in this volume that will show that provincial autonomy will be real and genuine—it seems to be printed in invisible ink (laughter).

Well, Sir, the arrangement that is proposed in the Joint Select Committee's report is a very beautiful arrangement. They claim that they are giving to India a constitution capable of development. I understand that phrase to mean that further constitutional advance should be possible without the antecedent conditions of whirlwind agitation which disturbs the peace of the country. I know it was the ambition of our great friend, Mr. Montagu, to make provisions in the Government of India Act of 1919 for machinery through which future constitutional advance could be secured without such agitation, as for Home Rule, which had preceded 1919. This was really his object in providing for an enquiry by a statutory commission after the expiry of ten years. But what of the future?

Formerly, no post of Chief Justice of the High Court could be held by officers of the Indian Civil Service, but under the new constitution they will be eligible for the post of Chief Justice.

The British have done what they wanted to do; they have taken care that British interests shall be safe; they have taken care that educated Indians shall be put off with a show of concession while the substance shall be perfectly intact and without any time-limit in British hands. The division that has been made between the British and Indians for the future in the Government of this country puts me in mind of a story, which I read the other day. There was an English girl. There was a millionaire who was courting her, but she did not love him. There was one humble man

(J. P. C. Report: *Mr. Chintamani*. Council Election & Next Session.)

without the capacity to maintain her who also sought her hand and she really loved him. A friend of hers asked her. "What are you going to do in the circumstances? The one man has money, the other man has love. Are you going to prefer money to love?" She said "I shall marry the millionaire and use his money to enjoy the love of the other man." (Loud laughter). The British Government and the British people are very practical. They make a show of constitutional government but keep power in their hands at our expense.

Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, when we are confronted by proposals of this description, proposals utterly onerous, proposals not calculated in the slightest degree to relieve the burden on our hearts, minds and shoulders, proposals which will still leave us in a position of inferiority and degradation in our own country, proposals tinged by deep distrust of our capacity and character, when we are confronted by such insulting and dishonouring proposals, unworthy of England to offer and unworthy of India to accept, my answer is in the words of Mr. Lansbury, the leader of the British Labour Party and leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, "We don't want it, take it back." (Loud cheers).

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

IV. COUNCIL AND OFFICE-BEARERS.

The President :—Gentlemen, I wish to lay the following resolution before you :—

- (a) This Federation elects (1) the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú, (2) Mr. S. M. Bose, and (3) Mr. Surendranath Varma to be the Honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next Session.
- (b) The Federation elects a Council consisting of the persons named* to function until the election of another Council by its next session.

The names would be read out. But I should like to say before I sit down that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the retiring secretaries. I think the secretaries themselves will say that the work has been falling on our friends in Bengal. Happily we have been able to avail ourselves of the services of one of our colleagues here in the coming year.

As regards the other secretary, though he may not be formally re-elected, we know that he will continue to be as active as he was before. I and those, who have come in contact with him, well know the zeal and single-mindedness which animate him in his dealings with all matters that concern the Liberal Party.

Mr. Bose then read out the names* of the persons composing the new Council.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

V. VENUE OF THE NEXT SESSION.

Resolved that the Seventeenth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India be held at Nagpur in the last week of the year 1935.

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Berar) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of our Central Provinces Liberals, I have great pleasure to invite the next Liberal Federation to Nagpur (hear, hear). Nagpur is in a central situation and many of the delegates will not have to make long journeys. Besides, the December cold of Nagpur is not very severe and we at Nagpur will try our best to make your stay comfortable there. My friends at Nagpur and I myself will be very happy if you accept this invitation. (Cheers).

* Vide Appendix D.

(*Vote of Thanks.*)

Mr. N. A. Dravid (C. P.) :—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I second the proposal. I hope you will assemble at Nagpur in large numbers. Well, in Nagpur, I do not promise you the lavish hospitality shown here, but I promise that you will not have to regret having accepted this invitation. I hope you will give your approval to this resolution and pass it unanimously.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale :—Now, the proceedings cannot be brought to a close without a vote of thanks to our worthy President. I accordingly call upon Dr. Paranjpye to propose the same.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (U.P.) :—Brother and sister delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it is my very pleasant duty to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our distinguished President under whose wise direction we have been carrying on our work for the last three days. The high hopes that we entertained of his capacity and ability and which were given expression to in the speeches proposing the election of the President, have been amply fulfilled by the way in which he has carried out the work (loud cheers). His extraordinary, interesting and instructive address laid the foundation for the deliberations of this Conference. Yesterday, he was in the chair for six and a half hours guiding our deliberations in the Subjects Committee and today he has been in the chair for over eight hours and during all that time his patience, perseverance and tact have appealed to us all. Had it not been for his ability, the Conference would not have been such a great success. Though, it is said, our number is small, all the same we have been inspired by enthusiasm for the principles of Liberalism and by the guidance of Pt. Kunzru and I hope you will pass this vote of thanks with genuine enthusiasm and acclamation. (Loud cheers).

Mr. S. M. Bose (Bengal) :—Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to second this hearty vote of thanks. We have heard with great interest the splendid address given by Pt. Kunzru. But we missed in it any reference to the Communal Award or the Poona Pact.

There has been avoidance of the reference to "Dominion Status" in the Joint Select Committee's Report. So also, there is avoidance of reference to the Communal Award or the Poona Pact in the President's address. However, we admire his patience and industry. He is, I believe, the youngest Liberal to take the chair. I am sure, under his guidance we shall progress more and more.

In Bengal, Poona has been somewhat unpopular because of two reasons—the Mahratta freebooters who raided Bengal, and the Poona Pact; but now, Sir, all that feeling is gone. It is now a holy place where there is a confluence (Sangam) of the streams from various parts of India, and bathed and purified at this Sangam, let us go back with renewed strength to the work before us.

I hope you will all pass the vote of thanks to the President unanimously.

Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmulgund (Bombay) :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I give my hearty support to the resolution of vote of thanks. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not an easy task to preside over the deliberations of the Liberal Federation. We have found in our President the qualifications of persuasion, moderation and compromise in their entirety.

With these words, I heartily support the resolution.

The vote of thanks was carried with loud applause.

The President was then garlanded by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, amidst loud cheers.

(*The President's Concluding Speech.*)

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH.

The President :— Brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, please allow me to put off this garland. The weight of this honour is too much for me.

I am grateful to the gentlemen who proposed the vote of thanks for the kind things they said of me, and to you for the hearty manner in which you have received the proposition placed by them before you. I personally feel that instead of your thanking me, it is I who ought to thank you for the patience which you have shown throughout the proceedings and the exemplary courtesy with which you have treated me. I must say that I felt from the very beginning that I could rely absolutely on your indulgence and support. There was something in you which told me that we were a harmonious whole. You seemed to me, if I may say so, to radiate good will and co-operation. A friend of mine remarked to me, a few minutes ago that this Session had been extraordinarily harmonious and that the proceedings had been followed by the audience with sustained attention. I hope that every annual gathering of ours that takes place in future will be of the same character and the future Presidents will have to deal with as sympathetic an audience as I have had the fortune to deal with during the last two or three days.

Fellow-delegates, you have examined the constitutional proposals that are now before the country from every point of view and you have found that the more closely they are examined, the more objectionable they appear to be. Not merely do they not take us to the desired goal, but they actually place new obstacles in our way. The spirit, which seemed to animate the first Round Table Conference, evaporated soon afterwards and notwithstanding the famous declaration of October 1929 we found that the holders of power were not able to reconcile themselves to a future in which India, instead of relying on them for guidance, would be able to control her own destinies.

The second Round Table Conference, as all know, marked a turning point in the affairs of the Round Table Conference. Nevertheless Mr. Wedgwood Benn, speaking at the final plenary Session of the Conference, and comparing the state of things then existing with the situation as it was two years earlier, said: "Those days, Mr. Prime Minister, have gone. We shall hear no more of tutorial commissions. No one would venture for very shame to get up and read out the second, third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble of the Act of 1919. The days of dictation are gone." Unfortunately, we find that the paragraphs alluded to by Mr. Wedgwood Benn are still being flung in our faces. We are continually being told, that the position we aspire to has not been promised to us by the Act of 1919 or any other Act of Parliament.

Examine the constitution that has been proposed by the Joint Select Committee. On every page of its report and in every one of its recommendations you will find traces of the influence of the diehards and the power of Lancashire and the City of London. The diehards tried to take advantage of our internal differences. They wanted that the question of responsibility at the Centre should be shelved. With the help, however, of a few friends of ours like Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Lees-Smith and Lord Reading, we were able to defeat their tactics. Though foiled in their attempts for the time being, as every page of the report shows, they have virtually succeeded in the end. The friendly critics to whom Mr. Sastri referred concede that our dissatisfaction is legitimate. They admit that our criticism has a great deal of substance in it. They agree with us that the promise of dominion status should not be omitted from the preamble of the new Act. But they ask us not to be overcome by pessimism. They want us to face the situation, however gloomy it may be, like patriots. They want us to make suggestions, constructive suggestions for which our party is noted, for the improvement of the proposals put forward by the Joint Select Committee and to take advantage of such power as might be conceded to us by the new scheme to advance Indian interests. Well, during the last two years, the Federation has repeatedly made proposals for the improvement of the official scheme. Has even one of the suggestions put forward by us been accepted

(*The President's Concluding Speech.*)

yet? No, not one. What is the good then of attempting to make further suggestions? Our past experience does not encourage us to put forward any more suggestions. And can we now make any proposal which has not been made repeatedly during the last two or three years?

Ladies and gentlemen, though the reforms scheme is admitted to be gravely defective, our friendly critics advise us not to be hostile to it. They say to us, "However disappointing it may be, is it not an improvement on the existing position? Should you not accept what is offered and make it the starting point for a further advance in future? They ask us to compare the present and future situations. We have at present limited responsibility in the provinces and no responsibility at the centre. In future, we are told, we shall have complete autonomy in the provinces and substantial responsibility at the centre. Can any reasonable man then hesitate to make his choice between the two alternatives open to him? What do we desire when we ask for the power to govern ourselves? I take it that the one thing which we desire above all others is a democratic form of Government. We also desire that any reforms that may be given to us should lead us on to greater things in future and not become barriers to further progress. Now, look at the proposals before us from this point of view. It is not necessary for our purpose to examine the central and provincial constitutions separately. We are convinced and have said repeatedly that no scheme of reforms would be acceptable to the country unless it provides for the liberalisation of the central Government. We have, therefore, to examine what the character of the central Government of the future will be.

In view of the discussion that has already taken place, I shall not go into details but deal with only one feature of the central Government and that is the manner in which the new Assembly will be elected. We want that the Assembly should be the representative of the nation, but the new Assembly will be so only in name. Elected by the provincial Legislative Assemblies it will not have the prestige and independence associated with a directly elected body. It will be elected even by the provincial assemblies only in form. In reality the majority of the representatives of a province in the Federal Assembly will be the nominees of the party in power, or, in other words, of the Government of the day. It is obvious, therefore, that the Provincial Governments will have a large say in the selection of our national representatives. This can hardly be called democratic. Again, in order that we may be able to advance in future we ask for the continuance of a directly elected Assembly that may speak in the name of the people at large. Can we be satisfied with a shadowy responsibility at the Centre and allow Government to take a retrograde step and destroy the only organ in the constitution, which can enable us to compel Government to yield to the national will? Can you imagine that an Assembly like the one that has been conceded to us will be able to take us forward? If we accept it as our friendly critics exhort us to do, we shall be responsible for gravely compromising our future. Ladies and gentlemen, we are fully conscious of our responsibility in refusing to accept the new constitution and of the difficulties that lie ahead of us, but responsibility will not make cowards of us. Feeble though our hands may be, they will never be used for the destruction of our future. They will ever be used in defence of our country.

Before I close, ladies and gentlemen I should like to make a passing reference to the negotiations now going on between the representatives of British commerce and the Board of Trade in England. That the Board of Trade should concern itself with the interests of British trade is not to be wondered at, but the unsatisfactory feature of the present situation is that the Government of India notwithstanding the repeated requests of Indian commercial interests, have failed to give an assurance that when the negotiations between the Board of Trade and Lancashire are over, the resulting proposals will be placed before the representative commercial bodies in this country. I regard the silence of the Government of India as significant and

(*The President's Concluding Speech.*)

ominous. We all know, ladies and gentlemen, that the dissatisfaction of the commercial classes has contributed greatly during the last three or four years to the strength of the non-cooperation movement. The British Government have evidently not profited by the experience of the past and are prepared to go on as before or even to follow a more hazardous course; they are apparently determined to face the consequences arising from unpopularity among every class and section of the Indian people. They are free, so far as we are concerned, to come to any conclusion they like, but our path is equally clear. I do not for a moment mean to minimise the difficulties that will have to be faced by us, if we wish to win our freedom, but there is no reason to be pessimistic. I feel, considering the growth of the national sentiment, considering the enthusiasm of all sections, howsoever differing among themselves, for the advance of the motherland, that the day is not far distant when our differences will be a thing of the past and we shall all unite in pressing our demands on the Government.

Before I sit down, ladies and gentlemen, I must, on your behalf and mine, thank the various agencies that have contributed to the success of this session of the Federation. We must thank Sangit Chudamani Vinayakba Patwardhan, Principal of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, Poona, for the music with which he entertained us. We must thank the Poona Students Brotherhood which organised the volunteer corps that has helped us so much and we have also to convey our heart-felt thanks to the volunteer corps and its captain, Professor C. B. Joshi for the splendid work done by them during the last three or four days. Mr. Govindrao Ranade and his assistants who were in charge of the arrangements for your refreshment are also deserving of our best thanks (cheers). There are other persons also who have done their very best to make the session of the Federation a success and among them are Professor S. G. Sathé and Mr. V. R. Bhende, who helped in enrolling members of the Reception Committee in Poona and Bombay respectively and Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan, who lent her house for the residence of the delegates (cheers). Khan Bahadur M. N. Mehta, who was our host today, will undoubtedly be thanked by you all from the bottom of your hearts. I must also thank our friend and guide, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, in connection with the work of the session of the Federation and the hospitality he has shown to the delegates. It is his determination to make the Federation a success and his readiness to shoulder the responsibilities connected with the holding of this session that encouraged the young men here to invite the Federation and to go forward with the necessary arrangements. I should like to tender my personal thanks to Rao Bahadur Chinmulgund for the kindness which he has shown me during the last three days. I have no doubt that there are a good many others in addition to those whom I have named, who have done their best to contribute to the success of the session; but even though they may not be named today, I am sure they will have the satisfaction of feeling that they have done their best to promote the national cause. I must not however omit to refer to the Secretaries who have borne the brunt of the work and busied themselves day and night with the execution of the numerous details which have to be attended to on an occasion like this.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, there remains nothing for me but to bid you farewell and ask you, in the days that lie between now and the next session of the Federation, to come forward and do your best to promote a true understanding of the nature of the proposals that have been placed before us, and to strengthen the current of nationalism in every nook and corner of the land; for I feel certain that if only an adequate number of workers is forthcoming, our country will soon see better days.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now dissolve this session of the Federation.

Vande Mataram was then sung by Sangit Chudamani Vinayakba Patwardhan, Principal, Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, Poona, and the assembly dispersed.

APPENDIX A.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer wrote as follows :—

“ I rejoice that the Liberal Federation has been able to secure for the Presidential Chair Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, a distinguished Servant of India who has devoted his life to the political and social service of the country. He is eminently fitted by his brilliant abilities, his study of politics and public questions and his high character, to preside over the deliberations of the Federation. Meeting as the Federation does in the home of the great Liberal leader, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, and watched over as it is by his shadow, the present session will, I am sure, be conducted under the guidance of Pandit Kunzru in a manner worthy of the best traditions of the Liberal Party. I wish every success to the present session of the Federation.”

Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao wrote :—

“ Notwithstanding the pledges and declarations made by British statesmen from time to time about Dominion Status, the authors of the Joint Select Committee Report have deliberately avoided the use of the term in the Report. This, along with the indefinite delay, that is bound to take place in the establishment of a Federation and the consequent delay in the introduction of Central responsibility, the wholly unsatisfactory scheme for the Indianisation of the Army and the introduction of indirect elections for the Legislative Assembly, these and other aspects of the scheme contained in the Joint Select Committee's Report have made it wholly unacceptable to all sections of political thought throughout the country. I have no doubt that all these questions will receive adequate consideration by the Federation.

I see that proposals for the reorganisation of the Party are being put forward. I have always felt that unless the programme of our party attracts younger recruits, our party has no future in the country.”

The Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji in his message said—

“ I trust that the Federation will give a proper lead to the country at this time, when the whole problem of the Indian political reforms is hanging in the balance.”

APPENDIX B.

XVI National Liberal Federation of India.

List of Members of the Reception Committee.

- 1 Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., M. L. A., K. C. I. E., O. B. E.,
Readymoney Mansions, Churchgate Street, Bombay 1.
- 2 Mr. R. D. Sethna, Yerrowda, Poona No. 7.
- 3 Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL. D., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 4 The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., LL. D.,
Servants of India Society, Poona 4.
- 5 The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, Canada Building, Bombay 1.
- 6 Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 7 Mr. A. D. Shroff, C/o Messers. Batlivala & Karani, Dalal Street, Bombay 1.
- 8 Mr. G. S. Marathe, M. A., A. I. A., Actuary, 'Ganesh Wadi', Poona 4.
- 9 Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A. 'Durgadhivasa', 924 Bhamburda, Poona 4.
- 10 Mr. V. H. Barve, Aryabhushan Press, Poona 4.
- 11 Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Inamdar, Bhor.
- 12 Mr. N. R. Wadia, M. S. E., 120, Wood House, Middle Colaba, Bombay.
- 13 Mr. V. R. Bhende, 107, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 14 Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., Ph. D., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona No. 1.
- 15 Principal K. M. Khadye, M. A. 29¹/₂, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 16 Dr. Mrs. Krishnabai Khadye, M. B. B. S., 29¹/₂, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 17 Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmulgund, B. A., LL. B., 325c., Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 18 Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Deccan Gymkhana Colony, Poona 4.
- 19 Mr. S. G. Vaze B. A., Servants of India Society, Poona 4.
- 20 Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B. A., Aryabhushan Press, Poona 4.
- 21 Prof. R. N. Joshi, M. A. 395, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 22 Mr. K. S. Jatar, C. I. E. 338, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 23 Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B., Advocate 'Aram Cottage', Shirwal.
- 24 Prof. D. G. Karve, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 25 Mr. K. G. Limaye M. A., LL. B., Editor, *Dnyanprakash*, Poona 4.
- 26 Rao Bahadur B. N. Sathaye, L. C. E., Poona 4.
- 27 Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M. L. C., Palace Street, Satara City.
- 28 Mr. S. P. Nagpurkar, 771, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 29 Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M. A., C. I. E., Servants of India Society, Poona 4.
- 30 Prof. G. R. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B., Sangli.
- 31 Mr. R. P. Karandikar, Advocate, Satara.
- 32 Prof. V. K. Joag, M. A., Bhamburda, Poona No. 4.
- 33 Mr. B. S. Kamat, M. L. C. Ganeshkhind Road, Poona 5.
- 34 Prof. K. R. Kanitkar, M. A., B. Sc., Poona No. 4.
- 35 Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B. A., Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 36 Mr. V. M. Limaye, B. Sc., Inamdar, 'Ganesh Wadi', Poona No. 4.
- 37 Prof. G. H. Kelkar, M. A., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona 1.
- 38 Principal J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., Law College, Poona 4.
- 39 Prof. V. G. Maydeo, M. A., 38, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4.
- 40 Mr. S. G. Gokhale, M. A., Amrai Camp, Poona No. 4.
- 41 Prof. S. G. Sathe, I. E. S., (Retired), 779, Bhamburda, Poona 4.
- 42 Mr. G. V. Ranade, Contractor, 'Vishnu Pura', Poona 2.
- 43 Prof. C. B. Joshi, M. A., 196/45 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 44 Prof. R. Sadasiva Aiyar, M. A., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona 1.

APPENDIX B.

- 45 Mr. V. B. Joglekar, B. A., 304, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 46 Mr. K. T. Dikshit, B. A., B. Sc, G. D. A., 933, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 47 Dr. G. S. Mahajani, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 48 Prof. K. G. Pandit, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 49 Mr. R. K. Tatnis, Editor, *Vividha-Vritta*, 3641, Thakurdwar, Bombay 2.
- 50 Mr. Shripad M. Varde, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay 4.
- 51 Principal G. C. Bhate, M. A., Mahad, Dist. Kolaba.
- 52 Rao Bahadur R. G. Kashikar, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Malegaon, Dist. Nasik.
- 53 Lt.-Col. K. C. Sanjana, I. M. S. (Retired), 9, Parvati Villas, Poona 1.
- 54 Mr. M. R. Joshi, B. A., 299, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 55 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 56 Prof. M. D. Altekar, M. A., 'Prabhavati Nivas', Park Road, Vile-Parle.
- 57 Mr. S. V. Joshi, 1029, Shanwar Peth, Satara City.
- 58 Mr. N. G. Joshi, B. A., LL. B., Somwar Peth, Satara City.
- 59 Mr. Gopal Chimnaji Bhate, Pleader, Post Roha, Dist. Kolaba.
- 60 Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 61 Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I. C. S. (Retired), 344, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 62 Mr. N. L. Halbe, 343, Shukrawar Peth, Poona No. 2.
- 63 Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole, M. C. E., 859, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 64 Mr. N. R. Phatak, B. A., C/o *Navakal* office, Bombay No. 4.
- 65 Mr. D. N. Sirur, 70, Forbes Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 66 Prof. V. A. Apte, M. A., L. T., Willingdon College, Sangli.
- 67 Prof. N. G. Damle, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 68 Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Karachi.
- 69 Mr. D. R. Todywala, 'Rustom Baug', Victoria Road, Mazgaon, Bombay 17.
- 70 Mr. Robert Macedo, 251 Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 71 Mr. Vasantao S. Ravut, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
- 72 Sirdar G. N. Mujumdar, C.I.E., Kasba Peth, Poona 2.
- 73 Rao Saheb P. S. Vaidya, Asstt. Post-Master-General (Retired),
327, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 74 Mr. D. V. Apte, 'Anandashram,' Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 75 Rao Bahadur K. V. Shinde, 87, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 76 Prof. V. B. Naik, M.A., 592 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 77 Mr. G. A. Advant, B.A., Maidan Ad, Ahmednagar.
- 78 Mr. J. D. Mahaluxmivala, C/o *The Times of India*, Bombay 1.
- 79 Mr. K. R. Gharat, 278, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 80 Mr. V. A. Apte, 'Anant Nivas', Bhamburda, Poona No. 4.
- 81 Mr. S. G. Vaidya, 228, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 82 Mrs. Tarabai Patwardhan, 383, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 83 Prof. D. D. Kapadia, I.E.S. (Retired), Staunton Road, Poona 1.
- 84 Mr. J. M. Braganza, 324, Main Street, Poona 1.
- 85 Prof. A. S. Wadia, M.A., 'Magdala House,' 14, Bund Garden Road, Poona 1.
- 86 Mr. F. P. Jehangir, 'Magdala Cottage', Bund Garden Road, Poona 1.
- 87 Prof. P. R. Damle, M.A., 462 Rasta Peth, Poona 2.
- 88 Mr. K. B. Joshi, 528 Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 89 Prof. V. K. Gokak, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 90 Prof. G. B. Patwardhan, M.A., 'Balvant Bhuvan', Poona 4.
- 91 Mr. S. V. Kanitkar, 2, Koregaon Road, Poona 1.
- 92 Prof. L. B. Kulkarni, 'Balkrishna Ashrama', Poona 4.
- 93 Khan Bahadur M. N. Mehta, C.I.E., 9, Staunton Road, Poona 1.
- 94 Sardar G. K. Kale, 511, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 95 Mr. L. R. Gokhale, M.L.C., 419, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 96 Mr. Ganpatdas H. Devi, Pratap Ganj Street, Satara City.
- 97 The Hon'ble Sardar Jagannath Maharaj, Pandit, Bhau Maharaj House, Poona 2.
- 98 Mr. R. G. Kuber, B. A., LL. B., Satara City.
- 99 Mr. L. K. Kirloskar, Kirloskarwadi.
- 100 Mrs. Pramilabai Gadgil, Poona No. 4.
- 101 Prof. N. G. Suru, M. A., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona No. 1.
- 102 Mr. S. N. Karnatki, 249, Rasta Peth, Poona 2.

APPENDIX B.

- 103 Prof. M. K. Joshi, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona No. 4.
 104 Sardar Byramji Pudumji, 1, Char Bunglow, Poona 1.
 105 Prof. T. G. Yeolekar, M. A., 734, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 106 Prof. J. J. Nanavatty, M. A., Nowrosji Wadia College, Poona 1.
 107 Mr. K. J. Dubash, 79, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
 108 Khan Bahadur K. K. Sunavala, Irwin Road, Poona 2.
 109 Mr. S. S. Parsha, Examiner Press Building, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
 110 Mr. D. G. Dalvi, M.A., LL.B., French Bridge, Bombay 7.
 111 Dr. H. V. Tilak, Mantri Buildings, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
 112 Mr. S. G. Chitale, M.A., LL.B. Fanaswadi, Bombay No. 2.
 113 Mr. B. N. Gokhale, M.A., LL.B., 157-59, Girgaum, Bombay 4.
 114 Mr. Vishvanath P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, 6-8, Dean Lane, Bombay 1.
 115 Mr. P. S. Bakhale, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Gokuldas Devji's Bunglow,
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 116 Mr. P. N. Shende, Advocate, 226, Charni Road, Bombay 4.
 117 Mrs. Kamalabai Gandhi, 569 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 118 Mr. G. R. Gandhi, Pleader, 569, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 119 Rao Bahadur Dr. V. V. Mulay, Sholapur.
 120 Mr. P. V. Phadke, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Sholapur.
 121 Mr. Jal S. Jassawalla, 'Vishnu Villa', Sholapur.
 122 Mr. D. G. Diwakar, B. A., LL. B., Bar-at-Law, Sadar Bazar, Sholapur.
 123 Mr. D. G. Sathe, Sholapur.
 124 Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
 125 Mr. V. B. Sathe, M. A., C/o Mr. B. V. Satha, Contractor, Sholapur.
 126 Mr. V. S. Vaadepali, Gunj Peth, Sholapur.
 127 Mr. R. R. Nabar, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
 128 Prof. M. S. Godbole, M. A. 'Vinayak-Ghar', Poona 4.
 129 Mr. G. A. Ranade, B. A., LL. B., Islampur, Dist. Satara.
 130 Dr. S. V. Kirtane, 248, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 131 Mr. P. V. Lad, Saraswat Colony, Somawar Peth, Poona 2.
 132 Mr. A. B. Sethna, B. A., LL. B., 1979, Convent Street, Poona 1.
 133 Mr. G. M. Phatak, Dr. Paranjpye's Bunglow, 86, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4.
 134 Khan Bahadur Dr. Kershaw D. Khambatta, 3, Jubilee Road, Poona No. 1.
 135 Dr. Mrs. Sundrabai Kirtane, L. M. & S., 248, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.
 136 Mr. P. K. Atre, B. A., B. T., T. D. (London), Principal C. E. Society's High School,
 Poona 1.
 137 Mr. Kaikobad Cowasji Dinshaw, J. P., 121, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
 138 Mr. S. S. Barve, 525, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
 139 Sardar R. J. Potnis, B. Ag., 928, Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2.
 140 Mr. S. V. Hasabnis, C/o Messrs. V. G. & Sons, 93/1, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
 141 Rao Bahadur K. G. Joshi, $\frac{1}{3}$ ⁹³, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 142 Mr. L. X. Rego, Mazagaon, Bombay No. 10.
 143 Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhat, Alice Building, Bombay 1.
 144 Mr. Chunilal Maniklal Gandhi, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
 145 Mr. B. T. Mantri, Nava Wada, Islampur, Dist. Satara.
 146 Mr. R. S. Dikshit, 253/5, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 147 Rao Saheb R. M. Salvi, J. P. 'Shreenath Ashram,' Vile-Parle
 148 Mr. B. D. Lam, Solicitor, Warden Road, Bombay 6.
 149 Mr. S. A. Megherian, Editor, *Cavalcade*, Bombay 1.
 150 Prof. S. Y. Abhyankar, Topiwalla's Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
 151 Dewan Bahadur G. S. Rao, Khar, Bombay.
 152 Mr. K. J. Chitalia, Servants of India Society, Bombay No. 4.
 153 Mr. Syed Munawar, M. L. C., 494, Parel Road, Opp. J. J. Hospital, Bombay 8.
 154 Mr. S. A. Kher, 'Badrikashram,' Khetwadi, 18th Lane, Bombay 4.
 155 Mr. D. V. Bapat, M. A., 3-A, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
 156 Mr. G. G. Khare, Fergusson College Road, Poona No. 4.
 157 Prof. G. B. Kolhatkar, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona No. 4.
 158 Miss Khorshed S. Mundhwawala, 207, Wellesley Road, Poona 1.
 159 Mr. T. G. Dhaneshwar, Navi Peth, Ahmednagar.

APPENDIX B.

- 160 Mr. N. N. Hingne, B. A., LL. B., Gujar Gally, Ahmednagar.
- 161 Mr. R. G. Dhaneshwar, Ahmednagar.
- 162 Rev. R. S. Modak, M. L. C., Ahmednagar.
- 163 Mrs. Ramabai Apte, 'Anandashram', Budhawar Peth, Poona 2.
- 164 Mrs. S. Jinnah, Shankarshet Road, Poona No.1.
- 165 Mr. T. A. Sathe, M. A., LL. B., 625, Shanwar Peth, Poona No. 2.
- 166 Sardar Shrinivas C. Moodliar, K. I. H. (1st class), 334, Rasta Peth, Poona 2.
- 167 Mr. N. M. Patwardhan, Bar-at-Law, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 4.
- 168 Mr. R. B. Bhagwat, 196/21, Tilak Road, Poona 2.
- 169 Mr. S. S. Patkar, ex-Judge, Bombay High Court, Gaumdevi, Bombay 7.
- 170 Mr. A. N. Master, 16, Queen's Garden, Poona 1.
- 171 Mrs. Umabai Sathe, 779, Bhamburda, Poona 4.
- 172 Mr. V. G. Karmarkar, Sangli.
- 173 Mr. M. N. Paranjpe, B. Sc., Laxmi Road, 504, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 174 Prof. S. R. Kanitkar, M. A., 319, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 175 Mr. J. D. Ghaswalla, 2040, West Street, Poona 1.
- 176 Mr. V. K. Jatar, Bar-at-Law, 388, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 177 Sardar G. V. Natu, 411, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 178 Principal P. M. Limaye, M. A., Willingdon College, Sangli.
- 179 Mr. V. V. Sathaye, 196/74, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 180 Mr. R. J. Bhide, Narayan Peth, Poona No. 2.
- 181 Mr. H. R. Kenjale, Laxmi Road, Poona No. 2.
- 182 Prof. V. N. Kumbhare, M. A., Willingdon College, Sangli.

APPENDIX C.

XVI National Liberal Federation of India.

List of Delegates.

- 1 Sir Homi M. Mehta, Apollo Street, Bombay.
- 2 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
- 3 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., Mylapore, Madras.
- 4 Sir G. B. Pradhan, Gaumdevi, Bombay 6.
- 5 Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, Gopalapuram, Coimbatore.
- 6 Rao Raja Shiam Behari Misra, M.A., 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
- 7 Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhadev Behari Misra, B.A., 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
- 8 Mr. T. S. Dighe, B.A., LL.B., High Court Pleader, Akola (Berars)
- 9 Mr. E. Vinayaka Row, B.A., B.L., Mylapore, Madras.
- 10 Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., M.L.C., 14, Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
- 11 Rai Fanindra Lal De Bahadur, Merchant, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
- 12 Mr. N. C. Ray, M.A., B.L. 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
- 13 Mr. S. M. Bose, M.A., LL.B., M. L. C., Bar-at-Law, 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
- 14 Mr. K. S. Negi, Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
- 15 Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., J.P., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
- 16 Babu Jaindralal, Advocate, Fategarh.
- 17 Mr. D. B. Potnis, 136, Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2.
- 18 Mr. D. S. Walimbe, 136, Shukrawar, Poona 2.
- 19 Mr. V. M. Apte, B. A., LL. B., Dhulia.
- 20 Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, B. A., Servants of India Society, Madras.
- 21 Mr. M. D. Shahane, B. A., Servants of India Society, Nagpur.
- 22 Mr. K. G. Sharangpani, B. A., LL. B., Criminal Tribes Settlement, Jalgaor
- 23 Mr. S. R. Venkata Raman, B. A., B. L., Mangalore.
- 24 Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, B. A., Servants of India Society, Madras.
- 25 Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rau, B. A., Servants of India Society, Madras.
- 26 Mr. G. B. Borwankar, 197/17, Tilak Road, Poona 2.
- 27 Mr. J. M. Kanitkar, B. A., Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona 1.
- 28 Mr. L. G. Ketkar, 538, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 29 Prof. R. H. Kelkar, M. A., 289, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 30 Mr. C. A. Rebello, C/o Millowners' Association, Bombay.
- 31 Mr. J. K. Parulkar, Ewart House, Tamarind Lane, Bombay 1.
- 32 Mr. V. C. Limaye, B. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
- 33 Mr. M. V. Lele, B. A., LL. B., No. 556, Daxin Kasba, Sholapur.
- 34 Mr. B. N. Jakkal, Samachar Building, Sholapur.
- 35 Mr. S. B. Thobde, Kasba Peth, Sholapur.
- 36 Mr. Y. D. Khole, L. S. G. D., 449, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 37 Dr. V. N. Desai, L. M. & S., Sangli.
- 38 Mr. V. G. Gokhale, 260, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 39 Mr. S. R. Marathe, 978-79, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 40 Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha, M. A., LL. B., 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
- 41 Mr. Meyer Nissim, 10, Outram Road, Bombay 1.
- 42 Mr. H. G. Parkhe, B. A., LL. B., King Gate, Ahmednagar.
- 43 Dr. S. H. Adenwalla, M. B. B. S., Ahmednagar.
- 44 Mr. B. M. Deshmukh, B. A., Ghamare Galli, Ahmednagar.
- 45 Mr. B. K. Davare, Ahmednagar.

APPENDIX D.

XVI National Liberal Federation of India

Council for 1935.

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- 1 Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.

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- 2 Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Mylapore, Madras.
- 3 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M.L.C., 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
- 4 Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, Mylapore, Madras.
- 5 The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL. D., Mylapore, Madras.
- 6 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, Lucknow.
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- 8 Sir Chimantal Setlavad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Malabar Hill, Bombay.
- 9 The Hon. Sir Pheroze Sethna, Kt. O.B.E., Canada Building, Hornby Road,
Fort, Bombay.
- 10 Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, 40, Edward Elliot Road, Madras.
- 11 Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.C., 14, Balaram Ghose Street, Calcutta.

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- 12 Mr. S. M. Bose, M.L.C., 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
- 13 The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
- 14 Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, 3, Stanley Road, Allahabad.

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NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

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

ELECTED BY THE FEDERATION.

MADRAS.

- 20 Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu, Rajahmundry.
- 21 Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., Mylapore, Madras.
- 22 Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, K.C.I.E., The Grove, Cathedral P. O. Madras.
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- 24 The Hon. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettianad, Adyar, Madras.
- 25 Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Mylapore, Madras.
- 26 Dewan Bahadur V. Bhashyam Iyengar, Poonamalle High Road, Madras.
- 27 Dr. C. B. Rama Rau, Bangalore
- 28 Rao Bahadur C. S. Subramaniam, Mayavaram.
- 29 Mr. M. C. Mukunda Raja Iyengar, Devakotta.
- 30 Mr. M. Kulandaivelu Mudaliar, Sunkurama Street, Madras.
- 31 Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Iyer, Madura.
- 32 Dr. P. Rama Rau, George Town, Madras.
- 33 Mr. Ati Narayan Pantulu, Periampet, Madras.
- 34 Janab C. Abdul Hakim, Esq., Periampet, Madras.
- 35 Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, Ashram, Mylapore, Madras.
- 36 Mr. N. Ranganatham, Sweta Griha, Saidapet, Madras.
- 37 Mr. M. Subbaraya Iyer, Advocate, Pelathope, Mylapore, Madras.
- 38 Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, Mylapore.

APPENDIX D.

- 39 Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswamy Sivan, Gopalapuram, Coimbatore.
- 40 Mr. V. Rama Iyengar, Edward Elliot Road, Mylapore, Madras.
- 41 Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Advocate, Devakottah.
- 42 Mr. Jamal Mohammed Saheb, Madras.
- 43 Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastri, Advocate, Vizagapatam.
- 44 Dewan Bahadur M. Pattabhirama Rau, Madanpalle, Madras.

BOMBAY.

- 45 Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K. C. I. E., O. B. E., M. L. A.,
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- 46 Sir Shapurji Billimoria, Kt., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- 47 Mr. D. G. Dalvi, 217, Charni Road, Bombay 4.
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- 49 Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.
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- 51 Mr. N. R. Wadia, 120 Wode House Road, Bombay.
- 52 Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhatt, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 53 Khan Bahadur H. P. Chahewala, Ahmedabad.
- 54 Mr. Manu Subedar, Kodak House, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 55 Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Law College, Poona 4.
- 56 Mr. Chunilal M. Gandhi, Nanpura, Surat.
- 57 Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- 58 Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- 59 Sir Byramji Jeejeebhoy, Kt., Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 60 Kazi Kabiruddin, Bar-at-Law, Wassiamal Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 61 Mr. K. J. Dubash, Solicitor, 79 Meadows Street, Bombay.
- 62 Mr. A. D. Shroff, Savoy Chambers, Dalal Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 63 Mr. M. D. Altekar, Vile Parle, B. B. & C. I. Ry.
- 64 Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Above Ambewadi P. O., Bombay 4.
- 65 Mr. K. S. Jatar, C.I.E., Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
- 66 Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I.C.S. (Retired), Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
- 67 Prof. V. K. Joag, Bhamburda, Poona 4.
- 68 Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
- 69 Mr. G. V. Ranade, Contractor, 'Vishnu Pura,' Raviwar Peth, Poona 2.

BENGAL.

- 70 Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E., 20 Suri Lane, Calcutta.
- 71 Maulavi Abdus Samad, M.L.C., Berhampore.
- 72 Dr. Heramba Ch. Maitra, 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
- 73 The Hon. Sir Bejoyprasad Singh Roy, Kt., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
- 74 Rai Fanindra Lal De Bahadur, 99, Grey Street, Calcutta.
- 75 Rai Nogendra Nath Mukerji Bahadur, Ranaghat (Bengal)
- 76 Rai Keshav Chandra Banerji Bahadur, M.L.C., Sutrapur, Dacca.
- 77 Mr. C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., 58, Puddopukur Road, Calcutta
- 78 Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 25/1, Rowland Road, Calcutta.
- 79 Rev. B. A. Nag, M.L.C., 1/2 College Square, Calcutta.
- 80 Mr. Satinath Roy, 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
- 81 Prof. B. B. Roy, Scottish Church College, Cornwallis Sq., Calcutta.
- 82 Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/c, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
- 83 The Hon. Mr. B. K. Basu, C.I.E., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
- 84 Mr. P. N. Tagore, 1, Darpanarain Tagore Street, Calcutta.
- 85 Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
- 86 Mr. S. N. Mallik, C.I.E., 2, Chandranath Chatterji St., Calcutta.
- 87 Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
- 88 Mr. Probbhanath Singh Roy, 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
- 89 Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
- 90 Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
- 91 Rai Mahendra Chandra Lahiri Bahadur, Serampore, Hooghly.
- 92 Prof. Nibaranchandra Ray, 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

APPENDIX D.

- 93 Rai Satyendra Kumar Das Bahadur, M.L.C., Dacca.
 94 Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C., 21A Rani Sankari Lane, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

- 95 Pandit Gopinath KunzAllahabad.ru,
 96 Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E., Kurri Sudauli, Rai Bareilly Dt. (Oudh)
 97 Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M.L.C., Rehwan, Rai Bareilly Dt.
 98 Mr. Krishna Ram Mehta, *Leader* Buildings, Allahabad.
 99 Kumar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
 100 Sriman Rai Krishnaji, Pandepur, Benares Cantt.
 101 Rai Rajeswar Baly, O.B.E., M.L.C., Daryabad, Barabanki Dt.
 102 Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Merhotra, Biswan, Sitapur Dt. (Oudh)
 103 Babu Gauri Sanker Prasad, Advocate, Bulanala, Benares City.
 104 Rao Krishna Pal Singh, Castle Grant, Agra.
 105 Mr. Vishnu Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
 106 Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
 107 Randit Rajnath Kunzru, Chili Eint Street, Agra.
 108 Pandit Parameswar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhawan, Fyzabad.
 109 Babu Vishwanath Prasad, *Leader* Buildings, Allahabad.
 110 Mr. S. P. Andrews-Dube, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
 111 Babu Brijendra Swarup, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
 112 Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra, Lucknow.
 113 Mr. Ayodhyadas, Bar-at-Law, Anand Bhawan, Gorakhpur.
 114 Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, M.L.C., Ranimandi, Allahabad.
 115 Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunj, Lucknow.
 116 Rai Bahadur Pandit Badri Dutt Joshi, Nainital.
 117 Mr. Dalip Man Singh, Advocate, Fatehpur.
 118 Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shibalaya, Benares City.
 119 The Hon. Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdis Prasad, Muzaffarnagar.

THE PUNJAB.

- 120 Pandit Haradatta Sharma, Servants of India Society, Lahore.
 121 Mr. B. L. Ralia Ram, Post Box No. 133, Lahore.
 122 Mr. Manohar Lal, Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
 123 Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, Lahore.
 124 Lala Keshav Ram Shekhri, M.L.C, Vakil, Amritsar.
 125 Rai Bahadur Lala Durga Das, 16, Mozang Road, Lahore.
 126 Mr. Chunilal Mathur, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
 127 Lala Harkishan Lal, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
 128 Lala Fakir Chand, M.L.C, Fane Road, Lahore.

BERAR.

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

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

- 142 Sir Sorabji Mehta, Kt., C.I.E., The Emprèss Mills, Nagpur.
 143 Sir Bishweswar Das Daga, Kt., Civil Lines, Nagpur.
 144 Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewalla, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
 145 Pandit Sitacharan Dube, Hoshangabad.

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- 146 Rao Bahadur M. G. Deshpande, Nagpur.
- 147 Mr. N. A. Dravid, M.A., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
- 148 Rao Saheb R. S. Satarkar, Nagpur.
- 149 Khan Bahadur M. E. R. Malak, Craddock Town, Nagpur.
- 150 Rao Bahadur K. B. Sheory, Nagpur City

BIHAR & ORISSA.

- 151 Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, M.L.C., Maksudpur House, Gaya.
- 152 Babu Lakshmi Narayan Sahu, Servants of India Society, Cuttack.
- 153 Babu Madho Prasad, Patna.

ASSAM.

- 154 Mr. Chandradhar Barua, Jorhat.

APPENDIX E.

The following songs were sung by Sangit Chudamani Vinayakboa Patwardhan, Principal, Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, Poona, at the commencement of the third day's proceedings:

ईशस्तुति.

राग-सारंग.

मधुर तुझे प्रभु चरण नमावे । नाम तुझे कवनीं गावे ॥ ध्रु० ॥
विश्वकमल हें सहज उमलले ।
तव रूपाचे पराग फुलले ।
प्रेममरंदें सुरुचिर भरले ।
जीवभृंग तेथे धावे ॥ १ ॥
निःस्वार्थनिं मरंदपानीं ।
रत होउनी तो दिनरजनीं ।
तव रूपाचे अणु होवोनी ।
मुक्तिपदाते मग पावे ॥ २ ॥

स्वागताचें पद.

आनंदानें स्वागत करुं या
सुदिन खचित हा आज उदेला
बंधुभगिनिजनवृंद पातला
कर्मवीर जे पूज्य गोखले
स्मृतिमंदिरिं या स्वागत केले ॥ ध्रु. ॥
हृदयनाथ हा नाथ सभेचा
कुशल कुंझरू हा जनतेचा
कर्णधार हा होइल साचा
यशोदायिनी आज सभेचा ॥ ध्रु. ॥
कर्णकुशल तव मार्गदर्शनें
स्वराज्यमंदिर उघड करानें
पूर्ण कराया हेतु मनींचा
आज झटूं या स्वातंत्र्याचा ॥ ध्रु. ॥