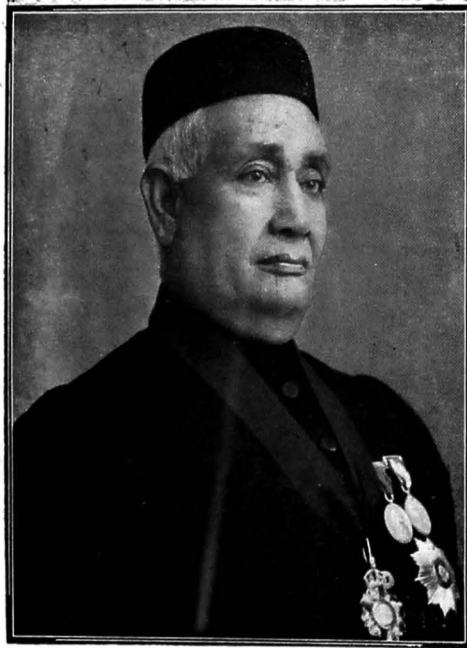


REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India
HELD AT LUCKNOW
On December 29, 30 and 31, 1936

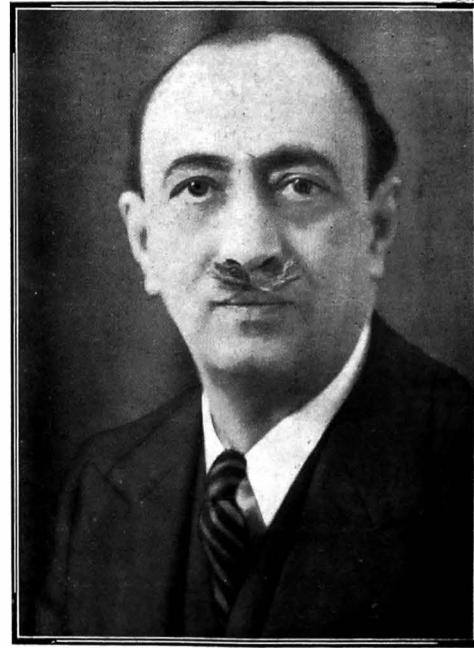


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Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.,
Chairman of the Reception
Committee.



Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart.,
K.C.I.E., M.L.A.,
President.

DEDICATED

By his Sorrowing Colleagues

TO THE HONOURED MEMORY

OF

RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH, K. C. I. E.,

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Eighteenth

Session of the National Liberal Federation of

India held at Lucknow in the December

of 1936,

Who as President of the National Liberal Association of Oudh had invited the Federation to hold the session at Lucknow and keenly interested himself in its success notwithstanding continued ill-health which prevented him from taking part in the deliberations and carried him away in the first week of April 1937, leaving the Liberal Party and the United Provinces much the poorer without him.

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INTRODUCTION

Addressing the seventh session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in 1891 Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress, expressed a sense of thankfulness that the Congress had lived to hold its seventh session. This he did because of the activity of opponents and the apathy of supporters against which it had to contend. The Congress—although not that Congress—has now completed nearly 52 years of existence. The members of the Indian Liberal Party have much greater reason for thankfulness that their organization is still living after 19 years of existence. This is so because of the circumstances in which it lives, moves and has its being. Mankind has perhaps a weakness for extremes. This may be the reason why at present a moderate party appears to have little chance in almost any country. On the continent of Europe popular allegiance seems by choice or necessity to be divided between the two extremes of fascism and communism. In England the Liberal party, which stands for the maximum liberty of the subject and equal opportunity for all, is almost crushed between the upper millstone of toriyism which stands for privilege and prescription and the nether millstone of socialism which is all for the masses against the classes. This tendency of people to fly to either of two opposite ends is accentuated in India due to alien domination. A people once awakened to national consciousness and adjured in the name of national honour to throw off the foreign yoke, is naturally prone to prefer such an appeal to counsels which take account of what is feasible as they do not flatter the national vanity. When this sentimental consideration is strengthened by dire poverty which is attributed to the nature of the government under which the people live, the chance of middle opinion is further reduced. It is not that such opinion is condemned on the merits. But human nature in politics is least swayed by reason. At present the principles and policy of the Liberal Party are approved by vastly larger numbers than are represented by the attenuated ranks of the party itself. After years of wandering in the wilderness of whirlwind agitation the popular body which has endeared itself to large numbers by the boldness and novelty of its programme, its partiality for demonstrations and the voluntary suffering of thousands of its votaries in the pursuit of its policy, has at last come to believe in parliamentary action and is today in office in seven out of 11 provinces of the country. What actually the Congress ministries will achieve will not be known for some time to come. Prophecy is futile and nowhere more than in the sphere of politics. But if a reasoned anticipation of probabilities is permissible, it may be doubted whether the ministries will find the effectuation of their large and reckless promises to the electorate to be at all practicable. At the moment the British element in provincial governments has been cast into the background. Governors have so far betrayed no disposition to interpose by the exercise of special powers between the ministries and their programmes. Whether the financial limitation will not prove almost fatal to the execution of substantial parts of those programmes and whether a struggle

between the haves and have-nots, of which the small beginnings are already visible, will really become a serious affair, cannot now be said. Everyone will hope in the interests of the nation that for once fears instead of hopes may prove to be dupes and that everything may turn out well in the end. That will be the greatest vindication of the principles and policy for which the Liberal Party has faithfully and continuously stood in the face of persistent calumny and misrepresentation. The triumph of Liberalism, which is what this will be in effect, will be gratefully acclaimed by Liberals even if the Liberal Party as such may perish. It will be the modern illustration, if on a small scale, of captive Greece triumphing over victorious Rome. If, on the other hand, the more extreme doctrines of the section of Congressmen known as Congress socialists—not a few of them are in reality communists—should prevail over more moderate counsels inside that organization, what the end may be nobody can foresee now with any degree of precision, but there is a general fear that it will be more disastrous than beneficial to the country. The remedy may easily prove worse than the disease even if it may not kill the patient.

When the 18th session of the National Liberal Federation of India assembled at Lucknow in the Christmas of last year the first elections under the new Government of India Act had not been held and it was uncertain what the Congress might do where it was returned to the legislature in a majority. This circumstance will render clear the nature of its proceedings. It was the fourth session of the Federation held in the United Provinces and the second at Lucknow. The invitation to Lucknow was extended principally by Raja Sir Rampal Singh, the leader of Oudh Liberals. Unfortunately he was confined to his bed of sickness during the major part of the year and actually he was not able even to be present at the session. He was the unanimously elected chairman of the reception committee but his address had to be read for him by his brother, the venerated Thakur Hanuman Singh, a most faithful Liberal who acted as chairman in his brother's absence. It is a public misfortune that since then Raja Saheb has passed away. He was a friend and supporter of many good causes and the talukdars, the Liberals, the Hindus and the province generally are much the poorer for his death, which is mourned by large numbers. Raja Sir Rampal Singh in his speech struck a decisive note in favour of the Liberal Party and made a fervent appeal to his fellow-landlords to give up both their isolation and their helpless dependence on the Government. The landlords are at present feeling acutely the hostile attitude of the Congress towards their class and fearing what Congress ministries may not do against their interests. It is unfortunate that still they continue to be disorganized and consequently ineffectual in action. The middle class Liberals seem to be almost paralyzed by their powerlessness before the mass appeal of the Congress. Liberals stand equally for the classes and the masses. But the upper ten of society continue to be stagnant and purposeless while the lower million are living in the fond hope of witnessing the new heaven and the new earth promised to them by the Congress.

The President of the session was Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a highly respected citizen of Bombay and the head of a family which has rendered itself illustrious and honoured by its many public benefactions. Sir Cowasjee is honest, public-spirited and responsible-minded. His address

reflects these qualities and may be commended for its genuine expression of the thoughts and aspirations of reformers as distinguished from revolutionaries as well as reactionaries.

In its resolutions the last session of the Federation, while keeping steadfastly to the principles and the policy of the party, at the same time took note of circumstances as they were at the time of its deliberations. Lovers of the theatrical may condemn them as being of the humdrum variety. But it is of the essence of Liberalism that it does not believe in heroics and does not do things merely for winning the applause of the market-place. Liberals rather wish that their programme and policy should be judged by the standard of what is right and wrong, what is practical and what is only visionary, what really does good to the people instead of merely pleasing them. Judged by these tests, no Liberal either fears or doubts that the conclusions recorded in the Federation's resolutions will not commend themselves to competent and impartial judges of matters political, social and economic.

If nothing succeeds like success, the counter-part of this proposition is unfortunately equally true. Do what they may, there does not appear to be an early chance of popular success for the Liberal Party any more in India than in England. Luckily the same may not be said of Liberalism as distinguished from the Liberal Party. If Liberals, instead of yielding to despair, keep their flag flying and remain steadfast in their convictions and faithful to their principles, they can still serve their country and— who knows? stranger things have happened—may even win back the confidence of their countrymen. God grant that this may happen.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA

Eighteenth Annual Session

Text of Resolutions

I.—King George V

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of deep regret at the death of King George the fifth. In His Late Majesty—England, India and the Empire have lost a Sovereign of high personal character, assiduous devotion to duty and deep solicitude for the well-being and advancement of his subjects.

(Put from the Chair and carried unanimously, the audience standing in silence.)

II.—King Edward VIII

The National Liberal Federation of India deeply regrets that King Edward the Eighth, eldest son of King George the Fifth, who ascended the Throne after the demise of his royal father, is no longer King-Emperor. He had won immense popularity as Prince of Wales and had given promise of serving the true interests of the Empire as its Sovereign. The Federation regrets that circumstances led him to renounce the Throne. It wishes him many years of unclouded happiness.

(Put from the Chair and carried unanimously and in silence.)

III.—King George VI

The National Liberal Federation of India offers its loyal homage to King George the Sixth on his accession to the Throne and, prays that His Majesty may reign long over his subjects and that his reign may be signalized by the early achievement by India of the full status and rights of a Dominion.

(Put from the Chair and carried unanimously and with acclamation.)

IV.—The Liberal Party's Losses

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound sorrow for the death of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the veteran publicist and patriot, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and the National Liberal Federation, who after valuable services to the nation during an active public life that extended over two generations, commanded respect everywhere by his high character and unselfish spirit.
- (b) The Federation records with sorrow the death of Sir M. Ramachandra Rao of Madras, an expresident of the Federation; of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. Surendra Nath Mullick of Bengal; of Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Mr. V. N. Despande, and Rao Bahadur B. V. Chinmulgund of Bombay, and Rao Bahadur Dr. W. R. Bhat of Berar, all of them staunch Liberals who in their respective spheres rendered distinguished public services.

- (c) The Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to all the bereaved families.

(Put from the Chuir and carried unanimously, the audience standing in silence.)

V.—The New Constitution

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reiterates its considered opinion that the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.
- (b) Nonetheless, the Federation repeats that it has to be utilized to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to further constitutional advance towards Dominion Status. Therefore it expresses the earnest hope that in the elections to the new provincial Legislatures the electorates will return nationalist candidates who will neither attempt the impossible nor be subservient to authority nor prefer sectional interests to national, but will do their best for the well-being and advancement of the people as a whole.
- (c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that, in the constitution of Ministries and in the actual working of government, Governors of provinces should not further whittle down such meagre concessions as the Act has made to Indian demands; but if Governors use their powers so as to impede the political or economic progress of the country the Ministers should resign their offices.
- (d) The Federation urges that no concession should be made to the Princes, in the course of the negotiations now going on between them and the agents of the Viceroy, with regard to the establishment of the Federation, which is calculated to increase still more the powers of the Princes at the expense of the Federal Government.

[Proposed by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras), seconded by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Lucknow), supported by Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay) and Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad), and *carried unanimously.*]

VI.—Reform in Indian States

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civic and political liberties.
- (b) The Federation deeply regrets that no provision has been made in the new Government of India Act for the election of representatives of the States in the coming Federal Legislature or for the recognition of the people's fundamental rights of citizenship. The Federation, however, hopes that the rulers of Indian States will allow their representatives in the Federal Legislatures to be returned by election.

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

[Proposed by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad), seconded by Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal (Benares), supported by Mr. V. Venkatasubaiyah (Madras), and *carried unanimously.*]

VII.—Indians Overseas

SOUTH AFRICA

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great appreciation of the friendly sentiments towards India expressed by the parliamentary delegation from the Union of South Africa. At the same time, in reciprocating these sentiments it expresses the ardent hope that, as a result of the closer contacts established between the Governments and peoples of the two countries, the Union Government and Parliament will take speedy and effective steps to establish equal status, under the law, of the resident Indian community, of whom at least 80 per cent. are born within the Union,

BURMA

- (b) The Federation expresses the hope and expectation that, following the separation of Burma from India, the Indian population, which has made so large and important a contribution to the stability and prosperity of Burma, will be enabled to continue to do so in collaboration with their Burmese fellow-citizens.

ADEN

- (c) Whilst appreciating the safeguards contained in the India Act of the rights and status of the Indian community of Aden, the Federation keenly regrets the separation of Aden from India. It urges that nothing should be done, whether by the local administration or by the Indian Legislature, to imperil the economic welfare of the community.

CEYLON

- (a) The Federation has observed with regret the evidence of strained relations between India and Ceylon, affecting not only immigrants but also the permanent Indian population of the Island. The Federation is of opinion that nothing could be more harmful than the perpetuation of misunderstanding between Ceylon and India, and request the Government of India to take every possible step, in conjunction with the Governments of Ceylon, Travancore and Cochin, to ascertain the facts underlying existing disputes, with a view to the early application of remedies satisfactory to all these Governments and the peoples they represent. At the same time, whilst regretting the absence of an Indian from the present Government of Ceylon, the Federation would welcome the appointment by that Government of an Agent with the Government of India.

MALAYA

- (e) The Federation welcomes the despatch to Malaya of the Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri as a delegation to inquire into the conditions and welfare of the Indian labourers in Malaya and to report thereon to the Government of India. The Federation further hope that opportunity may be given to Mr. Sastri to ascertain any grievances or disabilities under which the permanent Indian population of Malaya may labour.

FIJI

- (f) In expressing its gratification that, largely as a result of the intervention of the Government of India the franchise has been kept up in Fiji notwithstanding the attempt to deprive the electorate of its constitutional rights, the Federation deeply regrets that the principle of nomination has also been adopted by His Majesty's Government, so that divisions may be artificially created in the Indian community. The Federation urges that steps may be taken to enable Indians numbering about 78,000, mostly, Fiji-born, to acquire permanent title to land under all necessary safeguards of the rights of the Fijian population, numbering about 98,000.

BRITISH GUIANA AND TRINIDAD

- (g) The Federation feels grave anxiety regarding the economic welfare of the Indian population of British Guiana and Trinidad, and requests the Government of India to acquaint the public with its observations on the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the recent riots on certain estates in the former colony.

KENYA

- (h) The Federation learns with satisfaction that the administrative disqualification of the Indian population regarding the ownership or occupation of agricultural land in the Highlands of Kenya is not to have the sanction of law. The Federation, however, continues to protest against even the administrative disqualification imposed upon Indians who, by their enterprise and initiative, have contributed greatly to the opening up and development of Kenya including the Highlands, and hopes that the Government of India will take steps to secure administrative equality for the resident Indian community.

ZANZIBAR

- (i) The Federation has learnt with grave alarm the substance of the report of the Binder Inquiry regarding the legislation concerning the Zanzibar clove industry and apprehends further serious injury therefrom to the Indian community whom it is sought to deprive of their ancient control of the clove export trade. The Federation urges the Government of India to take all possible steps without delay to protect the Indian community of Zanzibar both as regards this industry and as regards its other interests in the Protectorate, against these sustained efforts at expropriation and ruin.

INDIAN AGENTS

- (j) The Federation will welcome the appointment by the Government of India of Agents in East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and other British territories which have substantial Indian populations and interests, and requests the Indian Legislature to make financial provision therefor.

APPRECIATION

- (k) The Federation records its sense of appreciation of the attitude of the Government of India towards, and their efforts on behalf of Indian nationals settled abroad and expresses the strong hope that the Government will continue to support their cause with unwavering fidelity and redoubled vigour.
- [Proposed by Mr. B. N. C. Barucha (Bombay), seconded by Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube (Lucknow), supported by Mr. B. B. Roy (Calcutta), and *carried unanimously*.]

VIII—Economic Development

- (a) Keenly alive as the National Liberal Federation of India is to the distressing poverty of the mass of people in India and to the acute state of unemployment specially among the educated middle class, the Federation is convinced of the necessity of bold and far-reaching measures of social and economic amelioration which would recognise the legitimate rights of all classes. Such measures alone can ensure ordered progress and avert anything in the nature of a resolution disastrous to all.
- (b) The Federation emphasizes, as it did at earlier sessions, the imperative need of the widest diffusion of education, agricultural improvement, industrial development and commercial expansion.
- (c) In particular the Federation urges—
- (1) a reform of agrarian laws which will secure the tenantry in their legitimate rights, principally fixity of tenure and fair rents ;
 - (2) the embodiment in legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not yet been done ;
 - (3) the relief of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards, land mortgage banks and the extension of the cooperative movement ;
 - (4) the adoption of measures to check further fragmentations and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings ;
 - (5) substantial State aid in the development of industries big and small alike ;
 - (6) a fiscal and a monetary policy wholly in the interests of this country ;
 - (7) legislation for the more adequate protection of the labouring classes both in urban and rural areas ;
 - (8) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls.

- (9) such reform of the system of education as is indicated by the great and increasing difficulty experienced by educated young men in getting employment, without prejudice to the wider diffusion of liberal education but with special regard to the training of larger numbers for wealth-producing occupations by increase of facilities for technical education ;
- (10) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas ;
- (11) an active policy of Temperance reform which will sub-ordinate considerations of revenue to the welfare of the people.

[Proposed by the hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad), seconded by Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay), supported by Dr. Rajeshwar Bali (Barabanki), Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra (Lucknow) and Dr. D. L. Dubey (Meerut), and *carried unanimously.*]

IX.—Government and University Education

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

[Proposed by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay), seconded by Mr. Surendra Nath Varma (Allahabad), supported by Mr. M. S. Sardar (Sholapur), and *carried unanimously.*]

X.—Military Policy and Expenditure

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India again condemns the continued unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The Government's unfavourable attitude is the more objectionable as the advance of India to self-government is held up on the plea of the unreadiness of Indians to assume responsibility for the defence of the country—readiness for which the whole of the responsibility lies on the British Government.
- (b) The Federation urges that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities.
- (c) The Federation urges a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor.
- (d) The Federation strongly objects to the exclusion of Indians from the Auxiliary Force and urges the amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.
- (e) The Federation reaffirms its grave concern at the continued maintenance of military expenditure at a level which is neither just to the Indian taxpayer nor within his capacity to bear, and

which further accounts for the present very high level of taxation and the lack of funds for financing schemes of social reform and economic development.

[Proposed by the hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú (Allahabad), seconded by Mr. B. N. Gokhale (Bombay), supported by Mr. S. M. Bose (Calcutta), and *carried unanimously.*]

XI.—Repressive Legislation and the Andamans

- (a) The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Acts and the several provincial Special Powers Acts, which continue on the Statute Book and perpetuate or prolong the extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, virtually free of judicial control, first in the form of Ordinances and next in the form of Legislation. The legitimate liberty of the Press and the public is seriously menaced by these Acts, and the Federation, therefore, urges their immediate repeal.
- (b) The Federation also protests against the arbitrary use of the Sea Customs Act for the proscription of books.
- (c) The Federation also protests against the continued detention of suspected persons without trial, leading to widespread, dissatisfaction and urges the release or judicial trial of the persons so detained.
- (d) The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic protest against the Government's policy in reviving the Andamans as a penal settlement for political offenders despite the assurances given by the Government of India in this regard. The conditions prevailing in that penal settlement have caused great hardship and unnecessary suffering to the political prisoners who have been transported there, and the Federation, therefore, urges upon the Government the necessity of an immediate reversal of its present policy in this matter.

[Proposed by Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. M. D. Shahane (Nagpur), and *carried unanimously.*]

XII.—Untouchability

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its condemnation of "untouchability" and, while noting with gratification the progress of the nation-wide movement for amelioration and reform, again exhorts all classes of people to render it active aid.
- (b) The Federation congratulates His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on his memorable proclamation throwing open to all Hindus all the State temples of his territory, and hopes that his Highness's example may be widely followed both in other States and in British India.

[Proposed by Mr. E. Vinayak Rao (Madras), seconded by Rao Raja Shyam Behari Misra (Lucknow), supported by Mr. K. S. Negi (Allahabad), and *carried unanimously.*]

XIII—Council and Office-Bearers for 1937

- (a) The Federation elects Mr. A. D. Shroff and Mr. B. N. Gokhale as its General Secretaries for the year 1937.
- (b) The Federation elects the under-mentioned Council for the year 1937.

(The list of members is printed in Appendix D.)

[Put from the Chair and carried unanimously.]

XIV—The Next Session

The Federation resolves that its Nineteenth Session be held at Calcutta in the Christmas of 1937.

[Proposed by Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. N. C. Ray (Calcutta), and *carried unanimously.*]

COWASJI JEHangIR

LUCKNOW,
Dec. 31, 1936.

*President, Eighteenth Annual Session of the
National Liberal Federation of India.*

The National Liberal Federation of India

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

Lucknow, Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1936

First Day's Proceedings

The eighteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India opened in the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Hall, Lucknow, at 2 p. m. on Tuesday, December 29. The hall and its approaches were artistically decorated with flags and festoons. The hall was also beautified by photoes of our national leaders, past and present, and select mottoes. The motto overhanging the *dais* was: 'No nation can prosper under foreign rule', and the one opposite to it at the other end was 'Unity our strength'. Two other inspiring mottoes on either side of the hall were: 'Swaraj our birthright' and 'Liberalism our creed'.

The vast hall was filled to its fullest capacity by members of the reception committee, delegates and visitors including Mr. H. S. L. Polak and a fairly good number of Indian ladies. The delegates represented nearly all provinces and most districts of the United Provinces.

The arrival of the President-elect, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who was accompanied by Lady Jehangir, was announced by music by the Seva Samiti scouts. He was received at the entrance by the Acting Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M. L. C., in the unavoidable absence of the Chairman, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, and by the other office-bearers and the captain of the volunteers and led to the dais in a procession which included the ex-Presidents who were present and the general secretaries. Those seated on the dais along with Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Thakur Hanuman Singh were Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. J. N. Basu, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, ex-Presidents of the Federation, Dr. Jagat Narain, ex-Minister, (Nawab Yar Jang) Mirza Samiullah Beg, Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court, and Lady Jehangir.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of Vande Mataram by students of the Kanyakubja College, Lucknow, and another melodious song in which a few girls also joined.

The Acting Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M. L. C., on rising to speak was received with cheers. He said:

'Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry that due to illness my brother, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, is unable to be present here today. He is deeply sorry and disappointed that he has to deny himself the pleasure and privilege of welcoming you in person. In his absence it is my privilege to accord to you all a most cordial welcome to Lucknow for this session of the Liberal Federation. Raja Sir Rampal Singh has, however, sent the speech which he would have delivered if he had been present. It will be read to you by my friend, Mr. Andrews Dube, one of the secretaries of the Reception Committee.'

Chairman's Speech

The following is the text of the speech of Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, which was read by Mr. Dube :—

Fellow-Liberals. Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am more sorry than I can tell that it has not been given to me to enjoy the pleasure of welcoming you in person. Continued ill-health, followed by an obstinate ailment, has imprisoned me in my room and I am neither permitted nor able to attend the session of the Federation and take my proper share in your deliberations. I apologize to you for this omission, but I trust that you in your generosity will recognize that it is less my fault than my misfortune. I am thankful to my colleagues of the reception committee for having made all arrangements for your reception without my active cooperation. For any defects in those arrangements and for any inconvenience you may consequently suffer I crave your indulgence. I accord to you all a most cordial welcome to this historic city and I pray that the deliberations of this, the eighteenth session of the National Liberal Federation of India may be blessed by God Almighty with complete success.

It was 12 years ago that a session of the Federation was held in this city under the presidentship of our distinguished countryman and now my friend and fellow-citizen, Dr. Paranjpye, of the same province from which our President-elect hails. Several faces familiar to us at that session we now sadly miss. The chairman of its reception committee, my friend the late Mr. A. P. Sen, a genuine patriot and sturdy nationalist, is, also, no more. We have lost too in the interval Pandit (afterwards Justice) Gokaran Nath Misra, who, after the late Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, to whom this hall is dedicated, was our most assiduous worker in public causes. With them was my friend, Babu Bisheswar Nath Srivastava, happily still hale and hearty, and I am sure still with us in opinion, but not available to us for active service as he now adorns the bench of the Chief Court of Oudh. In the present temper of this country and the world as a whole sane middle opinion represented by Liberalism is unfortunately at a discount. Broadly speaking, the upper ten and the lower million are arrayed in mutual conflict in the serried ranks of fascism and communism. Democratic countries headed by England are a fortunate exception. In our own land the poverty of the masses and the discontent of the classes have conspired to make the new Congress—I advisedly say 'new' as I see in it no lineaments of the Congress with which we were familiar—with its slogans of separation from England, direct action and socialism, more popular than is good for the ordered progress of the country. And we find this answered by the regrettable tendency of a section of the propertied classes to rally round the banner of the bureaucratic government and act as its subsidiary allies. The result is that our organization is not as large and does not make as stirring a popular appeal as we could all wish it did. Still, I am glad that our party is by no means stagnant. It would not be Liberal if it was. Steadily, if rather slowly, the class to which I belong has been realizing the unwisdom of remaining isolated or merely hanging on to the coat-tails of the Government and is gradually coming forward to take its place in public organizations and among public workers, with the result that to this session of the Federation at Lucknow a noteworthy contribution has been made by taluqdars and other landlords. Presently I shall have more to say on this point.

King George V

Before I proceed farther it is my melancholy duty to refer to the losses we have sustained during the year. It opened badly with the death of his Majesty King George the Fifth. By his high personal character, his single-minded devotion to duty, his fidelity to the principles of constitutionalism and his assiduous public services, King George V truly endeared himself to all races and all classes of his subjects in every country of the empire. And nowhere was the attachment to his Throne and person deeper than in India. His late Majesty gave many unmistakable proofs of his solicitude for the well-being and advancement of his Indian subjects. He it was who spoke with sympathy of India's national aspiration for Swaraj and her ardent desire to be a member of the Commonwealth on equal terms with the present self-governing dominions. We offer our respectful sympathy to her Majesty Queen Mary and her royal children in their great sorrow.

King Edward VIII

King George V was succeeded by his eldest son, whose visit to us fifteen years ago as Prince of Wales is still fresh in our memory. He charmed every one who saw him. As the heir-apparent to the Throne he took pains to acquaint himself personally with every country of the empire and qualified himself to be a worthy successor of his father. It is most lamentable that his promising reign was abruptly cut short in circumstances which have caused deep pain to every true-hearted and right-thinking person. You will pardon me if I prefer to say no more on this disagreeable theme. But I am sure I represent the feelings of one and all of you when I express a sense of great admiration for his heroic sacrifice and my prayerful good wishes for his long life and happiness.

King George VI

We all offer our loyal homage to his brother and successor who was well known as his Royal Highness the Duke of York and will in time be better known as his Majesty King George the Sixth. To him and to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, and to their daughters the royal princesses, we wish every happiness. Let us all hope that the reign of King George VI may prove to be as beneficent as those of his three ancestors and further, that during his reign India may realize her destiny and become a free and equal partner in the Commonwealth of nations of which England is the head and crown.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha

We have sad losses to record among our ranks. My first reference should be to the veteran and venerable Sir Dinshaw Wacha. A man of sterling character and unselfish public spirit, Sir Dinshaw Wacha passed away at the age of 92 after public services which extended over two generations. His encyclopaedic knowledge was the despair of admiring observers, while his plain speaking and transparent sincerity won the respect of every one—yes, even of the victims of his explosions. He was one of the founders of this National Liberal Federation—as he had been of the Indian National Congress—and the chairman of the reception committee of its first session. And for as long as health permitted, he gave the party

the benefit of his unequalled experience. He belonged to the generation of giants now no more and will always be remembered with Dadabhai Naoroji and Pheroze Shah Mehta as making up the trio of great Parsi patriots.

Two other Patriots

We have lost during the year several other good men and true. With your permission I will make a brief reference to two of them. In the earlier part of the year passed away Sir M. Ramachandra Rao, who presided over our session held at Calcutta about three and half years ago. He was a man remarkable for his conscientious industry, accurate and extensive knowledge and complete honesty. We could ill-afford to lose a man of his worth. This very month has seen the death of another veteran. In Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, who lived to the ripe age of 84, Bengal and India have lost a man respected for deep piety, high character, devoted patriotism and long public life. He was the chairman of the reception committee of the eighth session of our Federation held at Calcutta in 1925.

To the families of these and other late colleagues of ours who have left us the poorer for their loss I offer, on your behalf and mine, our sympathy in their bereavement.

The Present Situation

I will not detain you with criticisms of the new constitution that is partly going to come, into force in April next. That task has been done more than once and by more Liberals than one with great ability and at considerable length. At this stage it is of no advantage for us to point out the defects and objectionable features of the new constitution. They are many as well as serious. But we have to recognize the logic of accomplished facts and proceed now to consider what our public duty requires at the present stage. Elections to the first provincial legislative assemblies and councils under the new constitution are in progress. Every party in the country is taking keen interest in them. No longer is there any wild talk of boycott of the legislatures. For the time being at any rate, non-cooperation has become a memory of the past. The monopolists of patriotism are engaged at the present moment not in hatching schemes of triple boycott or mass civil disobedience but in trying to get into the legislatures in numbers as large as possible. They continue to mutter the accents of wreckers, and it may be that if they had the power they would proceed to put their threats into execution. But, fellow-Liberals, every student of the new Government of India Act knows very well or ought to know that it is proof against tactics of wrecking. I assume that this tall talk of wrecking followed by a visionary constituent assembly, is merely intended to mislead the unfortunately uninstructed electorate into the fond belief that Congressmen are a species of humanity different from the rest of us and that they have some occult means of achieving the impossible. The strong probability is, as has been abundantly demonstrated by our experience of the activities of Congress members in various legislative bodies during the last thirteen years, that once they are there they will be very much like other nationalist members, save for noise and bombast, and also periodical staging of walks out; that once the elections are over they are likely to seek the cooperation of persons and parties now ostentatiously condemned and that they will be

interested in exploring the possibilities more of office than of destruction. I am frightened less by their election talk than by the foundations they are laying of a class war which will ruin both the classes and the masses and may only be of advantage to a third party. I was, among those who had hoped that in the presence of a grave national crisis wiser counsels would prevail with Congressmen and that they would make common cause with all other nationalists in the country in order to minimize harm to extract the maximum good that even an unsatisfactory constitution could be made to yield in favourable circumstances. I have been disappointed. This being so, I had hoped that all non-Congress sections of society would realize the necessity of averting public mischief in the way of socialistic programmes, ill-considered and undigested, the one certain effect of which will be still further to accentuate divisions among a people already more than sufficiently disunited. Here too, I must confess to a sad sense of disappointment. Instead of non-Congressmen seeking means of unity among themselves, a section of them, at least in these provinces, has been casting wistful glances at the authority which bestows patronage, and has formed a new organization which is encouraged by Government but eyed with distrust by the majority of independent-minded men.

Parties which are organized for the purpose of achieving selfish ends and have no broad outlook and have not the interests of the country at heart, can do no good either to the people as a whole or to the zamindar class in particular. Such parties cannot but be short-lived. And landlords' participation in them can only be futile. Therefore, such parties should not receive the support of any right-thinking landlord. I must regretfully confess that I too was guilty of joining such a party, but my participation was due to the pressure of those who had always been my supporters and to whom I owe much. But as soon as I discovered my mistake I severed my connection with it. In these days any political body which prospers under gubernatorial patronage cannot survive long and can never enjoy the confidence of the people.

Liberal Party and Landlords

It is my deliberate conviction that the Liberal Party is the only party which may be joined by the landlords if they wish that they should play their part in the politics of the country. The Liberal Party stands for the legitimate rights of all. It strives to give full scope to every interest, every class and every community to pursue the path of orderly progress and advancement equally in matters social, economic and political, always keeping in view the achievement of the political freedom of the Motherland. A political party which has such principles cannot do any harm to any section of our countrymen. Those landlords who think that the Liberal Party is opposed to their legitimate interests are wrong. It is a party whose portals are ever open to landlords, tenants, industrialists and persons of all professions and of every stratum of society. By joining it people can settle their differences and bring about union amongst the different classes for the achievement of the common goal. Legitimate rights in land should be shared by landlords and tenants alike. Without this the peaceful progress of neither will be possible. The best advantage that the landlords can derive from being members of the Liberal Party is

that they will come in close contact with the best brains of the country and the intelligentsia in general. This will have the effect of liberalizing their parochial views and widening their political horizon and it will turn their thoughts to higher ideals instead of limiting them to their petty self-interest. I am strongly of opinion that the landlords should enter the political arena and take their full share in the constitutional battle for the freedom of the country. India's good lies in being an equal partner in the British Commonwealth and in attaining a constitution on the basis of Dominion Status. Whatever advancement the country is able to achieve will be shared by landlords, tenants and all.

Government Attitude

I am surprised that the Government looks askance at the Liberal Party, which has the most honest intentions to serve the country and in no true sense unfriendly to it. It seeks to reform and not to subvert or overthrow it. Its attitude is always discriminating. When it criticizes Government policies and measures, it does so in the spirit of the physician who gives unpleasant medicines to heal and not to kill. But if the Congress is perverse at one end, the Government is blind at the other. It favours parties created and in existence chiefly to flatter the Government and bask in the sunshine of its favour. These, it thinks, are its real well-wishers. Yet at least some members of such parties have been and are known to keep on terms with Congress—of course taking care the while that their official patrons are kept ignorant of their secret doings—the moment it was thought to be going strong. I cannot understand the Government's attitude as it is a body of highly intelligent and instructed men, except by reference to their love of flattery and a selfish desire to continue to be our masters as the real ruling authority behind a facade of apparently constitutional devices. This is against all of their own professions. I have two things to say of this. The first is that we will not have it. We will not tolerate any more of domination. The second is that it is opposed to the best interests of the British connection with India. In a long view such an attitude is tantamount to empire-wrecking. The Liberal Party wants political regeneration by constitutional means unlike the Congress which is desirous of creating a revolution and upsetting the whole fabric of society and government. The policy of the Congress, if carried out, cannot but be disastrous to the Motherland. It can only bring chaos out of which it will be very difficult to evolve an orderly government.

Fellow-Liberals, I will not detain you longer. You have assembled here in the service of the Motherland. Your mission is lofty. It must have the sympathy, if not the active public support of all thoughtful persons. Throughout my life I have uniformly acted in the belief that the salvation of the whole and of every part of the Indian nation lies in cooperation and not in antagonism or exclusiveness. My opinions have, I hope, been always liberal, though I was not always a member of the Liberal Party. Now I am convinced more than ever that the country's future can only be secured by the employment of Liberal methods, whether through the present Liberal Party or through any other and similar organization. I emphatically do not want, and the country cannot be truly served by, either revolution or stagnation. The thing I dread and abhor most is anything.

like a class war. I wish you all the blessings of Providence in the responsible deliberations of this session and I pray for the success of the Liberal Party.

Once more I apologize to you for my enforced absence from your midst, which is a source of greater regret and disappointment to me than it can be to any of you, and I accord to you all a most cordial welcome to this important city and province.

Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, secretary of the Reception Committee, then read messages of regret at absence and good wishes for the success of the session which were received from amongst others, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, ex-President, Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan and Mr. C. Lakshmi Narayana Sastri (Madras); the hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna, ex-President, Sir Govind Rao Pradhan, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Rao Bahadur K. S. Jathar, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Diwan Bahadur Chunnihal M. Gandhi and Mr. A. V. Patwardhan (Bombay); Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Berar); Mr. A. S. N. Murty (Orissa); Mr. Hindlekar (Bhor); Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Rai Bahadur Pandit Gur Sewak Upadhyaya and Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad (U. P). Some of these messages are published in an appendix.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.—Proposing the election of Sir Cowasji Jehangir as the President of the session, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay) said: Mr. Chairman, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing Sir Cowasji Jehangir as the president of this session. This session of the Liberal Federation is the fourth one that is being held in the United Provinces and on the three previous occasions you had presidents from Bombay. (Mr. Chintamani: Hear, hear.) The United Provinces have thereby done great honour to Bombay. But modest as I am, I will not suggest for a moment that that honour is not deserved by Bombay. (Laughter.)

As you are all aware Bombay gave to the service of the country Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Tilak and several others, and we must not forget that it is Bombay again that has given Gandhi to India. Therefore, the honour that you are repeating in favour of Bombay by the election of Sir Cowasji Jehangir is, I venture to say, very well deserved. (Hear, hear.)

Ladies and gentlemen, we are at present in a critical stage in our political evolution. We have on the one hand the British Government not at all sufficiently responsive to public demands and, on the other hand, we have a band of restless spirits who want socialism in this country. If by socialism, ladies and gentlemen, is meant a more equitable distribution of profits between capital and labour, the providing of equal opportunities and a decent standard of living for all or even in some cases the nationalization of certain industries, we are all for socialism. The socialism that is at present advocated in this country is not socialism of that character at all. What is advocated is socialism of the Soviet Russia type which must and cannot but lead to social strife in this country. It is in these circumstances that we are meeting today in this session of the Liberal Federation

and it is for us assembled here to give a proper lead to the country because Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the president of the Indian National Congress, however much he may sugar the pill, wants socialism of the Soviet Russia type. No doubt he proclaimed that what he wanted for India first was a democratic form of government, but he did not stop there, ladies and gentlemen. He said that once democratic government is established in India, the logic of facts will drive them into socialism of the character he wants. Therefore, we must beware of what is going to happen. If people without thought and without consideration follow the lead given by Pandit Nehru this country will be plunged in class strife, as you find in Soviet Russia or as you find in Spain at present. It therefore behoves all right-thinking men in this country to band themselves together under the Liberal banner because I have every faith and all of you have faith in the Liberal creed.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are asking Sir Cowasji Jehangir to take the chair on this occasion. He is very well known to you all for his arduous work in the Liberal cause for the past many years. Early in life he took to public affairs. He worked for many years as a member of the municipal corporation of Bombay whose president he became in due course. He has worked in the legislatures, both provincial and central and his recent work in the Legislative Assembly for the last few years is before you. He also has great experience as administrator, having worked as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay. He is a great industrialist. He is very much interested in the progress and welfare of the country both for magnates of industry and for the labour that the industrialists employ.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I have said, in the critical stage in which we find ourselves in the politics of this country you cannot make a better choice. I have very great pleasure in proposing Sir Cowasji. (Applause.)

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad) said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in seconding the proposition placed before you just now by my friend Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. I am glad Sir Chimanlal has referred to the partiality of the United Provinces for the political leaders of Bombay. I may mention here that one of the greatest Indian statesmen, Mr. Gokhale, was our president at the Benares Congress in 1905. If the United Provinces Liberal Party had shown a distinct partiality for the Liberal leaders of Bombay, I may mention that Bombay has by no means been backward in repaying the compliment. (Laughter.) If out of four sessions of the Liberal Federation held in these provinces three have been presided over by the three gentlemen whom you see here seated in consecutive order (referring to Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir) no fewer than four out of the five sessions of the Liberal Federation held in the Bombay presidency were presided over by Liberals of the United Provinces. (Applause.) If we went to Madras for our first President, my lamented friend Mr. Govindaraghava Iyar, who came and presided at Allahabad in 1921, Bombay went to Bengal for its first President and found one in Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Afterwards Bombay showed its partiality for the United Provinces and we have taken to Bombay.

My friend Sir Cowasji, who shall be our President of this session, is no stranger to any of you. He has been connected with the Liberal Party unofficially from the very beginning and officially during the last seven or eight years. He could not officially be connected with us earlier not for any fault of his but because he was absorbed by the Government of Bombay, and we were only too willing to lend the services of so distinguished and disinterested a Liberal leader to help the Government of Bombay in the conduct of their business. And any of you who may go to Bombay and make enquiries will be told by every one that Sir Cowasji Jehangir as a member of the Executive Council of Bombay, not merely acquitted himself with distinction but promoted the interests of his countrymen in every way he could. (Applause.) That he was then, too, an unmistakable Liberal there can be no doubt because I happened to visit him then as general secretary of the Federation and I came back deeply satisfied with the response. Sir Cowasji Jehangir is distinguished by several qualities. In the first place, he is very responsible-minded. He is not one of those who express an opinion first and afterwards seek for reasons to justify that opinion. Every opinion that he expresses is, I know from personal knowledge, the result of a responsible consideration of all aspects of a question, and once he has reached a conclusion and publicly stated it God help the man who will try to dislodge him from that position, so much so that he is not without some reputation for a little obstinacy as he would not change his opinion even under pressure. Secondly, no opinion of his on a single public question is determined by any consideration save what he honestly believes to be the public interest. I have not once known Sir Cowasji allow any consideration of a personal or private character to influence his judgment upon a public question. The third quality which distinguishes him is his generosity. Himself the head of a family of millionaires, a man nursed in the lap of luxury, it would have been very easy to understand if he had not cared to toil in public life, if he had preferred a life of ease and indolence and if any opinion he had adopted was a conservative opinion in favour of the *status quo*, fashionable in the circles in which he is accustomed to move. But Sir Cowasji is not made of such stuff. He has thrown himself into public affairs. He gives us the benefit of his advice, his cooperation, his service. But he also gives us in a very liberal measure the benefit of his purse, the Liberal Party itself being no small beneficiary of the generous instincts which he has inherited and cultivated and practised.

I am very glad that he is to be the President of this session of the Federation and that throughout next year, when we shall watch with a certain amused interest but also with anxiety experiments in destruction that we are promised from Congress members of the new Legislatures—during that time it is no small advantage to us to have at our head a man with ample experience of life in Legislatures, both as a member of the Government and as a member of the Opposition, both in the presidency of Bombay and in the Central Legislature at Delhi, a man who conserves all that is good and has not the slightest hesitation in working actively for the reconstruction of all that is not sound, a man wholesome in counsel, wise in guidance, temperate in expression, just to every interest. I am glad that all the

provincial Liberal associations and the Reception Committee have agreed in calling him to the office of President this year and I wish him a prosperous career throughout the next twelve months as the head of our organization. (Cheers).

Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think that it is the spirit of mutual admiration animating the United Provinces and Bombay, that has led to the choice of Sir Cowasji Jehangir for presiding over the deliberations of this session. There are many things to push Sir Cowasji to the front, to make him admired and held in regard by our countrymen. Firstly, the liberality of his family and the public services rendered by the members of that family are well known. But what has placed Sir Cowasji so high in the regard of his fellow-countrymen and in the regard of our party is his sterling good work as an earnest patriot. As has been pointed out by Mr. Chintamani, his methods have not been the methods which unfortunately have found vogue in this country recently. Flightiness is good provided you know that you are landing somewhere on firm earth. Sir Cowasji Jehangir is not given to flightiness when he knows that he cannot land anywhere. In national progress as in individual life one has to make sure of the step in front of him before taking that step. Sir Cowasji is a hard-headed businessman and that is one of the best qualifications to give a lead to one's countrymen. At this juncture when many promises like what we have had in the past are being distributed far and wide, it is good that our choice has fallen upon one who will not lead us into the wilderness. He will not tell you that you will be completely independent on the 31st December, and we will not blame him if he tells us straight that you have to make headway step by step by solid substantial work. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the proposal that has been so eloquently placed before you. (Applause.)

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri (Madras).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I rise to support the resolution moved, seconded and supported already. Thirty-five years of impressive service to the Motherland qualifies him to preside over the deliberations of the Liberal Party. You have already been told of his long services to the Motherland and also of his great qualifications for presiding over our deliberations. If you wish to know more, you have only to look into the *Leader* issued this morning, bearing date the 30th December. Two columns of matter refer to the life-history of our President of today. You will find that within the last 32 years, let me say from 1904 onwards, he has rendered manifold services—17 years in the municipal corporation of Bombay, being for a period the president of the corporation, work in the Legislative Council of Bombay and Membership of Government from 1923 to 1925, afterwards service in the Legislative Assembly with attendance at the Round Table Conferences of all the three years 1930, 1931 and 1932,—and for the last seven years, you have been told, he belongs to us. He has done yeoman service in the cause of Liberalism all through the period. We require at this juncture a man of courage and strength of conviction and a certain fearlessness in the expression of his opinions. We cannot think of any better man than Sir Cowasji Jehangir. He eminently deserves to preside over this year's deliberations. I have very great pleasure in

supporting the resolution that he should be our President this year. (Applause.)

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma (Nagpur).—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Central Provinces and Berar I rise to support the proposal so ably moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad of Bombay and so splendidly supported by Mr. Chintamani. You all know, ladies and gentlemen, that from 1st April next a new order of things is going to set in and we want a man at the helm of affairs of the Liberal Federation who will carry through the struggle that lies ahead of us. I deliberately use the word struggle because I am quite sure that out of 1,000 people who have been set up by the Congress as candidates for going into the Legislatures there will not be less than 50 struggles to be carried on in the 10 provinces that we have. I am sure that in the province from which I come there are signs of parties, not parties within the country but of parties within the Congress itself. It is for this reason that I believe that Liberalism is needed more now than before and if we want Liberalism, we want a man who will understand another man's point of view and will not yield in spite of the fact that his opinions or his advice will not be liked by the people at large. Such a man is Sir Cowasji Jehangir. I do not want to detain you and stand between you and the President-elect for a moment longer than necessary. All that I can say is that he possesses the qualities of head and heart. If that were not so, he would not be a Liberal, and that he possesses these qualities is proved by the testimony of five gentlemen whose words you cannot possibly contradict in this hall. Ladies and gentlemen, therefore, I suggest that you should acclaim the proposal that has been moved so ably and seconded and supported so eloquently.

The proposition was then carried by enthusiastic acclamation. Sir Cowasji took his seat as President and was garlanded by Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh amidst loud cheers.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Sir Cowasji Jehangir then delivered the following address :—

Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first and foremost duty I have to perform is to thank the chairman and members of the reception committee for the honour they have done me in inviting me to preside over the annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India. Such honour carries with it responsibilities which are assessed differently according to the views of individuals. Without throwing a smokescreen over one's personal opinions, the duty of a president of a federation, such as ours, ought to be to reiterate our principles and give expression to opinions that are known to be held by Liberals all over India. There are thousands of thinking men and women who, though for certain reasons have not enlisted under any political banner, still hold views and, in private life, enunciate principles very similar to our own. Fortunately for us, although there may be unimportant differences of opinion on minor issues, we are all agreed on principles, to which we have consistently adhered, regardless of the criticism of those who disagree with us, believing as we do that we are acting in the best interests of our country.

But although in all political parties, in all parts of the world, there are bound to be differing degrees and shades of opinion, there cannot and should not be differences as to main principles. If, unhappily, such be the case in any political party, it would not be doing justice to the cause or to oneself to remain any longer within the fold. Tact and diplomacy are great assets, but to carry expediency too far must result finally in a greater disaster than boldly supporting one's views by action.

Late King George V

Since we last met at Nagpur, the British Empire in particular and the world in general had to mourn the loss of a great King in the very beginning of this year. Few monarchs went through the critical period of the last 15 years of the world's history, with his prestige enhanced and his name more honoured throughout the world at the time of his death. It may truly be said of King George V that he left the system of democratic Government combined with monarchy more firmly rooted in the soil of England than ever before in the history of the Empire.

King Edward VIII and King George VI

A little over a fortnight ago, we were surprised and grieved to hear of the abdication of King Edward VIII. I do not desire, on this occasion, to express any views on the very grave step his Majesty thought fit to take. We deplore the loss of a King-Emperor who, with his wide experience and personal touch with the people, gave promise of a long and most useful reign. His brother, known as his Royal Highness the Duke of York, has succeeded him as his Majesty King George VI. Let us all express a fervent hope and offer a silent prayer that his Majesty may live long to reign over the Empire, may he ever watch over his subjects, ensuring their happiness and prosperity and, above all, may he take an abiding interest in this great continent of India and, during his reign, may India attain the goal of her ambitions, resulting in her being a contented and happy country and the strongest pillar of the British Empire.

Liberal Losses

We have also to mourn the loss of several of our colleagues. In the death of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, we have lost one of the most distinguished Liberals. One of the founders of the Indian National Congress and its general secretary for 17 years and its President in 1901, Sir Dinshaw Wacha can truly be called one of the fathers of the Indian National Congress. His life-long work for his country is so well known that I do not propose to go into any details. Suffice it to say that he was one of the few stalwarts who had the courage of his convictions and seceded from the parent body in 1918. He was the President of the Western India National Liberal Association for eight years. Dewan Bahadur Sir M. Ramchandra Rao hailed from Madras. His death caused great grief amongst Liberals, and especially in his own Presidency. In him, we lose an experienced and most loveable colleague who was the President of the National Liberal Federation in 1933. Rao Bahadur Kale was a well known figure in Bombay provincial politics for the last 20 years. He was a Member of the local Legislative Council since 1921 and latterly the Leader of the

Opposition. Mr. V. N. Deshpande was secretary of the Satara Liberal League and a member of the Council of the National Liberal Federation. He died under tragic circumstances at a comparatively early age. I am sure you desire me to convey to the families of these distinguished Liberals our sincerest condolences in their sad bereavement.

Development of Political Thought

It may perhaps be useful to have a bird's eye view of the development of political thought and action during the latter part of the British connection with India. Long before the Congress was established, there were many of our prominent countrymen who took an active part in public life; but they were very considerably restricted and were led into what today might be called narrow avenues of public service. They took a part in civic affairs, in social welfare; they assisted Government to establish educational and medical institutions by their munificence and active co-operation; and they laid the foundation of industrial India. In those days there were very few Indians who spoke or wrote in the English language with fluency and precision, but, whether it be through the medium of their mother tongue or through English peculiar to themselves, they most effectively contributed their share in the public life of their country, such as it was. The next definite land-mark is the establishment of the Indian National Congress about fifty years ago, which, for the first time, brought some of the best educated and most politically-minded Indians together to consider and express opinions on political issues of first class importance. Let us willingly admit that they were ably assisted by some Englishmen whose names will ever be gratefully remembered. It was not long before they were looked upon as the exponents of the extreme political school of thought in India. They asked for reform in the administration, they demanded greater effort for the uplift of their people. They were interested in social reform, and began to study and express opinions from a united platform on economic questions of the day. They demanded a greater share in the administration of their country and better and greater opportunities to serve their motherland. This continued with a united front until 1906, when arose a political school of thought who not being satisfied with the progress made demanded a change of method and a more advanced programme of effort. A split looked imminent. The split actually took place, when Mr. Tilak and his followers, who were then considered the left wing of the Congress went out of the fold in 1907 and remained out, until 1915, when they came back.

Change in Political Atmosphere

The Morley-Minto Reforms came in 1909, with enlarged Councils and an opportunity, for the first time in British India, for Indians to enter the inner councils of the state. In 1914 came the Great War when, it may be said, all shades of political thought supported the British Government in the great struggle to make the world safe for democracy. During some of the years of the war, India was fortunate in having a very distinguished Englishman as Secretary of State who, at the end of 1916, began to consider the question of further reforms for India, with the object of associating Indians to a much greater degree in the administration of the country. These efforts resulted in the Montagu-Chelmsford

Reforms, but before they could be inaugurated, a great change took place in the political atmosphere. The principle of non-cooperation was begun to be preached which was unacceptable to what might then be called the right wing of the Congress. Finally the Congress was committed to this principle which caused a serious split in the party. Such men as Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, the rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and many others seceded from the Congress in 1918, and formed their own political organization which was named the National Liberal Federation of India, of which today we are holding the 18th annual session. They were firmly of opinion that the principles enunciated and adopted by the founders of the Indian National Congress should be adhered to. They sincerely believed that India would reach the goal of her ambition quicker and on sounder foundations by working the reforms and by making them a success. It must not be forgotten that even Mr. Gandhi was of the same opinion until the occurrence of the sad and disastrous events, at Amritsar, of 1919, which was the deciding factor for the non-cooperation movement. The Congress, now under the leadership of persons other than those who had founded it, refused to go into the legislatures.

Disastrous Results

The civil disobedience and passive resistance movements then followed, with disastrous results. Under the reforms of 1919, although the dyarchical system of government was introduced in the provinces, there was a provision in the Act whereby more or all provincial subjects could be transferred without a further amendment of the Act itself. It must, with justification, be said that the non-cooperation of Congressmen with the councils tended towards this provision in the Act being nugatory and inoperative. It is in the realm of speculation as to what would have been the position, had the whole country, with a united front, determined to work these reforms. There would certainly have been a better choice amongst the elected members for the appointment of Ministers, and the reforms would surely have expanded according to the response of politically-minded India, without any further amendment of the Act as regards the provinces and without the special and extraordinary powers that the new Act has given to the Governors. The Congress continued to devote all their energies to direct action, while Liberals and all others of the same school of thought entered the legislatures and worked the reforms to the best of their ability. We did not hide our disagreement with Congress methods; we warned our countrymen of the unnecessary suffering they were undergoing and the harm they were doing by the disorganization they were creating, especially in the city of Bombay. As I have said on another occasion, I have no desire to harp on those most unpleasant and unhappy days, when Government were suppressing the movement with a heavy hand and Congress were attempting to deprive those who did not agree with them of their civil liberties. We have been characterized as cowards and men and women afraid to undergo the hardships and suffering which fell to the lot of Congressmen engaged in direct action. We have always repudiated these base allegations and insinuations. We have always been of the opinion that these methods retarded the political

progress of India, and we are, still of this belief. Within a short time, there arose differences of opinion amongst Congressmen in connection with the question of Council entry, and the beginning of 1924 saw Congressmen in the Assembly and in the Councils under the banner of the Swaraj party, and to this day, they form the Opposition in the Assembly.

Round Table Conference

In October 1929, Lord Halifax (then Lord Irwin), made his famous statement in connection with India's claim to Dominion Status, which finally led to the Round Table Conferences of 1930, 1931 and 1932. The Congress refused to cooperate, thus being without representation in the first Round Table Conference. Their decision, as later events showed, was most unfortunate. Due to Mr. Gandhi's intervention, the civil disobedience movement was however called off in 1931, and Mr. Gandhi was actually a delegate to the Round Table Conference as the sole representative of the Congress. He had, before he sailed, committed the Congress to central responsibility, Federation and reservations in the interests of India, by the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. If ever there was evidence of the wisdom of the policy adopted by non-Congressmen, it was the presence of Mr. Gandhi in England as the most important and the most honoured delegate of the 1931 Conference. But as soon as Mr. Gandhi returned from England, he found his Congress friends in a state of great agitation, determined to try direct methods once more and being a victim of the conditions created by others during his absence, he found himself again marching back to jail. During the critical years that followed, India's true cause lost ground consistently. This was not due to any words or actions of Liberals and their friends. It must be laid at the door of those who, in season and out of season, proclaimed independence as the goal of their ambition and openly advocated the repudiation of India's public debts, in some form or another. The result was that safeguard upon safeguard was proposed in the new constitution and reserved power after reserved power was suggested for the Viceroy and Governors. I have no doubt that Congressmen will stoutly repudiate the conclusion I have come to. But results tell their own tale, and I feel confident that, when a true history of our times comes to be written, my statements will be confirmed. I am sure all non-Congressmen are thankful that, about three years ago, all direct action, as a method of political agitation, ceased, and that many prominent Congressmen are today in the legislatures. Let us all hope that the parliamentary mentality has really come to say. Under these conditions, the differences between Congressmen and Liberals were still well defined; but, although they were fundamental, there was every chance of cooperation and a joint front on special issues.

Acceptance of Office

✓ We have always stood for Dominion Status as a practical and feasible goal of our ambition. The Congress raised the banner of independence which the orthodox Congressmen refused to acknowledge. The Congress, as explained above, adopted direct methods of action which they have now suspended, while we continued to believe in constitutional methods of agitation, as expounded and followed by the founders of the Congress. But now, unfortunately, the differences between us are widening. We

have, from the very beginning, advocated a policy of getting into the legislatures and taking office. We consider boycott of the legislatures most detrimental to the interests of our country. The Congress started boycotting the legislatures in 1919, and have since changed their minds on more than one occasion. Today, most unfortunately for the country, they have not decided upon any settled policy. They have decided upon capturing the legislatures at the next elections, but they hesitate to commit themselves on the principle of taking office. There can be no doubt about the serious differences of opinion that exist among themselves. Although this may be no business of ours, it affects us very vitally, being just before the general elections. All candidates other than Congressmen are for taking office, while Congress candidates are not committed one way or the other. This is most unfair to the electorate. Such a state of affairs would not be tolerated in any country where the electorate was trained to a sense of responsibility. It is felt that, taking advantage of a first election on a much wider franchise, the most important political party in the country, confident of its popularity, treats the electorate with contempt. Unable to come to a decision on a vital issue, due to differences amongst themselves, they postponed decision until after the elections. Thus those of the electorate who are definitely against the acceptance of office can vote for the Congress candidate, hoping that the party will decide for non-acceptance, while Congressmen in favour of acceptance, can also vote for the same candidate, hoping that their point of view will finally prevail. This is surely a unique form of democracy! In short, they state: 'Vote for us, as the most important political party in the country; but we will decide what we shall do,—it is no business of yours'. We treat the electorate with much greater respect. We lay our cards on the table. We clearly state that we are strongly of opinion that the party with the majority in the legislatures should take office, and we fervently hope that better counsels will prevail, with the result that there will be found in every legislature in India good men and true, willing to shoulder responsibilities and discharge their duty in the best interests of their country. Our advocacy of the acceptance of office does not, by any means, imply our satisfaction with the Government of India Act of 1935. It has even been said that the Liberals were the strongest critics of the future constitution. We have, year in and year out, drawn attention to its shortcomings, and I may, therefore, be permitted to point out in a few words some of our main objections which have met with no redress.

Defence

Reconciled as we are to Defence being a reserved subject, believing this to be inevitable under present conditions we have great anxiety as to the control that will be exercised under the future constitution over the largest spending department of the Government of India. At present, there are at least three Indian Members in the Government of India who can, if they choose, keep a vigilant eye over Army administration. But in future, the Governor-General, assisted by a Councillor appointed at his discretion will solely determine Army policy. A mere injunction to encourage joint consultations between the Ministers and those who have real authority may or may not fructify. Past experience of the actual working of such joint consultations in provincial Governments has not been too

happy. We would like to have seen a provision, whereby the Army Councillor would have been a non-official Indian and preferably an elected member of the Legislature. Indianization of the Army will be just as uncertain a factor as it is today. We would like to have seen a definite programme of Indianization with reference to a time-limit and a statutory provision whereby the Federal Government, while not being able to interfere with the administration of the Army, would have got some power to lay down a policy of Indianization more in keeping with public opinion. At present, the Finance Member is the watch-dog of the finances generally, including the Army. There ought to have been some provision, whereby the Finance Member should have power to exercise Treasury control, provided that in cases of differences of opinion, the Governor-General's decision should be final. Some statutory power should have been given to the Federal Government to consider Army policy and the annual Army budget estimates. Such demands were considered only reasonable, considering the scale of Army expenditure in India as compared with the total revenues of the Central Government. In times like the present, when the world seems to be concentrating its attention on a much greater scale of armaments, I am sure Indians desire to see their own country capable of self-defence at all times. Irresponsible as the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature have been kept under the Act of 1935, the greater will be the opposition which the Governor-General may have to encounter, even with necessary and reasonable proposals. He may have been given power to put his decisions into practice, but he will continue to meet with the opposition of public opinion even when he may rightly expect cooperation and assistance. There ought to have been some statutory provisions, whereby the Indian Army could not be employed outside India without the vote of the Federal Legislature, except for the purpose of the defence of India. The vote might have been allowed to be anticipated only in cases of grave emergency.

Financial Safeguards

We have objected to several of the financial safeguards. One of their important objects was to safeguard the sterling obligations of India. We considered that the risk was greatly exaggerated by interested parties in England and, it may have been, for political purposes. State railways and irrigation works are responsible for a major portion of India's debt and even of this, a major portion has been incurred in India and held by Indians themselves. But taking for granted, that some safeguard was in the interests of India herself, the special responsibilities in respect of financial stability and credit imposed upon the Governor-General, need not have been in such vague terms. I will be the first to admit that under all conditions, India's credit should be safeguarded, and no Federal Government and Legislature would ever think of bringing their Motherland to financial ruin. But even if there was such a possibility, there was no reason to give the Governor-General unlimited power under the pretence of safeguarding the financial stability and credit of India. With the constitution as it stands, there are chances of a weak Finance Member allowing others to usurp his powers and prerogatives. With a strong Finance Member, there is every chance of there being a deadlock which could have been avoided by a clear definition of when and how the reserve powers should be exercised.

Commercial Discrimination

Another safeguard which has agitated mercantile and industrial India to a great extent, is what has been known as safeguards against commercial discrimination. Such discrimination can be divided into two classes, legislative discrimination and administrative discrimination. The former is something we can understand, even if we do not agree. But the latter is certainly vague and may be the cause of considerable friction, leading readily to a deadlock in the administration. The legislatures in India are to be prevented from proposing or passing legislation which might tend to discriminate against Englishmen in favour of Indians. There does not appear to be any desire in any quarter in India to act unfairly towards Englishmen. In moments of great excitement, statements may have been made by irresponsible politicians, to take revenge for real or supposed inequitable actions in the past. But on the whole, public opinion will be strong enough to resist any truly unjust action on the part of the legislatures. It must not be forgotten that the European commercial community in India have been granted special representation in all legislatures, out of all proportion to their numbers. I personally welcome their presence and cooperation, and I express a confident hope that they will be of great assistance in the administration of the country. But they will surely also be capable of looking after their own interests, even if they be a minority in any Council. Their experience, their organizing ability and, above all, their unity will give them much greater power as compared to their numbers, and therefore these special statutory safeguards need not have been so rigid and severe as they are. In a report of a committee over which the late Pandit Motilal Nehru presided, are to be found the following significant words: 'It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminatory legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India'. Englishmen must, much more so than in the past, continue to hold their own on merits, and must not depend on any special favours from Government. I feel confident that real merit will be recognized by Indians much more in the future than in the past, and Englishmen must be prepared for the time when there will be no safeguards in any legislation regulating the administration of this country.

Indian Shipping

If legislative discrimination is understandable, administrative discrimination appears to us not only irritating and giving grounds for serious suspicions, but unworkable and unpractical. To give an example, suppose an important and large contract is to be given by Government, and tenders have been invited. An English firm's tender shows a slightly lower cost than the Indian tender. Would it be administrative discrimination to accept the Indian tender, notwithstanding that by its acceptance, there would be found more employment for Indian labour and a greater use of Indian material?

The Governor of a province may be placed in a most invidious position. The British firm may claim its pound of flesh, the Indian firm may demand equity and justice. But the worst aspect is that, in preventing legitimate discrimination, the central and provincial Governments may be driven to state socialism to keep within the four corners of the Act. Another sore point has been the section of the Act which prevents Govern-

ment giving any assistance, by subsidy or otherwise to Indian shipping which it may not be inclined to grant to British shipping. In other words, India cannot encourage Indian shipping as against British, as England herself has done and as many other countries are doing against foreign shipping.

Recruitment of Services

But of all objections, the strongest has been taken to the recruitment of the public services. The Secretary of State will continue to recruit two of the most important Services in India, *viz.*, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. There is to be a statutory enquiry after a period of five years when Parliament will decide the basis of future recruitment. This provision is contrary to the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. The recruitment of these Services should have been by the Federal Government and/or by the Provincial Governments, who should be the authority to determine the pay and other conditions of service for future recruits. There might be no objection to the pensions, salaries and the privileges and rights relating to dismissal or any other form of punishment or censure, in the case of the existing members of the all India services, being left just as they are and safeguarded to their satisfaction. But there was no reason to leave the Secretary of State as the statutory authority to protect these rights and privileges. These might have been transferred to the Governor-General in his discretion. This was actually suggested and turned down. The Governor-General who will continue to be the Secretary of State's principal agent in India, has been given under the Act the most onerous duties. But he was not thought fit to be allowed to be the authority to whom the present Services should finally appeal for redress. There was no difficulty in allowing the Federal Government to continue to recruit in England whenever and to whatever extent they decided, which they could well have entrusted to any agency such as the High Commissioner for India. We firmly believe that at least Ministers of the future should have been given absolute powers with regard to postings, allocation of work, re-organization of the services and functions and other matters which relate to the enforcement of policy and the efficiency of administration. One other recommendation was made at the Round Table Conferences which might be considered to be of considerable importance. It was suggested that Governors of all provinces in the future should come from the public life of Great Britain and India, and that all members of the permanent services in India should, by statute, be excluded.

If Ministers are Defied

I am perfectly aware of the criticism of those of our countrymen who are against acceptance of office. They doubt the utility of becoming Ministers, when the most important Government servants are recruited by another authority and will constantly look to that other authority for redress against supposed grievances. This, it is said, must lead to defiance, lack of authority and a failure to effectively carry out policies that may be decided by Ministers. I admit that, in theory, these objections are valid and that, to some may even appear insurmountable. But I have already once publicly said that I personally believe that these very officers, when

put to the test, will be found prepared to carry out, loyally and conscientiously, the policies of the governments of the provinces. It will be for the Ministers to exact discipline and loyalty; but if experience shows that, even after making reasonable demands, such as would be made by Ministers in any country under a democratic form of Government, Government servants do not respond, although dismissal may not be possible, the remedy for the Minister is his own resignation. Such exposures, if unhappily they are necessary, will much more quickly tend to an amendment of the Act than non-acceptance of office.

Much will depend on Viceroy

A mere outline of some of our criticisms will serve my purpose today. The Act is an accomplished fact and we must pass on. I may be asked, why it is that we persist in the principle of the acceptance of office, even after such defects as I have pointed out. I personally believe that the future constitution, such as it is, is a definite advance on our present constitution. I am again, personally, by no means nervous about having the representatives of Indian states co-operating with us in the Federal Government. They will, after all, be Indians and cannot but have the interests of India as a whole at heart. They may even be a little retrograde in the beginning, but association with those of more advanced views must have its effect. Constitutions, all over the world, are good, bad and indifferent. It is the human element that is the most important. The very best constitution that we might possibly frame for this country might fail hopelessly, if the wrong type of men were called upon to work it. With the Act of 1935, a great deal will depend upon the Viceroy and the Governors who will be called upon to shoulder enormous responsibilities. Given men with wide sympathies, a spirit of reasonableness, and a desire for compromise to avoid the breaking point and, above all, with commonsense with which the British nation has been amply endowed, and, again, given Ministers who will not seek deadlocks and, at the same time, will not avoid them at the sacrifice of principles, the constitution should be given a fair trial with a determination that its success must ultimately lead to a vast expansion of powers and privileges, equal to those enjoyed by the people in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We have already, on more than one occasion, stated in unequivocal terms what we would do or what we would expect others to do who are returned to the legislatures. First and foremost, we would make strenuous attempts to secure an early revision of the new constitution, with a view to attainment of Dominion Status at the earliest possible date. We would insist upon the resignation of Ministers, if the safeguards or reserved powers are exercised unreasonably or arbitrarily for interference with the responsibility of Ministers, or if the Governor-General or Governors act against the spirit of the constitution.

Swadeshi

We would encourage, by every means in our power, the Swadeshi movement, and we would see to it that our people supported national enterprises in the fields of banking, insurance and shipping and assist in the manufacture of goods most suitable to our climatic conditions, and make

our country, so far as it is possible, self-sufficient. We would give every support, as we have always done, to the removal of untouchability. This question, has for years, formed a prominent plank of our platform, and we can point to the efforts of several members of our party who devote their lives to social work. While respecting the feelings of some of the orthodox sections in India, we trust that, within a very few years, there will be none in this country who will continue to deprive a large section of their countrymen of the common rights of citizenship and condemn them to a social order carrying with it degrading social conditions and a stigma of inferiority.

Uplift of Agriculturists

We would support legislation having for its object the improvement of the condition of the agriculturists. Such legislation should be for the reform of the land revenue system, for the protection of the interests of agricultural tenants. Agricultural indebtedness is a problem which must be tackled. Bold attempts must be made, but by constitutional methods, of relieving the agricultural masses of a load they are unable to bear. The last few years of world depression, with the consequent drop in the prices of commodities, has brought about a state of affairs whereby, to the already chronic indebtedness of the peasantry has been added the further difficulty of keeping body and soul together. Such measures as debt conciliation and legislation for debt redemption, through the extension of a policy of establishing land mortgage banks and the improvement of existing co-operative agencies, should be the special duties of our Ministers. To lighten the burden is one problem, but much the more difficult one is to keep the agriculturist from again and again incurring debts and coming into the same desperate position as before. The only remedy is primary education, and here we can recall with pride, that one of our greatest Liberals, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, was a pioneer in the agitation for compulsory primary education. Nowadays, this is the most important plank of the platforms of all political parties. But we must not forget that primary education is only a means to an end. We desire to see the masses happy, with sufficient means to keep them contented. Merely to extend the scope of primary education, just to be able to say that so many more boys and girls are at school may turn out to be a delusion. The primary object is to ensure that cent per cent. of those who go to school are able to continue with some knowledge of the three R's. To enable a child to go to school and to give it no facilities to retain the little knowledge it has gained and to allow it to lapse again into illiteracy is, in my humble opinion, throwing money down the gutter. Very often does it happen that when the children reach an age, when literacy becomes the life-blood of their existence, they are again illiterate. Provide, by all means, for compulsory primary education, but see to it that is not merely in theory but a fact in actual practice.

Again, there are the great problems of sanitation, medical relief and better housing. I do not propose to discuss each in detail, but merely mention them in passing as problems which have not been lost sight of by us, and to which many men and women of our party have unostentatiously, but sincerely, devoted their time and energy.

Unemployment

Lastly, I will come to perhaps one of the most important problems of the day—unemployment, especially among the educated classes. Our universities will and must go on turning out educated men. I am not going into the question of the standard of education, or of the fitness or unfitness of our graduates for the battle of life. They are amongst us and will go on being so in an increasing degree. If no steps are taken immediately to ameliorate the condition in which literally thousands of our young men find themselves, we will find them drifting into channels of political thought which give hopes of better times but which, they will ultimately find, will lead them into conditions even worse than those which they experience today. The country at least appears to have realized this danger and feels genuine sympathy with our young men and women who, having attained a certain standard of education, are unable to earn an honest living to keep body and soul together. This is by no means an exhaustive sketch of the possible programme for future Ministries. It is a mere indication of the way in which our minds are working and of what we hope to make attempts to attain. There are a number of most useful avenues of service in the legislatures to help on the efforts of large numbers of our countrymen who dedicate their lives to social service. Our legislatures can and should give a helping hand to social workers.

Illogical Compromise

I have already stated that our differences with the Congress have been widened, since they are unable to decide on the all-important question of acceptance of office. But our differences with a certain section of the Congress led by its president are much more fundamental. I had occasion some months ago to strongly criticise the school of thought to which he belongs. 'Agitation, under pretence of reform, with a view to overturn revealed truth and order, is the worst kind of mischief.' Since then, the Congress manifesto, seeking support for the Congress candidates at the next general elections for the Provincial Legislatures, has seen the light of day. It appears to me to be an illogical compromise between two divergent schools of thought. One would refuse to enter the legislatures, because they see no hope of a communistic system of government for this country developing through a constitution based on democratic principles. They would have no connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations, not because the country cannot attain a standard of Government, as free, as independent, as capable of serving the best interests of the country as any government in the world, but because there are none or very few chances of the country obtaining a system of government which, Russia once thought, would work with success. Herein lies the reason for a certain section of the Congress refusing to accept office.

Conflict of Opinion

The other school of thought has learnt lessons of the boycott of legislatures, and although independence is still the goal of their ambitions, it is a very different independence from the independence visualized by some of their colleagues in the Congress. By working the constitution, they see a chance of so developing it or so amending it as would give them, if not

actual, certainly virtual independence. This conflict of opinion is definitely traceable in the Congress manifesto.

It is stated that the purpose of sending Congressmen to the legislatures under the new Act, is not to co-operate in any way with the Act, but to combat it and seek to end it. It goes on to state that the new legislatures are hedged in and circumscribed by special powers for the protection, among other things, also of vested interests. It again reiterates its belief that independence cannot be achieved through the legislatures, nor can problems of unemployment and poverty be effectively tackled by them. But most illogically, in my humble opinion, the manifesto then goes on to explain the programme for their members of the legislatures. It repeats its declaration made at Karachi, that the Congress stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land. They again desire an urgent consideration of indebtedness and the formulation of a scheme including the scaling down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the State. Now may I ask how it is possible to seek to end the Act and, at the same time, enjoin upon its representatives the urgent necessity of adopting measures through the instrumentality of the legislatures, for the true and lasting benefit of the country. We have, as I have stated before, unlike the Congress, laid all our cards on the table, and, above all, we do not require temporary compromises to enable us to do so. We firmly believe that a communistic system of government is unsuitable to the unable to accept this as a reason for all our troubles. No two peoples can be kept apart, if they are determined to unite and combine. It appears to me to be fruitless to throw the responsibility on to the shoulders of a third party and continue to rest content. In a country like India, where we have castes and creeds, different religions and languages, cultures and sentiments, compromise is the only solution for our troubles. We must realize that we have been living in India as Hindus and Mahomedans for centuries and centuries and will have to go on doing so. Let us hope that Hindus will ever remain good Hindus and that Mahomedans will ever remain good Mahomedans;—there is no reason why religion should divide different people living in one country. There are other countries in which there are sections with different religions, living peaceably today under civilized conditions. Two or three centuries ago, religion was the cause of much bloodshed, and even today, it causes some trouble in Europe. But what is the meaning of civilization? Tolerance, compromise, trying to see every question from the other man's point of view, and if, alas, compromise becomes impossible, well, the stronger party should be merciful and lenient to the weaker, and should trust and hope that education and persuasion will eventually bring about a compromise. At certain times, the tension appears to me to be greater, and it may increase. The cause is not far to seek. The more we get, the more zealous do we become for getting a greater share of power for ourselves; that is only human nature. But that is so only when you believe and feel that you are separate units in the same country. If we were made to feel and believe that, whatever may be our religion, so long as we lived in India there was no difference between us as Indians, there would be no such grasping for political power by individual groups. I, therefore,

realize that, since the feeling of distinction between units happens to exist, the tension may get worse with the passing of greater power into our own hands. But if we claim, and rightly claim, greater power and responsibility—Swaraj in this country—it will be our duty to see that this distinction between units based on religion is swept away and is replaced by units based on political principles. For, believe me, with this division of units, based on religion, we may not be able to keep Swaraj with a united India, when the day of Swaraj dawns.

✓ **Indians Overseas**

I now come to the question of Indians overseas. On no question of national importance does one observe such a marked unanimity of opinion among all shades of political thought in India as on this question—a question which has been associated in the minds of us all with mixed feelings of resentment and concern at the systematic disregard of our brethren abroad. Whether it is South Africa or Kenya, Zanzibar or Fiji, Tanganyika or Malay, there is the same tale of deliberate inroads on their economic privileges, and of an enhancement of their political and economic disabilities.

The general desire on the part of the white settler to discriminate racially, by a series of legislation of economic nature, ostensibly intended to benefit the natives whose interests are supposed to be paramount, but invariably aimed at squeezing Indians out of their lawful pursuits in these far-flung parts of the British Commonwealth, is being intensified day by day. To these sore spots of the British Empire, two more are now likely to be added, Ceylon and Burma. Within the brief space of this address, I can only deal with the most salient features of these problems, and if I do not mention grievances of Indians in other parts of the world, it may not be presumed that they do not exist.

South Africa

The history of Indians in South Africa is a history of anti-Indian, discriminatory legislation to which there seems no end. The principles of residential and commercial segregation, of which the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of the Union of South Africa is but one example, continues to prevail with the same persistence. The Union Slums Act is another example. Differential treatment in matters of trading licenses is meted out to Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. Acquisition of immovable property in the Transvaal by Indians is forbidden except in certain unfavourable locations, and they are subjected to the rigorous provisions of the Gold Law. Even now efforts are made by those opposed to Indian aspirations further to restrict the economic and social privileges of Indians. One sees no hope in the near future of seeing our brethren in this part of the Empire relieved of the disabilities which the ingenuity of the white settler has, during the last two decades and more, imposed on them in the shape of legislative and administrative discrimination.

We, however, welcome the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act (1936) giving Indians some rights of ownership in certain mining areas. The one redeeming feature of this situation was the recent good will delegation to India who have carried with them happy memories of their

sojourn here. We trust the resulting sympathy will help them to plead for the removal of the apparent disabilities of anti-Indian legislation which has neither the sanctity of equity, nor the basis of logic and not even the saving grace of honest concern for the native interests.

Kenya

Kenya colony is another big problem. I need not go into the full details of disputes on all issues relating to franchise, segregation, grants and transfers in the highlands or the control of immigration. But I desire to draw your attention to the legislation passed by the Kenya Government in the teeth of opposition from the Kenya Indian community, which ostensibly seeks to improve the quality of staple commodities of the colony and regulate the payment in cash to the native producer. This is commercial discrimination against Indians in a new guise. The real object is to restrict trading activities by a licensing and marketing system, so that transactions in specified commodities could be entered into only by licensed dealers, and that, too at appointed places only. There is absolute discretion vested in the officials as to the grant of licenses, and an Indian injured by a refusal of license has no right of redress. The assurance of the Kenya Government that in the event of the legislation harshly operating against Indians, its modification or repeal would be considered, has not been carried out. New marketing places have been established where Indian traders have been denied admission. Under the pretext of rationalizing industries, the Government have established a 'Wheat Pool', a 'Maize Pool', and a 'Butter Pool' to buttress the vested interests of others than Indians.

Zanzibar

Coming to Zanzibar, you are all aware how the six anti-Indian decrees of June 1934, rushed through the Legislature of the Zanzibar Protectorate within fourteen days, have drastically affected the fortunes of 14,000 Indians dependent on the clove trade. Briefly, the effect of that discriminatory legislation is to oust Indians from the clove trade by the imposition of a heavy license fee ranging from Rs. 2,000 upwards, by creating the Clove Growers' Association, by regulating clove exports, and thus monopolising the clove trade in the hands of a few fortunate Europeans. Added to this is the prohibition of land alienation. So far the relations of the Arab cultivators and Indian traders were friendly. The legislation was undertaken with the ostensible object of preventing transfer of land from the Arab cultivator to the Indian non-agriculturist. The Bartlett-Last Report on which the decrees have been based declared that the alienation was so alarming that agricultural interests of the Protectorate would be affected. It is interesting to note that a commission with an official majority, and presided over by the Chief Justice has since then held that there is no foundation for that finding. There has also been a moratorium in force for two years, preventing Indians from foreclosing. The situation now is that the Binder Inquiry has been instituted to examine the effect of this legislation on Indians. The Report has reached the Government of India, and a short summary has appeared in the press. The Government has had no opportunity of expressing any opinion on it. Nemesis, however, is fast overtaking the Zanzibar Government. Like all attempts to deprive one important section of society of its economic privi-

leges, the six decrees are laying the basis for their own collapse. Export trade in cloves has fallen within less than two years by 33 per cent. and is still falling—a fit reward for discrimination against Indians but a poor consolation to those Indians who may be involved in that one common ruin.

Fiji

With regard to the Fiji Islands, which have an Indian population of 79,000, we find the same story repeated in a different form. In 1929, by Letters Patent, the Fiji Legislative Council was established. Three Indian members were elected to it on a communal basis. Later on, the Indians demanded a common electoral roll, and resigned when the request was not conceded. In 1932, there was a fresh election when two Indians entered the Council, but resigned on the same issue. Now under the new constitution, the Fiji Council will be composed of 31 members, in which there will be an official *bloc* of 16, the remaining 15 non-official seats being divided equally between Indians, Fijians and Europeans. The Fijian population is about 60,000 and Europeans number only 4,000. With the official *bloc* siding with the Europeans, Indians in Fiji have a poor chance of having their grievances redressed. There is also no security of land tenure, as the Indian agriculturist here cannot hold land permanently, but has to enter into a 25-year lease. This means trouble at every renewal, especially if the Indian farmer has spent money in land improvement.

Ceylon

Coming nearer home, one finds the question of Indians in Ceylon fast becoming a complicated issue. The Government of India have their Agent in Ceylon. The main dispute centres round the question of fixing a standard of minimum wage for Indian estate labourers, and with it, closely associated, is the problem of immigration, as it affects the standard of living which is now being examined by the Immigration Commission. Though in 1927, by the Indian Labour Ordinance, minimum wages were fixed, in 1931 the same were reduced. Further decline in prices has precipitated the issue in view of further likely reductions. However, the extremist element in Ceylon has adopted a hostile attitude and would like to see a check placed on Indian immigration of labour.

Malay

I may here briefly refer to Malay which has a population of 6,24,000 Indians and where the trouble is much the same. Indian labourers employed on rubber estates and elsewhere are subjected to a standard wage rate agreed upon by the Government of India and the Malaya Government. These rates were reduced by 20 per cent. in 1930 in view of the acute economic crisis with which the rubber trade was faced. This question is now occupying the attention of the authorities, and we hope the ultimate solution will pave way for lasting settlement and economic peace. One of our most distinguished Liberals, the rt. hon. Srinivasa Sastri, is at present visiting that country to investigate the problems, and I am sure you would like me to wish him on your behalf and my own, every success in his mission.

Burma

With the separation of Burma from India, there has been in evidence a remarkable development of anti-Indian feelings. As you are aware,

shortly after the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, the representatives of Burman and Indian Governments entered into an agreement to settle the future commercial relations between the two countries, and it was agreed that the *status quo* should be observed for the next five years, and that there was to be no racial discrimination against Indians. But unhappily, there has grown up racial antagonism which has been accentuated by recent developments. While the provisions relating to the Burma Legislature were being discussed with respect to its right to check Indian immigration, the British Government desired the Legislature to have a right to check unskilled labour only. On account of the difficulty of evolving a suitable definition of the term "unskilled labour" for statutory purposes, it was decided to leave that stipulation to be embodied in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor of Burma. Now that idea has also been abandoned with the result that the Burma Legislature has acquired the right to check immigration of Indians of all categories. In the last week of November, 1936, Earl Winterton declared that the India Office has agreed that the Burma Legislature must have full powers to restrict the entry of Indians of all categories, though it will not have such powers to ban British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom. In view of the contribution of India to Burma's economic development, and the close trade relations between the two countries, the vital interests of Indians in Burma will be watched by all Indians with keen interest. I have been able to give you but a kaleidoscopic review of Indians overseas and have not touched, for want of time, other problems connected with the residence of Indians abroad. I cannot conclude these remarks without a note of warm appreciation of the part the Government of India have played on this question which we all regard with grave concern. They have withstood, on several occasions, the demands of the reactionary colonies. The Government of India have faithfully reflected Indian opinion, sentiments and aspirations on this vital issue. Great as has been their vigilance over the rights of Indians abroad, we apprehend that with the greater value of India's future stake and the increasing inclination of countries to adopt a policy of economic nationalism and Indian exclusion, there will have to be in future greater need for the tact, sympathy and firmness which the Government of India have hitherto displayed. A big fight still lies ahead of us, but if we regard the disabilities of our brethren overseas as our own, I believe it may be possible to secure by good will, if not by retaliation, some relief to those who across the seas now send us a pathetic cry for succour.

India and League

Although foreign policy, even under the new constitution, is a reserved subject, the impact of foreign affairs is being increasingly felt in India. To take a recent example, the action taken by the Government of India against Italy in support of the League of Nations resulted in a decline in export trade with Italy to the tune of 246 lakhs. Italy's share in India's exports rose from 3.6 per cent. in 1932-33 to 3.9 per cent. in 1933-34, but was 3.8 per cent. in 1934-35, and in 1935-36 her share fell to 2.1 per cent. Events like the condition of Arabs in Palestine and the state of affairs in Spain, affect the political temper of India. India's interest, therefore, in foreign affairs cannot be neglected by us.

It must be realized that although at the moment we have no effective voice in our own foreign affairs, India's membership of the League of Nations is a guarantee that her voice, even in this sphere, will be heard sooner or later. Of late, there has been considerable criticism directed against the League. It is even urged that India should withdraw her membership. It is a strange comment on the political wisdom of some of our friends that, at a time when countries like Egypt and Russia are anxious to enter the League or retain their membership of the League, Indians who are on vantage ground should seek to nullify her influence, however little. India has a great stake in her membership. It is inside the League that Indian India and British India found common ground of action, before the idea of Federation became practical politics. The constitution of the Indian delegation always includes a representative of an Indian State. This is evidence that, within the League, India as a whole, is recognised as a unit. This fact is of the utmost political importance.

Again, the technical achievements of the League through its health organization and social section etc., demand unstinted tribute. This technical organisation could render valuable help to our country as proved by the Far Eastern Conference on Rural Hygiene which is to be held in Java next year, the work of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations in India, the researches in nutrition carried on by the League and the study of rural housing problems. It will be for the various provincial Governments who will be federal units, and for the Government of India, to find out how best the technical side of the League could be made serviceable to this country. The Indian public can keep in touch with the League's work through the branch office of the League in India which exists for this purpose. I have no doubt that the response of the League to questions on the technical side will always be to the advantage of our country.

‘ Always Late ’

I have now finished. It has often and very rightly been said that, written on the walls of the India Office, are the words—‘Always Late’. Great caution, and hesitation to do the right thing at the right moment, has caused both the Government and the peoples of India great uneasiness and anxiety. Caution we can understand; it is characteristic of the British nation. But when, in the face of repeated warnings, it leads to discontent and grave agitation, it cannot be characterized as caution; it only betrays a lack of a sense of reality. The latest instance is the rejection of all suggestions for amendments to the White Paper proposals by men of ability and standing from all communities in India.

We still confidently believe that constitutional agitation has attained far more for the country than other methods. Had its legitimate objects been not unduly delayed, creating impatience, restlessness and a loss of faith in a number of its supporters, it might not have been displaced by principles which have caused fruitless suffering to thousands of our people. It is to this aspect of the political situation in India that I would draw the attention of all well-wishers of the Empire and the British connection.

On the other hand, let there not be written on our own walls the words :—‘Lost Opportunités’. Not to take every advantage of every opportunity that comes our way has proved suicidal to India's progress.

'A statesman, we are told, should follow public opinion ; doubtless — as a coachman follows his horses, having firm hold on the reins and guiding them.' We have, let it be said to our credit, tried our best against heavy odds to guide public opinion in what we conceive to be the best interests of the country, and we feel sure that better counsels will prevail in India, if only the coachman would guide the horses aright according to his conscience, and not deliberately allow them to bolt.

We shall surely attain the goal of our ambitions, but let us see to it that, in the process, we do not trip and fall. Such accidents must necessarily prolong the intervening period, and none will deplore it more than those who have, through good times and bad, stuck to their principles, regardless of adverse criticism.

We shall continue to believe that 'the three great ends for a statesman are, security to possessors, facility to acquirers, and liberty and hope to the people'.

After the conclusion of his address the President said that all the delegates would be members of the Subjects Committee and that the Committee would meet the next day (December 30) at 12 noon in the same hall. He added that the open session would be resumed on Thursday, December 31, at 12 noon.

Mr. Chintamani announced that Raja Bahadur Surj Bakhsh Singh, one of the vice-chairmen, would entertain the delegates and the members of the Reception Committee at tea just then. He added that unfortunately the Raja Bahadur had to go away to his place, but the members of the reception committee would function on his behalf. The next afternoon the host would be Raja Bahadur Bishwanath Saran Singh of Tiloi and on the following day they would be entertained by the Dowager Rani Parbati Kuar Saheba of Ramnagar. An invitation, it was announced, was also extended to the delegates to visit the Government Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition.

Subjects Committee's Sitting

The Subjects Committee of the National Liberal Federation, consisting of all the delegates, met at 12 noon on December 30 in the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Hall with the President, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, in the chair and discussed a number of resolutions together with certain others sent by several delegates. The Subjects Committee, after a prolonged sitting lasting nearly seven hours, agreed upon the various resolutions to be discussed at the open session of the Federation on the next day.

It was also resolved to collect a party fund for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of the Liberal Party throughout the country. The President promised a generous contribution of Rs. 5,000 and there were several other contributions amounting to a respectable figure.

Third Day's Session

The open session on Thursday, December 31, 1936, commenced shortly before 1 p. m. and discussions continued for several hours without any break on the various resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee on the previous day. Kisans and members of the depressed classes attended

in large numbers. There was a good attendance of delegates and visitors including a number of Indian ladies. The secretary, Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, announced that further messages had been received by the Reception Committee from Rao Krishna Pal Singh, M.L.C., Etah, Mr. Kruttal of Belgaum, Mr. Gadgil of Poona, Mr. Badri Datt of Almora and Rai Sahib Jai Lal Sah of Nainital regretting their inability to attend, and wishing success to the session of the Federation.

RESOLUTIONS

Late King George V

The proceedings commenced with music. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the President, moved the following resolution and it was passed in solemn silence, the whole House standing:—

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of deep regret at the death of King George V. In his late Majesty England, India and the Empire have lost a Sovereign of high personal character, assiduous devotion to duty and deep solicitude for the well-being and advancement of his subjects.

King Edward VIII

The next resolution was also put from the chair and adopted. It ran in the following terms:—

The National Liberal Federation deeply regrets that King Edward VIII, the eldest son of King George V, who ascended the Throne after the demise of his Royal father, is no longer King-Emperor. He won immense popularity as Prince of Wales and gave promise of serving the true interests of the Empire as its sovereign. The Federation regrets that circumstances led him to renounce the Throne and wishes him many years of unclouded happiness.

King George VI

The following resolution was also put from the chair and adopted by the House with loud acclamation:—

The National Liberal Federation of India offers its loyal homage to King George VI on his accession to the Throne and prays that his Majesty may reign long over his subjects and that his reign may be signalized by early achievement by India of the full status and rights of a Dominion.

Losses to Liberal Party

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound sorrow for the death of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, a veteran publicist and patriot, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and the National Liberal Federation who after valuable services to the nation during active public life that extended over two generations, commanded respect everywhere by his high character and unselfish public spirit.
- (b) The Federation records with sorrow the death of Sir M. Ramachandra Rao of Madras, ex-President of the Federation; of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, and Mr. Surendranath Mullick of Bengal;

of Rao Bahadur R.R. Kale, Mr. V. N. Deshpande and Rao Bahadur B. V. Chinmulgund of Bombay, and Rai Bahadur Dr. W. R. Bhat of Berar, all of them staunch Liberals who in their respective spheres rendered distinguished public services.

- (c) The Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to all bereaved families.

The above resolution, which was put from the chair, was passed, the whole House standing.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry (Madras).—Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution on the constitution is by far the most important of the resolutions that you will take up to-day to be dealt with at this Liberal Federation. It reads as follows :—

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reiterates its considered opinion that the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.
- (b) None the less, the Federation repeats that it has to be utilized to the best advantage of the people, for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to further constitutional advance towards Dominion Status. Therefore, it expresses the earnest hope that in the elections to the new provincial legislatures the electorates will return nationalist candidates who will neither attempt the impossible nor be subservient to authority, nor prefer sectional interests to national but will do their best for the well-being and advancement of the people as a whole.
- (c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that in the constitution of ministries and in the actual working of the Government the Governors of provinces should not further whittle down such meagre concessions as the Act has made to Indian demands; but if the Governors use their powers so as to impede the political or economic progress of the country, the Ministers should resign their offices.
- (d) The Federation urges that no concession be made to Princes in the course of negotiations now going on between them and the agents to the Viceroy with regard to the establishment of federation which is calculated to increase still more the powers of Princes at the expense of federal government.

Gentlemen, this resolution consists of four parts, as you may have seen from the printed copy in your hands. The first one reiterates the opinion that we have already expressed more than once, our dissatisfaction with the Act and its unacceptability. It is perhaps late in the day to treat the audience to a critical examination of the provisions of the Act. We first dealt with the question of reforms when the Statutory Commission Report was issued in 1929. We then subjected the question to examination at the Round Table Conferences. Then the White Paper was subjected to

criticism again. Finally the Bill was drafted, and when it was before the country we subjected that again to criticism. In 1934 in our session at Poona we dealt with the question and the Act had not yet been passed. Last year the Act was before us and we passed a resolution at the Federation at Nagpur. We have dealt with all the points of criticism that might arise under the provisions of the Act. You are all familiar with those provisions and I am not going to deal with the provisions in any detail except to mention, generally speaking, in one catalogue the number of grievances that we have already given expression to.

The first one which we have repeated at many of our meetings is the omission to refer to Dominion Status as the goal of India's aspirations and as its final achievement. Perhaps our rulers have not at all times been of one mind. We have been told that the next alteration of the Act will not lead to Dominion Status nor even the next, and we cannot visualize any definite point of time as the one at which Dominion Status will be given to India. But in the discussions of the Act whenever the question of Dominion Status arose the point had always been evaded, and the Act nowhere makes mention of Dominion Status as the goal of India. Apart from this we have referred at our previous meetings to the numerous reservations and safeguards, to the provisions for the commercial men, for the British trade, for the British investors of funds in India, British men of the services in India and even for British men of liberal professions in India. There has not been any conceivable reservation that can be claimed by any British interest omitted or not embodied in the Act. Those various provisions have been subjected to detailed criticisms at our previous meetings and it is not my object to repeat them again. It is these provisions, some of which take us to a worse position than we occupied before the Act was passed, that makes us declare that the Act is wholly unsatisfactory and unacceptable to us. I will leave it at that so far as the first paragraph of the resolution is concerned.

Then I go on to paragraph (b) which is more important. The question has been put to us, if we deem the Act unacceptable why we think that the Act should be worked. The answer is obvious. It is not as if we can choose to bring ourselves under the Act or not. The Act is passed and its operation will begin over the whole country, whether you will like it or not. It is not like the membership of an association in regard to which you may either go in or prefer to stay out. The Act having been passed and the operation of it not being preventable from any point of view, it is necessary for us to go in and work the Act. There are some people who think that the Act being unacceptable, we ought not to go into the Councils at all. That is a view which is now confined to a very few people. The large majority, including the majority party in this country, have now come to the clear conclusion that we must go into the Councils. Therefore, that question does not require very much to be discussed. When we go into the Councils, whether we should accept office or not is a question which is still supposed to be kept in abeyance. It was discussed elsewhere and no resolution has yet been come to and it has been decided that the matter should be left over till after the elections for consideration. As far as we are concerned, it is clear that if we go into the Councils the only logical step for us to take, if we were in a position to take office, would be for us to accept office and therefore there ought to be no hesitation on

the question of acceptance of office so far as we are concerned. And looking around it seems to me that the people who are now against acceptance of office are largely people connected with what has been called the socialist propaganda in this country. It is intelligible why this party should not be willing that office should be accepted. They themselves have no chance of mustering a majority in any Legislative Council, and even in the party to which they belong they are so much in a minority at this moment that they think that, if office is accepted by the party, it would be worked against socialism and every measure will be on non-socialistic lines rather than on lines favoured by them. Therefore, I quite understand their being unwilling to accept office and it seems to me that in every province it is only the small or large group of socialists that are against the acceptance of office. So far as my own province is concerned, I can say this. I won't speak for Congressmen. I know my province. I know its general features. I am sure that if a plebiscite were taken in Madras today, the very vast majority of people would vote for entry into the Legislative Council and for acceptance of office. If now and then you find some difference between the opinion of Liberals in one province and the opinion of Liberals in another province and you may find opinions expressed in Madras that do not embody exactly the opinions of Liberals in other provinces, this fact really accounts for the difference. In our province the large majority of the electorate, as far as I can judge, the large majority of people who aspire to enter Councils are for acceptance of office. The formula that you must go in and wreck the Act, that you must use your power to wreck the Act, is a formula that you will find always in the pronouncements by Congressmen. But except for that one formula which they think it necessary to repeat every time, I do not think there is really any difference in public opinion on the question of Council entry or of acceptance of office.

In this resolution we hope that in the elections to the new provincial legislatures the electorates will return nationalist candidates who will neither attempt the impossible nor be subservient to authority nor prefer sectional interests to national. So far as the meaning of the last two of these three categories is concerned, there can be no difficulty in understanding what those phrases mean.

Subservient to Authority.—I will not refer to any particular province. There is in every province a section of people who will be content to go into Council, accept office and for the rest leave the reins in the hands of people in authority to exercise power in their name. In any matters in which they have got to express an opinion they will express it first to suit the ideas of people who really rule. That class of people have to be eschewed. I am very familiar with this class of people in my province.

Nor prefer sectional interest to national.—My province again exemplifies this. The men now in authority are people working in the interests of a section rather than in the interests of the whole province. People of that type, when they go into Councils, produce too many troubles for the province in which they take up office. If they champion any interests it is not the interests of the province, it is the interests of a section in which they are themselves interested. The other thing is that in matters in which the Governor or men in authority desire that they should act in

one way rather than another, they do not stop to consider whether it would be in the larger interests of the country.

That these two classes of people should not come into Council, there can be no doubt about it. So far as the first one is concerned I know that our criticism will be resented. We shall be told that they are not attempting the impossible. Only we do not concede it to be possible, but they think that it is possible for them to achieve what we consider impossible. I do not quarrel with words or criticisms, but I am sure of this. If they aspire to achieve the wrecking of the reforms, the immediate result, I am sure, will be none. Nothing that they can do can really have the result of wrecking the reforms. The working of the reforms will go on merrily. Either it may be that certain sections of the members of the Legislatures will take it up to the exclusion of those who think of wrecking the reforms or, if they succeed more effectively than even they hope for, the result will be to throw it upon the hands of the Governor of the province. The Government will go on and there won't be any difficulty. But I rather think that the extreme result will not happen in any province. My province, if any, is likely to return the largest number of Congressmen, as far as I can judge. I say that, perhaps as others may not understand the conditions there as well as I do. But judging broadly it is my feeling that in Madras the Congress is likely to muster very large numbers in the Legislature. Even there I do not expect that anything that the Congress can do can be described as really resulting in the wrecking of the reforms. That thing they will not be able to achieve. They propose to go into the country, rouse the masses and build up an organization for the purpose of adding strength to their cause. If they succeed in it I am sure it will take a generation before they can rouse the opinion in the country to the pitch that is necessary for the purpose of achieving what they desire to achieve. It seems to me that looking at it as a problem of the present election we are entitled to say this. Nationalist opinion which does not belong to any of these categories and which will take up the working of the reforms immediately and work it to the best interests of the country and not in the interests of a section, ought to be selected for the purpose of working the reforms and utilized for the best advantage of the country.

Now I pass on to the third paragraph in which it is stated that in the constitution of ministries and in the actual working of the Government the Governors of provinces should not further whittle down such meagre concessions as the Act has made to Indian demands. I am inclined to make two exhortations. One is to the Governors to exercise their special powers as little as possible. But to our own representatives in the Council I should say, go on with your work as if these safeguards did not exist. At any point at which you find that you impinge against the safeguards and to yield to it will result in disastrous consequences to the country, then it is time for you to act boldly. Come out of the Legislature, give up your places and leave the Governor to get such other ministers as he can get. So far as the party which goes in according to our ideas here is concerned, they are to hold office only so long as it is possible for them to function in accordance with their opinion of the best interests of the country, and if at any point they find that the Governors are against them their clear duty is to resign immediately.

No concessions should be made to the Princes in the course of the negotiations now going on between them and the Government. I do not wish to say very much about this. I will say only this, that the Princes at every point have tried to get all the advantages for themselves and to surrender none. If they want to join the federation they must necessarily surrender some powers to the federation. The attempt that has all along been made is for them to give little or nothing, make concessions and take them away by suggestions that the provisions should be worked differently from the way in which an ordinary federation will work it. This part of the resolution says that at present negotiations are going on to further whittle down the surrender of powers. A certain minimum surrender of powers is absolutely necessary and the Princes must not be permitted to get any more concessions than they have already got. It seems to me that the Princes will be well advised in thinking of us as their brethren in whom they can trust rather than trust to their position as people related directly to the Sovereign. The suzerainty of the sovereign they attach much importance to and if they really came into the federation in the way in which they ought to do, the federation will be able to work very much better in the interests of India. At present the conditions in which they are coming in are such that one cannot but feel that on the already weak link of British India a further burden is being thrown by tacking them on to the state agencies for the purpose of working this constitution. I therefore move that this proposition be carried by you all. (Applause.)

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Lucknow).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution which has been so ably moved by my friend, Mr. Venkatarama Sastry. I have never hesitated to express my firm opinion that the present Government of India Act is of a retrograde character and that if India was to get nothing better than the present Act India would have done well in its old position under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act for a few years more rather than have this Act. My objections to the Act I have mentioned before gatherings of Liberal Federation several times before. They are due to the fact that this Act has put further hindrances in the way of the nation's progress by cutting up the country into water-tight compartments which make the consolidation of India into one homogenous democratic whole much more difficult than it was before by giving special and disproportionate representation to various minorities and by putting the states into a position of excessive power. From all these points of view it is my firm opinion that the Act is retrograde and that it should not have been passed. But as my friend, Mr. Venkatarama Sastry has said, the Act is now on the statute book. We have got to reckon with it whether we wanted it or not, and the sensible thing before all practical men is to see what is to be done in future. At present the whole country is agitated with the electioneering campaign and the second part of this resolution asks the Liberals and those who feel with Liberals, although they are not formally members of the Liberal Party, to see that people are returned to the Councils who will work the Act to the best advantage of the country, or I would rather say to the least disadvantage of the country. As I have said the Act opens wide powers for mischief to various classes and if I insist that the country should return patriotic, sensible and right-minded men to the Councils I have not very much hope of their doing much good but my hope is that they would be

able to prevent a good deal of mischief being done. We have already seen very often that men in power, if they are not actuated by pure patriotic feelings, have used their positions for the purpose of advancing their selfish or sectional interests, leaving the national interests to go by the board. We have had examples of it in the Councils in recent years. Personally I have almost always found that members of the Legislative Council who were elected on a sectional ticket directed their attention in the Councils almost invariably to the promotion of sectional interests. The questions they ask, for instance, in the Councils refer to the number of places occupied by their own particular community and so on, leaving aside entirely the larger and wider questions of national interest. If therefore we say that we should send to the Councils members who are actuated by patriotic spirit we want to see that these places of power and responsibility opened by the new Act are not occupied by people of the kind I have mentioned.

Then again there are other people in the country who talk big, often in a quixotic manner, chasing wild phantoms, and talk about wrecking the Act and doing all sorts of things which one knows they will not be able to do, which I believe most of them believe in their heart of hearts that they will not be able to do. But they are putting before the country programmes which during the last 15 or 16 years have proved futile and which I am sure will prove futile also in future. As Liberals our path is clear. Wherever in the elections there are any Liberal candidates standing, obviously every Liberal should vote for such candidates. In those places where there are no formal Liberal candidates standing, the electors of the Liberal view should select such as are most nearly approximate to the Liberal point of view. It is not possible in a federation like this to give more detailed directions for the Liberal voters. But we hope that all sensible people and by sensible I mean all Liberal people (laughter) will use their franchise in this way in order to further national interests.

As regards the third para of this resolution you know that the Act has provided the Governors of provinces with very wide powers at their own individual discretion. That power may be used in some cases very sparingly. An attempt will be made by them not to use these powers at all. But there are other men, probably more numerous, who will use these powers to thwart the progress of India, and if I could give you my own personal experience you will find that this fear is not entirely groundless. I have had the occasion to serve as a Minister for three years in Bombay under a Governor who is pretty well known as a great reactionary even in British politics. The Montagu-Chelmsford Act left many things vague, left a good deal to the Governor's discretion. In some provinces for some time the Act was worked in a very reasonable and sensible manner, as for instance in this province under Sir Harcourt Butler when the Ministers were my friends, Mr. Chintamaai and Pandit Jagat Narayan. (Applause.) I am told that the Act was worked very reasonably, the whole Government was practically a happy family and the Ministers did not feel that there was any difference between them and the members of the Executive Council. But as soon as Sir Harcourt Butler left these shores and was succeeded by others the whole atmosphere changed and we found that it was not possible for my friends to remain in office any longer because the Act was worked in a very reactionary way.

My own experience is of a somewhat similar nature. In our province no attempt was made to work the Act in a liberal spirit. We were three Ministers in Bombay and the day after we were sworn in office there was just one meeting of the three Ministers. One question was brought before that meeting about a certain appointment on which the Governor held exceedingly strong views and we three knowing what the question was had also made up our mind in an opposite direction. The Governor talked to us at great length saying that this was his view, but he would not oppose us if we thought otherwise. But he asked us pointedly to take the responsibility on our heads if anything sinister occurred as the result of our decision. We took the responsibility and went against the opinion of the Governor. So far as that particular question was concerned the heavens did not fall and the action that we took was proved by subsequent events to be the most useful in the interests of the province. The Governor took his lesson from that one meeting and during the next three years there was not a single other meeting of the Ministers called by the Governor. In the Act and the Instrument of Instructions there was sufficient ambiguity about the collective responsibility of the Ministers, about the holding of joint meetings, holding meetings of the Ministers alone or holding joint meetings. The Governor immediately consulted the Law Officers of the Crown and got the opinion from them that the Ministers are not to have joint responsibility but that they were individually responsible for the administration of their departments to the Governor and consequently no joint meeting of the Ministers was ever called. After a short time occasional meetings of the two halves of Government were called and we as Ministers were invited to these meetings. When we were invited to attend these meetings we asked the Governor to have the papers relating to the various subjects that were to come before the meetings, circulated to us so that we could give a considered opinion upon these points and many of these subjects of course referred to the reserved departments. The Governor did not want to send the papers to us as a matter of course and he told us that when in a particular case we wanted to look at those papers we could write to the private secretary and request him to send those papers and then the Governor would consider whether those papers should be circulated or not. We naturally said that in those circumstances we did not want to see any paper relating to the reserved departments and we would go there, just sit silent and listen to what was said. We never took part in any discussions or decisions relating to the reserved departments during those three years. I make mention of these facts to show that, if there is a reactionary Governor, then in the new Act there are numerous opportunities to exercise his reactionary spirit, and consequently in the new Act where there are no reserved departments and the whole administration would be in the hands of the Ministers there lies a very much increased responsibility on the Ministers to see that the Governor does not use his special powers to thwart national progress. The Governor must feel that the Ministers will always be prepared to resign if he uses those powers in an irresponsible spirit against the letter of the law or at least the spirit of the Act. As I said the Ministers will be held responsible for anything wrong that is being done. The Governor will pull the strings from behind and leave the Ministers to accept their responsibility for any mischief that is done. Consequently the Ministers must be sufficiently patriotic to keep

their resignations, so to say, always in their pockets in order to see that the proper progress of the province is not thwarted. I only mention this experience of mine to show that the constitution leaves a great many things to the personality of the Governors of the provinces. And as we cannot be sure about the particular persons selected the Ministers have got to be very careful and circumspect. On this account the men that we send to the Councils and the men that are supported should be really patriotic men who will not have any axe of their own to grind because the Ministers must understand that if they do a job on their own part once the officials as well as possibly the Governor and his advisers will do 20 jobs on their account and the Ministers will not be able to stop such jobs being done. What we want is that the Ministers should have no axe of their own to grind and should have only the public interest in their mind. It is only then that something could be achieved out of this Act. Of course any machinery, however imperfect, if it is worked by sensible men who have a spirit of compromise might be able to do some good. But we feel that this machinery of the Government of India Act is fraught with so many risks that the responsibility upon the Ministers is especially great. The Liberal Federation hopes that the responsibility will be fully carried out by these Ministers and for this purpose they must be prepared to sacrifice their position for the sake of carrying out their proper duties and for the sake of furthering public interest.

On the fourth part I am not going to speak much. That question of states is coming before the Federation in another resolution, but I feel that in the federation the states are not giving up anything at all. They are getting very much increased power and in the negotiations that are being carried on just now between the states and the representatives of the Viceroy, we fear that they might be able to get even more than is actually granted to them according to the letter of the Act. It is always the desire of the people in power to strive to get more power. Princes are accustomed to their autocratic ways. They do not want to have anything done which would detract from their autocratic power to the least extent. They want to consolidate their power further and it is feared that in the federation with the 33 per cent. seats that they are getting in the lower house and the 40 per cent. seats that they are getting in the upper house of the Federal Legislature their opportunities for consolidating their power will be even greater than at present. We hope that in the negotiations Government will not yield to attempts on the part of Princes to get further powers and to allow them to aggrandize their own position. From all these points of view the resolution that has been proposed for your acceptance I think very fairly represents the views of the Liberal Federation on this important political question which is now before us, and I hope you will accept that resolution unanimously. (Applause.)

Mr. M. D. Altekar (Bombay).—Mr. President and friends, after the two able speeches of the two ex-presidents of this Federation I need really add very little to what has been said. I wish, however, to make two comments on this resolution. In the first place you will find that the greatest objection to the new constitution lies in this, that the task of nationalism has been made more difficult in this country on account of its introduction.

Communal electorates have been strengthened. There will be more communalism under the new *regime*. In the second place, autocratic influences in the country have been strengthened by means of what is called "federation". We did want and we do want a federated India. If we want federation, however, it does not mean that we want any kind of federation. Under the new constitution this so-called federation will not federate India but will retard the march of democracy in this country very successfully. Therefore the task of nationalists in this country has become more difficult. The nationalists must put more strength into their work in carrying out their duties in this country. Those who would like to fight know very well that they like to fight with more and more difficulties and in this way nationalism must become more enthusiastic under this new constitution in order to fight with the greater difficulties that we have to contend against.

The other observation that I wish to make is with regard to what is called office acceptance. As a Liberal and as an individual I think I might be permitted to say that we are the most disinterested party in the country with regard to office acceptance. We believe in the theory of office acceptance. If our men would go there they would certainly take office if they could. But we know fairly well what is almost going to happen and, therefore, we stand by this theory not on the ground of any selfish motives in the matter but because we know that this thing must be done. The constitution has come. We tried our best to avert it. In spite of the efforts by all sorts of people in this country, it has arrived. We could not prevent it. We have now to utilize it in such manner that it will benefit our country. Therefore all this talk about non-acceptance of office appears to me to be the talk of cowardice. Why should not people accept office? Those who may not accept office fear that they will not be able to carry out their tall promises to the people that they make at the time of elections. If people talk reasonably, in reality instead of in dreams, it will be possible for them to realize what things they promise. But when we talk very wonderful things it becomes exceedingly difficult to realize them in actual practice and consequently the best way is to run away from responsibility. That is called cowardice. I hope that such cowardice will not characterize those who will get into the Councils. All of us suspect that the talk of non-acceptance of office and of the postponement of any resolution on that subject in another place is principally due to the elections that will take place. When the elections have taken place, then it will be probably given out that office acceptance is accepted by all those people who today say that they will not accept office. Otherwise their election chances will be affected, if they declare today that they are not going to accept office.

We have stated in this resolution that we should send to the Councils nationalist candidates. It is a very good sentence because we do not say: "send only Liberals". We say: "send nationalists". After all, this country requires today nationalism of the best kind, and if true nationalists go to the Councils they will be of very great use in getting something out of this bad constitution. After all, men will work the constitution and it will depend entirely upon the men who will be there as to what the results of this constitution will be. I personally believe that it depends more upon the men who work the constitution than upon the letter of the constitution

as to what results we will get out of it. If there are the right kind of men, if there are no Jo-hukums of either type—(A voice : they will be there)—I am afraid so, just as you are. But there are two kinds of Jo-hukums. One reside in the vicinity of the Government House. The other reside in more popular places and India's salvation will not come from Jo-hukums of either type. There must be men of independent thinking, men who can take their own line, who can think for themselves and who will not only carry out orders from above, whether they are from Governors or from others. And, therefore, the men that we should send there should be men with courage, men with independence, and as my friend and *guru*, Dr. Paranjpye, said, men with no axe of their own to grind. After all in this fight for Swaraj we want men who have no axes of their own to grind. Only such men will be able to do something for the country.

In commending this resolution to your acceptance I wanted to make these two observations. I will only say one word more and it is this. During the last 15 years when it was possible in several provinces for the Ministers and for popular parties who were in a majority to get some good results out of the Act that will expire soon it was not done because of this cowardice in not facing the reality and in not accepting responsibility. I hope the mistake will not be repeated in future. (Applause.)

Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru (Fyzabad) supported the resolution in Hindustani. He explained that the resolution was composed of four parts. He dwelt on the obnoxious nature of the constitution contained in the Government of India Act, 1935. He said that the constitution was utterly inadequate and unacceptable and had been declared so by all the parties in the country, whether Congress or landlords or tenants. But helpless as they were, there were only two courses open to them. The first course was to non-cooperate, as was done by the Congress. But it was futile, as past experience had showed. The Congress itself had realized its futility as it decided upon Council-entry. The second and the only alternative open to them was to extract from it as much or as little as was humanly possible to do. He exhorted the audience and the electorate to send honest self-sacrificing men to the Legislatures, men who would not be daunted by the frowns of the Governors or who would not be seduced by their smiles. He asked the electorate not to send self-seekers, place-hunters or title-seekers. He instanced the case of the first Ministry in the province composed of Pandit Jagat Narayan and Mr. Chintamani who resigned on a constitutional point. He also eulogized the two Ministers, Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Kumar Rajendra Singh, for resigning their offices as soon as they found that the interests of the country demanded it. He exhorted the electorate only to send such men who might have the good of the country at heart and who would be prepared to resign as soon as their sense of self-respect was offended or the true interests of the country demanded it.

Proceeding, the speaker said that the Indian Civil Service consisted of a disciplined and loyal set of workers. But yet there were men amongst them who in their arrogance were sometimes prone to be self-willed, and as the constitution gave no power to the Ministry over them they were prone to be obstinate. He urged that in such cases the Ministers should assert themselves or resign. He warned the Governors not to use their special powers in such manner as might create deadlocks or impede the progress of

the country or make the inadequate provisions of the Government of India Act still more inadequate. He also warned the Government not to concede further concessions to the Princes in their anxiety to establish federation and thereby increase their autocratic powers and destroy the federal constitution altogether. The princes wanted to strengthen their position at the expense of British India and made the federation a mockery. The Princes in their pride of power did not consider that they should join the federation for the good of the whole country but wanted to turn it for their personal advantage. The time was not distant when their subjects would get power and become stronger and then the Princes would realize the utter folly of their attitude. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and unanimously adopted.

REFORM IN INDIAN STATES

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

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

Mr. Chintamani said: Ladies and gentlemen, in placing this resolution before you I would make one or two preliminary observations to disabuse people's minds of possible misapprehension. In advocating the recognition of the rights of the people of the Indian states I affirm that we of the Liberal Party are not in the slightest degree and in any sense of the term unfriendly to the ruling Princes. We are not among those who wish to see the rulers of Indian states or the landed magnates of British India wiped out of existence. On the contrary, we are convinced that it is in the best interests of the country that the few surviving relics of Swaraj in India represented by the Indian states and the ruling Princes should be maintained. Any of you who has had occasion to visit an Indian state would not have failed to be impressed by a certain difference in the atmosphere that prevails there as compared with that with which we are familiar in British India. There is a soul in Indian states which we miss sadly in the mechanical ordering of things in British India. The people of Indian states have their own sovereigns for whom by religious sentiment, by hereditary association and by personal attachment they are deeply devoted. Liberal as I am in opinion, I am not ashamed to confess that I am conservative in sympathies and I do not wish that the Indian states

should all be marked red on the map of India. If we advocate the recognition of the rights of their people we do so not less in the interests of the Princes themselves than of the people. I have long had the conviction—I am sure you all share it—that the rulers of Indian states as constitutional heads of states will be much more firm in their position and will command confidence as well as respect from all classes of people far more than as despotic monarchs and if the head of the greatest empire the world has ever known, the King of England, is content to be the constitutional head of a constitutional state. I do not see any reason why the rulers of Indian states should have any hesitation in accepting such a position for themselves. I am the more puzzled by the reluctance of these rulers to recognize the rights of their subjects when we know as a matter of fact that day after day they have to act in a spirit of subservience to the Political department of the Government of India. I am perplexed by the inconsistency of their attitude in hugging to their bosom the paramountcy of Britain with all that it implies and connotes at the same time that they object to the sharing of their powers with their own people. It is a pity that every time there is a discussion of constitutional reform in British India a number of rulers of Indian states should put themselves forward as persons suspicious of what their position will be in case political power in British India is transferred from the British to their own countrymen. This is an attitude utterly unworthy of them, it is an attitude which has laid them open to considerable misunderstanding, and very rightly. I hope and trust that at least the wiser and more far-seeing among these ruling Princes will see the handwriting on the wall. If they do not move with the times, if they do not attune themselves to the changing spirit of the people, if they will not accept reform, then their successors will certainly have to regret the unwisdom and shortsightedness of the present incumbents of the sovereignty of Indian states in declining to make their people contented and to recognize them as citizens who should possess certain rights. If there is growing agitation among the people of Indian states, agitation not always within the limits of moderation and reason, I think the rulers have themselves to thank for this position. It is a well understood law of political conditions that if between a powerful and a weak party long subsisting relations of amity are disturbed and if the weaker party grows impatient of the checks exercised over them by the more powerful party, it stands to reason that the latter is to blame far more than the former. That is the case in the relations between England and Ireland. That is the case in the relations between England and India. That is the case in the relations between the Princes and their subjects. I am aware that ruling Princes are in the habit of saying that the bulk of their subjects are quite contented, that it is only the work of a few pestilential agitators to claim political rights and to express a sense of dissatisfaction with things as they are. But Mr. President, this has been the shibboleth of despots and reactionaries at all times and in all countries. Are we not aware in British India that the I. C. S. arrogates to itself a knowledge of the sentiments and wishes of what it calls the inarticulate masses, while it denies to us, flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone a similar capacity to understand what they want. The Indian Princes are living in a world which-wise men do well to avoid if they think that the growing agitation

among their subjects is limited to a few malcontents and that the bulk of people are content and will be content to go on as at present. The discontent is increasing, the number of people who want political rights are also vastly increasing, and therefore we as genuine friends of the rulers of Indian states tell them in courteous but firm language that it will not do for them to continue as they are now doing but that they should, gradually, if they will, but steadily and unmistakably share their political power with their subjects by the establishment of representative government as a prelude to responsible government. I heard yesterday an esteemed friend of mine say that, while we in British India are still very far from responsible government, there is no reason why we should ask that Indian Princes should establish such government in their states. Yes, we are very far from responsible government. But my friend is aware that we are moving in the direction of responsible government and notwithstanding all the obstacles which the opponents of Indian progress, may seek to place in our path, it is as certain as anything can be that the present representative institutions in British India, based on an expanded franchise, are bound to lead to responsible government. If they will not lead to responsible government, I for one have no doubt that there will be ending if there cannot be mending of the present system and the same will happen in Indian states. I will ask the apologists of things as they are in Indian states to say whether in the majority of those states there is even a semblance, there is even the beginning of representative institutions. Undoubtedly there are certain states which are not only very well governed but also have introduced representative institutions and are making good progress towards responsible government. But in the majority of Indian states there is no such thing as representative government visible even to a person who may seek the aid of a microscope to discover such a thing if it anywhere exists.

In this resolution we next express regret that in the coming Federation the representatives of Indian states will be merely the nominees of the ruling Princes and not persons returned by any system of election. Here I am bound to condemn the attitude of the rulers of states in the strongest terms. I am aware that in the Round Table Conference or at the time the Round Table Conference was held the leaders of opinion in British India made every effort at persuasion to induce the Princes to agree to some form of election howsoever indirect, or at least to the election of some of their representatives, or in the last resort to agree to election after the lapse of a certain number of years. These leaders were met even by the more progressive of Indian states with the most obstinate reply that even if it be provided that after the lapse of 1,000 years representatives of the states shall be returned by election they will break off all talks on Federation and would never get into it. This attitude, I do not hesitate to say, without meaning any disrespect to their Highnesses, is unwise and most deplorable. I restrain myself, I wanted to use a stronger word but I would avoid it. But there is nothing to prevent the rulers even now from voluntarily conceding the principle of election to their representatives in the Federal Legislature. The Government of India Act does not forbid them to do so. The Government of India Act does not mention that the representatives *shall* be elected only out of tenderness for the susceptibilities of these over-sensitive people. But if the rulers of states really mean

to get on on friendly terms with the public men of British India and at the same time to draw themselves closer to their subjects in the bonds of affection and devotion they should not hesitate to order that at least a certain number of their representatives in the coming Federal Legislature shall be allowed to be returned by election. There are certain states at present where there are representative Assemblies and Legislative Councils. If they do not want direct election such as exists in the case of British Indian provinces, we shall even be content with a system of indirect election through their local bodies, representative Assemblies or Legislative Councils. If they do not agree to any of these proposals, howsoever diluted they may be, they will stand self-condemned as the advocates and practitioners of despotism long out of date. Why do we in British India eye with so much suspicion the coming federal constitution? We here on the platform of the Liberal Federation do not say that we will do our best to prevent the Federation coming into being. We do not take that attitude, not because we are even fractionally satisfied with the constitution of the coming Federation but because once the new provincial constitution is in working it will be highly inconvenient, it will be almost mischievous in principle for the present central government to remain unchanged as it is. The arrangements with regard to the coming Federation are so one-sided, they so render possible the nominated representatives of states nullifying the work of representatives of British Indian provinces that we are by no means easy in our minds at the prospect that stares us in the face. Even if we think that these nominees of the ruling Princes would be in a position to give effect to their individual convictions or at least that they will only be dictated to by their own Princes and by no external authority, the position might be somewhat tolerable. Actually, however, the nominated representatives of the rulers of states are bound in the majority of cases to be at the beck and call of their political officers, the representatives of the Political department of the Government of India, and you have seen of late the tendency in Indian states to an increase in the number of European ministers and other European officers. Retired military officers or retired I. C. S. officers seem to find a very congenial home in these Indian states and the rulers of states who seem to feel uncomfortable in our company seem to be able to get on very well with these European officers, who are nominal servants but real masters of the situation. I trust, therefore, that in their own interests and not merely in a spirit of disinterestedness their Highnesses will open their eyes to the situation as it is in the world and in this country and in their own states and will listen to the friendly counsel of their well-wishers instead of playing the game of those who want them to be wiped out of existence.

In the Indian states, as one of the clauses of our resolution indicates, some of the most elementary rights of humanity are denied to the people. They cannot assemble in public meetings without special permission. There is almost no free newspaper press in Indian states. Security of person and property is always at the sweet will and mercy of the rulers. It is by no means uncommon for decrees to be made, involving banishment of person and confiscation of property without the outside world almost knowing anything about it. Here is a strange and disagreeable contrast between the position in British India and in Indian

states. Here in British India the Government have to seek exceptional powers whenever they have to detain a man in custody without judicial trial. They have to promulgate ordinances or pass acts of the legislature with the help of that tame Council of State into which I am glad that such men as Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and Mr. Prakash Narain Sapru have at last found their way, and there is such loud outcry from one end of the country to the other whenever accepted notions of liberty of subject and judicial trial, are encroached upon. It is a great tribute to British traditions of government and administration that such measures of restraint should be the exception and not the rule. But in Indian states any man may be asked to leave his home at 24 hours' notice, any man may be told that his property is no longer his property, and yet the thing has to be accepted as a matter of course: it is of such frequent occurrence. The Indian Princes have scarcely realized the great injustice they have done to the Motherland by not bringing up their administrations at least to the level of the government of British India. Suppose, brother-delegates, we were able to point to Indian states and their government as examples of what Indian statesmanship could achieve, as proof of Indian fitness for self-government, as a demonstration of the conviction of Indians that they must live under a constitutional and not an autocratic government; if the public men of British India were able to point to the economic condition of Indian states as being so much better than the condition of the people of British India, as proof that under Swaraj people do prosper whereas under foreign rule they cannot prosper,—why without any political agitation the British government will be compelled to recognize the logic of facts and establish in British India a system of government such as we have long been advocating. It is our misfortune and the fault of the Indian Princes, a fault for which they will have to answer at the bar of history, that they have obstinately stuck to methods of government which are utterly out of date, which are condemned by every sensible and enlightened man. We here urge them no longer to persist in their bad ways but so to reform themselves and their government as to enable all the people of India to say, 'Here is proof, the great visible proof, self-evident, of our anxiety for self-rule, of our desire for constitutional government, of our fitness for the exercise of the rights as well as the responsibilities of such government'.

There is one demand made in this resolution which, I fear, has given rise to a certain amount of misconception in the minds of those who are anxious that nothing should be said or done detrimental to the interests of the Indian Princes or their prestige and good name. That is the demand for an independent judiciary. It seems to have been thought that when we ask for an independent judiciary we ask that the judicial officers of states should not be appointed by the ruling Princes. That is not what we mean. That is not the meaning which attaches to the phrase 'independent judiciary' in political terminology. What we want is a judiciary which cannot be controlled by the executive in the exercise of its judicial functions. Just as in British India a judge of a High Court or district court or even a subordinate judge or munsif cannot be touched by the Governor or any other executive officer in the discharge of his judicial functions, so too in Indian states we demand that the judiciary should be independent and should not be amenable to the control or the influence of the executive.

I do not think there should have been any misunderstanding of this, I do not think it is possible for anyone who understands the phrase in the sense in which it should be understood, to say one word against the demand we put forward in our resolution.

I have been pressed to move this resolution today because people who are directly concerned in the affairs of Indian states are by accident not here today, and therefore I as an ex-president of the Indian States People's Conference should speak for them. I have consented to do so in the firm belief that thereby we are serving not only the people of the Indian states but also the rulers of those states. With any movement, any agitation for the wiping out of Indian states I have not, and I am sure no one of us in this hall has a particle of sympathy. On the contrary, rulers of Indian states must be well aware that whenever the British Government have done a ny act injurious to their states or wounding their honour and self-respect, it is in the public men of British India that the rulers of Indian states have found their ablest champions. (Hear, hear.) The first time that the Indian National Congress—I am not speaking of the present body of that name—took up the question of Indian states was to protest against the very arbitrary manner in which a former Maharaja of Jhalawar was deposed and the spokesman of the Congress on the subject was no less a man than the late Lord Sinha. Every time in any political body in India we have taken up any subject affecting the well-being of the rulers and the people of Indian states we have done so with the single object of upholding the prestige and the honour of the rulers as well as the interests of the people. It is in this spirit that I put this resolution before you and I am sure it is in that spirit that you will all accord to it your unanimous acceptance. (Applause.)

Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal (Benares).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is for the second time again that I have to follow Mr. Chintamani. My position is not very enviable. I am happy that he has made it easy for me to speak because there is not much to say. He has exhausted the subject almost and he has made it difficult for me to find anything new that I may add to it. However, I willingly respond to the chairman's order and you will please excuse me if I happen to repeat or paraphrase anything that might have been said. I have known Indian states, large and small, for several years, about 20. Indian states are of different kinds, as you know. There is an Indian state with an income of six crores or eight crores annually and there is an Indian state claiming to have a ruling chief with an income of Rs. 200 and having 10 acres of land. Altogether there are 562 states and they are very different from British India. Under the new scheme they are being drawn nearer to British India. Now what is the position? This resolution expresses the Liberal Federation's sympathy with the people of the Indian states. Why is it necessary to record this fact? It is not only to support the states' people, but it is a broad hint to the ruling Princes from us of the Liberal Party, that we are friendly with their people and that we will stand by them when they come to us in the Indian federation. That is the object of this part.

The second part may be divided again into two. It is a comprehensive one. It begins with an expression of our regret at a certain omission from the Act. Well, the Act has been largely criticized and

by none more vigorously, sharply and minutely than by the Liberal Party and its leaders. Tons of ink have been spilt in writing newspaper articles and in showing the faults of omission and commission in the Act. I need not dwell upon the first part of the resolution in clause (b). The second part is a request or a suggestion or a recommendation that the rulers of Indian states will allow their representatives in the Federal Legislature to be returned by election. It is almost crying for the moon. All the same we are not afraid to express our views on the subject. No Indian state will care to send its representatives by election. They do not want it. But we recommend to them as their friends. We suggest to them and we hope that they will act upon this suggestion.

The last clause (c) strongly urges once again that the rulers of the states without further delay should concede to their subjects the rights of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, as well as representative government as a prelude to responsible government. We tell them to be good boys and do nothing to endanger their position. Those rulers who are wise in their generation have begun to appreciate such sentiments and they say in their heart of hearts that it will not do to continue the old ways of government. We are strengthening their hands by making this recommendation to them. What in this connection strikes me as very extraordinary is that every ruler of an Indian state, be it large or small, claims rights, dignities, izzat, and he is very ticklish on this matter. No ruler, I think, of those 562 states ever thinks of the rights of the subjects. I do not mean that their rights are trampled upon, but I wish some portion of their inner mind would work on behalf of their subjects as well in the matter of their rights, their privileges, their dignities and their izzat. This is the recommendation of the Liberal Federation. I think with this view every one of you will agree and you will accord your support by accepting this resolution as put before you.

Mr. V. Venkatasubiah (Madras):—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, if after the very able speech which we have heard from Mr. Chintamani I take up at all a few minutes of your time it is because I represent the people of the native states, being born and brought up in a native state. (Hear, hear.) It is a matter of pleasure and also a duty of mine to support this resolution. But the few minutes that are allotted to me I shall devote to giving you some instances which justify one part of this resolution. To those who are born and brought up in British India it may appear very elementary to ask for such things as the security of person and property and the freedom of association and so on. I propose to give a few instances which have come under my direct observation. Today in the biggest of Indian states it is not possible to hold a public meeting on whatever subject it be, not necessarily a political meeting, without the permission of the executive, and ordinarily no such permission is applied for and no such permission is given. Then, it happens that all of a sudden a newspaper is banished from the state and all of a sudden it is again admitted. The prohibition may depend upon the contents of a single article and again the admission may depend upon the contents of another article. Such things are taking place in the biggest and most important of Indian states. Some years ago Mr. A. V. Thakkar who, all of you know, is the general secretary

of the Harijan Sewak Singh, was requested to preside over a depressed classes conference in one of the states in Kathiawar. After his arrival two policemen told him that he was wanted by the Thanadar who corresponds to a sub-inspector of police in British India. Mr. Thakkar said that he would not go to him, but the Thanadar could go to him. The policemen said, 'we will drag you there'. He was amazed. He asked, 'have you got any warrant against me? If you have, produce it'. They said, 'we don't understand those things; if you don't go we will drag you there'. Mr. Thakkar's host intervened and said, 'it is better that you go and speak to the man'. So my friend, Mr. Thakkar, went there. As soon as he went there he took the Thanadar to task and asked him, 'what do you mean by sending these men and by their being so rude to me?' He simply smiled and said, 'we have no Habeas Corpus Act here in this state. What is it that you can do? The utmost that you can do is that you can complain to my Maharaja, but he would not listen to you against me. The fact is that we don't want to have this conference here. You may go three or four miles outside the state limits and have your conference there'.

Without giving names, I would like to mention one other instance. In a state which was then ruled by an England-returned and an England-educated chief, what happened was this. One of the citizens who made money in Bombay built a beautiful house. The Maharaja saw it and he thought he would like to have it. He asked the owner to surrender it. The owner did not like to part with it. But a few days later all of a sudden he was caught hold of and put in a dungeon for months together. He rotted there and contracted tuberculosis and he died a few months later. Before he died he was released on account of the interference of the Political Agent. After he died his widow wanted to will away that property for a religious purpose. Out comes the Maharaja with an order that no property should be given either for religious or any other purpose without his consent! Such things no doubt are quite unbelievable by those who live only in British India or whose acquaintance of Indian states is confined to Mysore, Travancore and such states. But such things still exist and if the political strength of our country is that of the weakest link, that is, of Indian states, if our country is to get politically strong, it is absolutely necessary that the elementary rights that are mentioned in this resolution should be conceded, and in this respect the British Government ought to do much more than it has done in influencing the Princes. As one born in an Indian state, having my home in an Indian state and that one of the best states, I still press that the British Government and the British Indian politicians should exert much more pressure, moral pressure and any other pressure that may be in their hands, upon Indian states to foster citizenship and to give fundamental rights to their people. With these few words I support this resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha (Bombay) moved :

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its great appreciation of the friendly sentiments towards India

expressed by the parliamentary delegation from the Union of South Africa. At the same time, in reciprocating these sentiments it expresses the ardent hope that, as a result of the closer contacts established between the Governments and peoples of the two countries, the Union Government and Parliament will take speedy and effective steps to establish equal status, under the law, of the resident Indian community, of whom at least 80 per cent. are born within the Union.

BURMA

- (b) The Federation expresses the hope and expectation that, following the separation of Burma from India, the Indian population, which has made so large and important a contribution to the stability and prosperity of Burma, will be enabled to continue to do so in collaboration with their Burmese fellow-citizens.

ADEN

- (c) Whilst appreciating the safeguards contained in the India Act of the rights and status of the Indian community of Aden, the Federation keenly regrets the separation of Aden from India. It urges that nothing should be done, whether by the local administration or by the Indian Legislature, to imperil the economic welfare of the community.

CEYLON

- (d) The Federation has observed with regret the evidence of strained relations between India and Ceylon, affecting not only immigrants but also the permanent Indian population of the island. The Federation is of opinion that nothing could be more harmful than the perpetuation of misunderstandings between Ceylon and India, and requests the Government of India to take every possible step, in conjunction with the Governments of Ceylon, Travancore and Cochin, to ascertain the facts underlying existing disputes, with a view to the early application of remedies satisfactory to all these Governments and the peoples they represent. At the same time, whilst regretting the absence of an Indian from the present Government of Ceylon, the Federation would welcome the appointment by that Government of an Agent with the Government of India.

MALAYA

- (e) The Federation welcomes the despatch to Malaya of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as a delegation to inquire into the conditions and welfare of the Indian labourers in Malaya and to report thereon to the Government of India. The Federation further hopes that opportunity may be given to Mr. Sastri to ascertain any grievances or disabilities under which the permanent Indian population of Malaya may labour.

FIJI

- (f) In expressing its gratification that, largely as a result of the intervention of the Government of India the franchise has been kept up in Fiji notwithstanding the attempt to deprive the

electorate of its constitutional rights, the Federation deeply regrets that the principle of nomination has also been adopted by his Majesty's Government, so that divisions may be artificially created in the Indian community. The Federation urges that steps may be taken to enable Indians numbering about 78,000, mostly Fiji-born, to acquire permanent title to land under all necessary safeguards of the rights of the Fijian population, numbering about 98,000.

BRITISH GUIANA AND TRINIDAD

- (g) The Federation feels grave anxiety regarding the economic welfare of the Indian population of British Guiana and Trinidad, and requests the Government of India to acquaint the public with its observations on the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the recent riots on certain estates in the former colony.

KENYA

- (h) The Federation learns with satisfaction that the administrative disqualification of the Indian population regarding the ownership or occupation of agricultural land in the Highlands of Kenya is not to have the sanction of law. The Federation, however, continues to protest against even the administrative disqualification imposed upon Indians who, by their enterprise and initiative, have contributed greatly to the opening up and development of Kenya including the Highlands, and hopes that the Government of India will take steps to secure administrative equality for the resident Indian community.

ZANZIBAR

- (i) The Federation has learnt with grave alarm the substance of the report of the Binder Inquiry regarding the legislation concerning the Zanzibar clove industry and apprehends further serious injury therefrom to the Indian community whom it is sought to deprive of their ancient control of the clove export trade. The Federation urges the Government of India to take all possible steps without delay to protect the Indian community of Zanzibar both as regards this industry and as regards its other interests in the Protectorate, against these sustained efforts at expropriation and ruin.

INDIAN AGENTS

- (j) The Federation will welcome the appointment by the Government of India of Agents in East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and other British territories which have substantial Indian populations and interests, and requests the Indian Legislature to make financial provision therefor.

APPRECIATION

- (k) The Federation records its sense of appreciation of the attitude of the Government of India towards, and their efforts on behalf of Indian nationals settled abroad and expresses the strong

hope that the Government will continue to support their cause with unwavering fidelity and redoubled vigour.

Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as you are aware the story of Indians abroad is a very dark chapter. It is a story of continued humiliation, a story of systematic expropriation, a story of racial discrimination with vengeance. All over the various colonies you find the same aspects brought out in one form or another. So far as South Africa is concerned, barring the passage of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Amendment Act of 1936, we find no redeeming feature so far. This Act enables Indians to acquire lands in certain mountain areas, but all other disabilities with regard to segregation and franchise still continue. In two of the provinces in South Africa Indians have neither municipal nor political franchise. So far as Durban is concerned Indians are not permitted to travel even in the same tram-car as the whites. You will see from this that while we believe that the Delegation will be able to do something for the benefit of Indians abroad, the major problems still remain unsolved, and I am afraid it is something beyond the scope of a mere delegation to achieve what Indians desire to be achieved in this part of Africa.

With regard to Burma a new problem has cropped up. With the separation of Burma from India there has grown up anti-Indian feeling there. It was contemplated at one time to give Burma legislative power to prohibit unskilled labour from India. Unfortunately that provision could not be incorporated in the Act on account of the difficulty of framing a suitable definition of unskilled labour. Subsequently the India Office announced that the Burma Legislature will have full power to stop immigration of Indians of all categories whatsoever. A new situation may develop thus in Burma in the very near future, which may be akin to the situation prevailing in various colonies. India's large trade with Burma and India's money have gone to develop Burma. If all of a sudden this link is broken one can well understand what the position will be.

So far as Ceylon and Malaya are concerned—I take these two colonies together because the problem is an economic problem and much the same in both. In Ceylon the trouble is about the fixing of a minimum wage. The minimum wage was once fixed in 1927, but on account of the fall in the prices of tea and rubber there has been a movement to reduce the wages. This has caused trouble both in Ceylon as well as Malaya. So far as Malaya is concerned one of our distinguished Liberals, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri is there and we hope his visit will go to attenuate the hardships which Indian labourers are suffering. It is interesting to know that Malaya contains an Indian population of 6½ lakhs.

With regard to Fiji the problem is a little more complicated. By Letters Patent in 1929 Fiji was given a Legislative Council. Election of Indians was on a communal basis. Indians demanded a common electoral roll. That was not conceded and as a result, the elected Indians walked out. Recently there have been proposals for the reconstitution of the Fiji Council in which there will be 31 members out of whom 16 will be officials. The remaining 15 will be distributed among three communities each of which will have five—Indians, Fijians and Europeans. The population of Indians is about 78,000 whereas that of Europeans is only 4,000

and yet the representation given to them is equal. With the 16 officials the Europeans will have a majority of 21. That is a state of affairs which requires to be remedied.

Coming to British Guiana and Trinidad, I am afraid the problem there is largely economic. British Guiana has a population of 1,34,000 whereas Trinidad has 1,40,000. Some colonization scheme was mooted some time back, but I am afraid having regard to the recent fall in the prices of staples there that scheme has become absolutely impossible. In view of this it appears that if the position of Indians there is to be bettered some other *via media* will have to be found out.

Coming to Kenya, it is an old old story of segregation of Indians. Under the disguise of obtaining better prices for their staples and obtaining a better market for their produce Kenya has passed certain marketing legislation. This marketing legislation provides that certain markets will be set up in certain places, certain dealers will be given licenses and only specific commodities will be sold in these markets by licensed dealers. It is very easy to see how by administrative discrimination markets can be set up in such places as to ruin the business of Indians, and the licenses can be restricted to non-Indians. That broadly today is the position. At the time of this commercial legislation the Kenya Government promised that if it ever operated harshly upon Indians it would look into the legislation and modify it. Various representations have been made by commercial communities there that it is driving many traders out of business altogether, but one regrets to observe that nothing has been done so far by the Kenya Government to meet their objections.

Coming to the question of Zanzibar I believe many of you are aware that on June 14, 1934, it was announced that the Protectorate Government contemplated passing certain anti-Indian Decrees. These Decrees were passed in the space of 14 days as the result of which the clove monopoly—clove is the main produce of Zanzibar—was created and power was vested in the Clove Growers' Association, and a large body of the Indian trading community was driven absolutely out of business. The ostensible purpose for which it was done was that the agricultural lands in Zanzibar were being alienated at an alarming rate and that unless some legal restriction was placed upon such alienation agriculture might suffer as more land might pass into non-agricultural hands. The Decrees were passed on the recommendations contained in a Report which is known as the Bartlett-Last Report. Subsequently the Government appointed another Commission, the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission, over which the Chief Justice presided and which had an official majority. This Commission submitted that the basis of the Bartlett Report was altogether false. If there had been any honesty the moment this was announced the Decrees would have been withdrawn. Unfortunately nothing has been done. The last we heard of this was the Binder inquiry. Mr. Binder was deputed by the Colonial Office to examine the operation of these Acts against India. Unfortunately his report instead of mitigating the hardships of Indians contains recommendations which will be shortly put into practice and which will go to intensify them. He said that not only the Clove Growers' Association should have powers that it already had but that there should be additional powers vested in them, so that they can acquire a complete monopoly

of the clove trade. Moratorium has been recommended to be extended and there are various other recommendations which virtually reduce the Indian traders to the position of commission agents of the Clove Growers' Association. Most of the Indian traders have been ruined. They are not in a position to pay the license fee. It is as high as Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000 though it has been recently recommended that the sum should be reduced.

Ladies and gentlemen, the next clause in the resolution suggests the appointment of agents in East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana and other British territories. I think that is a provision which no one can object to. It would make for better representation of the cause of Indians which very often goes by default.

The last clause is appreciation of the stand which the Government of India have taken. The question of Indians abroad is the one question on which everybody is absolutely united. The Government of India have taken a firm stand. They have been constantly ruled out and after all being a subordinate Government it is impossible for them to do anything more than merely protest and make representations. Perhaps many of you know that the Congress has passed a resolution on the subject at its sessions in which they have said that till we acquire independence we are afraid we can do very little for Indians overseas. I am not one of those who believe in that position. The new Act gives us enough power to discriminate against those parts of the Commonwealth which discriminate against us. I see no reason why the new Legislatures or members should not move for an embargo on cloves. 40 per cent. of the cloves from Zanzibar are consumed by India. That means quite a lot. I believe if we remain determined and if we make it our duty to see that Indians abroad should not suffer humiliation again, it is quite possible for us to extend to them a helping hand. And therefore, while commending this resolution to your acceptance I request you to study this question and wherever possible to cultivate public opinion on this issue. If you do that, then I am sure there is no power which is so great as will be able to stand up against the progress of Indians abroad. (Applause.)

Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube (Lucknow) seconded the resolution. Speaking in Hindustani he expressed delight that Indians were to be found practically in all parts of the world but regretted that almost everywhere they were deprived of their political and civic rights, this being true specially of countries within the British Commonwealth. The speaker welcomed the recent visit to India of the South African Delegation and expressed the strong hope that the excellent sentiments exhibited by the leader of the delegation would be translated into action so far as the protection of the rights and interests of Indians in South Africa was concerned.

Mr. Andrews Dube next referred to the separation of Burma from India. He said that Burma owed a great deal to India in regard to her cultural, social, economic and political development. Burma did not want separation, but it was the British Government which to advance its own

interests had broken the link which had bound for centuries together India and Burma. Similar was the case with Ceylon. The speaker hoped that no legislation would be undertaken which would result in shutting the immigration of labour from India to Burma and Ceylon. He emphasised the necessity of the appointment of agents in East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad on the lines of the Indian agent in South Africa. Concluding, Mr. Dube spoke in appreciative terms of Government's attitude on the question of Indians abroad and hoped that the Government of India would continue such attitude in future.

Mr. B. B. Roy (Calcutta).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to touch the details of this resolution. That has been done by my two predecessors, the mover and the seconder, with great ability. But I would wish to develop what I might call the general aspects of this perpetual question of Indians overseas which has been troubling us for nearly half a century now and which has become particularly acute during this year. In this Liberal Federation and at the Congress we are apt to be so much engrossed in the question of constitutional reforms that we forget that not less than nearly two and half millions of our countrymen are scattered over the four quarters of the globe and particularly the British Empire. These Indians overseas, as we call them very often sympathetically and sometimes, I am afraid, in a patronising manner, would be the equivalent of the average population of a British Indian province in this country. Well because they are scattered, because they are in Fiji, Malaya, Aden, South Africa, Trinidad and Zanzibar, we do not look upon them as a whole and we forget what a vast proportion in wealth and capacity and in other ways, what a vast proportion of India's population is scattered over these tracts. We are also liable to forget the many visible and invisible political and economic disabilities from which they suffer year after year. This resolution which is possibly the most comprehensive resolution on Indians overseas that the Liberal Federation has ever dealt with tabulates all the grievances which they have to encounter.

In South Africa there has been some kind of Land Tenure Act and I have seen in the newspapers some jubilation over this Act; but I have also seen reports dribbling from South Africa which are hostile to that Act and which do not regard that the Land Tenure Act has met the South African problem even half-way.

Then take the question of Burma. The separation of Burma means addition to the number of Indians overseas. We do not know what is in store for the Indians who are there and the Indians who might wish to go there. That chapter in the history of Indians overseas still remains to be written, but many of us are in fear and in trembling. We have a suspicion that the people who are responsible for the separation of Burma from India do not mean us well. Those of us who have studied this question in its evolution at the Round Table Conferences and during the Joint Parliamentary Committee and during the debates in both Houses of Parliament know this for certain that those who have sworn by the separation of Burma are actuated by a bitter hostility to Indian trade interests in that very part of the British

Empire and we cannot be sure about their *bona fides*. Many assurances have been given to us of late in the discussion of Burma Orders in Council that Indian interests will not be hurt, but past experience tells us not to be optimistic about these assurances

I pass on to Fiji. There after protracted constitutional investigations some kind of constitutional proposals have been made which on paper grant Indians there equality with the Fijians and Europeans. That equality does not bear critical analysis by any impartial investigator. The equality is more illusory than real. The real power is left in the hands of that minority which wields political power there, namely, the British traders.

I now come to Zanzibar. The question of Zanzibar has been ably dealt with by the mover of this resolution, Mr. Bharucha, who has made a special study of it. But there is one aspect of the Zanzibar question to which I cannot but draw your attention. I fail to understand why in the latest investigation of this question the Colonial Office thought it fit to depute an accountant—I believe Mr. Binder was an accountant—innocent of political considerations, with no past experience of conditions in Zanzibar, with no capacity for forming an idea of what Indians in British India and the Indians there thought about Zanzibar. Recently in many quarters in India and also in England there has been a tendency to appoint a committee of one expert. These men in high authority seem to think that one solitary investigator would be able to deliver the goods which a fully representative committee could not. In this, ladies and gentlemen, they are too mistaken. Mr. Binder made a thoroughly legal and a narrowly racial approach to the Zanzibar question and his report has been denounced in Zanzibar, in India and practically in every quarter.

Now I do not propose to take more time. If this resolution of ours makes any impression on the Colonial Office, as I hope and trust it will, the Colonial Office should realize that Political India, the Congress and the National Liberal Federation, is not only not prepared to tolerate the ill-treatment of our nationals overseas, Political India puts this question on the same footing as the constitutional question. If Political India wants Dominion Status and is impatient of attaining Dominion Status one reason for that is to obtain the capacity for retaliating against those Dominions and colonies which have been ill-treating our own nationals. I look at the question from that point of view. Men of our flesh, men of our blood have gone to foreign countries and built up their political and economic prosperity and today all kinds of legal quibbling is being indulged in to prove that they are aliens in the country to which they have given their best. This we cannot tolerate and I appeal to you, Sir, that during the period you will be President in a city which has an Imperial Citizenship Association, I appeal to you, Sir, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, because the question of Indians overseas is not fully understood in every province, particularly in my province of Bengal because we have no direct interest in it, I appeal to you to give this particular problem a place in the forefront and to issue Liberal manifestoes and to make it clear to the Government of India and to the Colonial Office that we are not in any way behind the Congress and the other organizations in urging an immediate and final solution of the complicated problems connected with our nationals overseas. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad) moved :—

- (a) Keenly alive as the National Liberal Federation of India is to the distressing poverty of the mass of people in India and to the acute state of unemployment specially among the educated middle class, the Federation is convinced of the necessity of bold and far-reaching measures of social and economic amelioration which would recognise the legitimate rights of all classes. Such measures alone can ensure ordered progress and avert anything in the nature of a revolution disastrous to all.
- (b) The Federation emphasizes, as it did at earlier sessions, the imperative need of the widest diffusion of education, agricultural improvement, industrial development and commercial expansion.
- (c) In particular the Federation urges :—
- (1) a reform of agrarian laws which will secure the tenantry in their legitimate rights, principally fixity of tenure and fair rents ;
 - (2) the embodiment in legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not yet been done ;
 - (3) the relief of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards, land mortgage banks and the extension of the cooperative movement ;
 - (4) the adoption of measures to check further fragmentations and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings ;
 - (5) substantial State aid in the development of industries big and small alike ;
 - (6) a fiscal and a monetary policy wholly in the interests of this country ;
 - (7) legislation for the more adequate protection of the labouring classes both in urban and rural areas ;
 - (8) the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls ;
 - (9) such reform of the system of education as is indicated by the great and increasing difficulty experienced by educated young men in getting employment, without prejudice to the wider diffusion of liberal education but with special regard to the training of larger numbers for wealth-producing occupations by increase of facilities for technical education ;
 - (10) adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health particularly in rural areas ; and
 - (11) an active policy of temperance reform which will subordinate considerations of revenue to the welfare of the people.

Speaking in Hindustani Mr. Kunzru in the course of his speech said that India was a vast agricultural country and in that matter no other country could bear comparison with it. Visitors from the west expressed surprise at the extent of poverty in India although the land was so fertile. In some western countries where land was not so fertile agricultural production was several times more than in India. Mr. Kunzru remarked

that when adequate measures were being taken in other countries for improvement of agriculture there was no reason why similar steps should not be taken in India.

The speaker laid particular emphasis on the need of developing small indigenous industries in the interests of the masses as they would not only secure employment for many but would also keep villagers in their homes. Mr. Kunzru asserted that India did not desire like some other countries to shut out goods from other countries. What she wanted was that, if foreign countries exported their products to this country, they should also take in return the goods manufactured in India. He added that if other countries refused to take Indian goods, Indians would tell them that they could not also accept their goods and India would have a market for her goods here. Mr. Kunzru said that Government should therefore take steps to develop Indian industries, both big and small. But the speaker added that Indians should not live like patients depending on Government as their doctor. They should be strong enough to stand on their own legs and such strength could be attained only if they could understand how to cure their troubles. Mr. Kunzru said that such understanding could be achieved only by education. All self-governing countries had compulsory education. There education was free as those governments believed that to impart education to their people was their foremost duty. Without the spread of education a country could not make progress. Mr. Kunzru strongly deprecated the move of the Government to restrict higher education.

Mr. Kunzru also referred to other proposals made in the resolution which he moved. Those were, he said, the proposals of the Liberal Party. The party made suggestions which could be practically carried out. It did not believe in tall talk and making impossible suggestions which would result in a class war. Concluding Mr. Kunzru appealed to zamindars and factory-owners to have regard for the poor and their miserable lot in life, ✓

Mr. A. D. Shroff (Bombay) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution very ably moved by my friend, Mr. Kunzru. The economic condition of the country has been the subject of close consideration in all quarters which give any thought to the well-being of the vast masses inhabiting this country, a country like India with its vast population predominantly agricultural and at the same time progressing among the industrial nations of the world, a country which presents remarkable contrasts in its economic conditions, a country which above all is perhaps the poorest on the surface of this earth. Even the Simon Commission which made a most extravagant computation of India's national income said that the average national income barely exceeds Rs. 100 compared to the average of £98 in the United Kingdom. A country with such poor national income has to make a long way off before it can secure for the vast masses inhabiting it something in the nature of a decent standard of living. Trade depression has affected India as well as it has affected other countries, but more so India which is dependent for its economic well-being largely on agriculture. One very serious fact in the economic situation of the world during the last 10 years has been that whereas prices of finished products have declined considerably prices of agricultural products have declined much faster than the

prices of finished products. A situation like that is bound to affect more seriously a country like India where 80 per cent. of the population has to seek its living through agriculture.

The question then arises, how that situation has to be remedied. It has become increasingly fashionable these days to suggest that the remedy lies in the adoption of socialism or communism. We in the Liberal Party very strongly feel that India's economic salvation does not, cannot and will not lie in the adoption of a form of government, which is described as a new civilization prevalent in Soviet Russia. The Liberals stand for the recognition of the legitimate rights of all classes and creeds in the country. The Liberals have pinned their faith to the continuance of the institution of private property and please note that socialism, as it is adopted in Soviet Russia, is based fundamentally on abolishing this private incentive, that no person shall work with a view to earn profit for himself, that everybody shall work only for the service of the State. We Liberals—I am sure I am voicing the feelings and opinions of everybody here—pin our faith to the continuance of these two fundamental tenets, the continuance of the institution of private property and the private incentive. With this approach we urge for the adoption of a number of measures, the imperative need of which has been very ably urged by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. It does not appear to be realized that even in a country like the United Kingdom which is the most formidable stronghold of modern capitalism, by ordered progress, by democratic methods and by an unending constitutional process, measures have come to be adopted which have resulted in allaying economic distress to a very large extent. It cannot be any news to you that in a strongly capitalist country like the United Kingdom annually an average of something like 75 to 80 million pounds goes in the payment of what are called death duties. This payment has been made year in and year out without protest. People have got themselves reconciled to this very heavy inroad on the rights of property as some would like to put it, but they have been reconciled because it has been brought about in a constitutionally ordered fashion, in a manner which has been easily understandable to the instincts, to the temperament of the English people, and I am sure measures of this character which in course of time are bound to come in this country too will prove equally acceptable, and the capitalists of this country, whether industrialists or the big agricultural landlords, will attune themselves to the new conditions prevalent in the country provided these measures are brought about through the usual constitutional process.

Perhaps many of you may not have recognized that a very important measure of this nature has just passed through the Central Legislature of this country. I am referring to the amendment of the Companies Act in India which by one stroke of the pen has done away with certain managing agency contracts which were indeed perpetual and the law now says that no such contracts shall continue for more than 20 years at one time and it would be no small tribute to the Liberal Party as such that our own President, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who is a distinguished member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, took a very enlightened view of the whole thing and very strongly supported this amendment which has brought to an end the perpetual managing agency contracts. I am illustrating this

to show that by ordered progress, by the adoption of well known constitutional methods, it will be equally possible in this country to affect our economic conditions to the requirements of the time and to bring about that balance, that redress in the wide disparities in income and wealth which unfortunately prevails in this country.

The resolution outlines a very lengthy programme and various elaborate measures of relief are necessary. I would only concentrate on one or two of those. At present the industrial progress of India has been accelerated to a large extent by the adoption of a policy of discriminating protection during the last 12 years. That policy on the whole has worked well. But there is one very important amendment which has now been found necessary in this policy and it is that, while the system of discriminating protection has worked exceedingly well for well organized big industries, this machinery has been found to be breaking down in the case of promotion of smaller industries. Smaller industries in this country which have fortunately been growing from day to day have found that they have not sufficient resources, that they have not sufficient knowledge to use the machinery for obtaining state assistance for the establishment of small industries. It is very necessary therefore that some new machinery should be devised, something in the nature of the establishment of the Imports Advisory Committee in England, a body which can be approached by these people. The body might study their conditions, submit its report to the Government and the Government might take action upon it.

Another question to which I would like to advert a little is item no. 6, a fiscal and monetary policy wholly in the interests of the country. We are supposed to enjoy what is called fiscal autonomy. I have always believed that this fiscal autonomy convention is a delusion and a snare to us. Fiscal autonomy in actual practice is an impossibility so long as we lack control over currency and exchange. During the last 10 years countries like Japan, Germany, Italy, America and others have used the weapon of currency manipulation to an extent which has given them very great predominance in the industrial world. A country like Japan has been able to push her goods all over the world during the last 10 years because of very clear and well understood manipulation of the value of the Japanese yen. What I am suggesting, therefore, is that fiscal autonomy as such, the right to levy duties on imports of foreign goods with a view to build up similar industries at home, this right in actual practice dwindles down to practical insignificance if it is not accompanied at the same time by a wise control of currency and exchange. It is one of the shortcomings of the new constitution that even under the new state of affairs it will not be possible for the Central Legislature in future to bring in an amendment of the Currency Act and of the Reserve Bank Act without the previous approval of the Governor-General, which means that the right to determine the value of our own currency, the right to change that value, that right is to be continued to be denied to us in future.

I may also add one word about the recent controversy which has again cropped up in regard to ratio. I may perhaps remind you that in 1933 when the Central Legislature considered a Bill for the establishment of the Reserve Bank in India the Government of India then made a

concession to the general public demand for change in the ratio value by incorporating a preamble which holds out a definite assurance to this country that, as soon as currency conditions in other parts of the world are more clarified, Government will undertake a review of the position of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies. In view of what has happened during the last three months particularly as a consequence of the very momentous decision taken by the French Government in devaluing the franc and consequently the very important Tripartite Announcement made by the French, American and the English Treasuries not to indulge in further depreciation of the currencies and the subsequent events which have followed in Holland, Switzerland and other places and later on the much more important action of the important Treasuries of the world trying to fix from day to day the values of their currency in terms of gold, which clearly is an attempt to seek the *de facto* international stabilization of currencies, in view of all the developments it is natural for us to feel that the assurance given by the Government of India now needs to be implemented, as the conditions visualized at the time have now completely materialized. As there are other speakers who will develop other points referred to in the resolution, now I will conclude only with a request to you to carry this resolution unanimously. (Applause.)

Rai Rajeshwar Bali (Bara Banki) : Supporting the resolution in Hindustani Rai Rajeshwar Bali said that after the learned exposition of Mr. Kunzru he did not think he need say much on it. The Liberal Party wanted that agrarian laws should be so changed as to secure for the tenantry their legitimate rights. There seemed to be a general feeling that the zamindars and taluqdars were opposed to such legislative changes and the speaker wanted to remove such a wrong impression about their attitude. He referred to the speech of Raja Sir Rampal Singh, chairman of the reception committee, who had urged that the legitimate rights in land should be shared by landlords and ryots without which the peaceful progress of neither was possible.

Continuing, Dr. Raieshwar Bali said that not merely as a Liberal but also as a zamindar and taluqdar he wanted to assure the House that among taluqdars there was quite a good number who believed that the tenants deserved greater protection in the matter of their rights and privileges. It would have to be admitted that there existed in the country a group which wanted to ruin the zamindar class not in the interests of tenants but to gain political power. But the zamindars would never put any obstacles in the way of those who were really working in the interests of the progress of the country in general and the ryots in particular. In the course of the election activities it was being claimed that whatever remissions in rents were secured to the tenants were due to the Congress activity. The speaker pointed out that the record of the proceedings of the Legislative Council would show that the remission proposals were made by the zamindar members. Therefore, the allegation that zamindars looked to their own interests was incorrect. The zamindars were ready to afford facilities in respect of the rights and privileges of the tenants. They were also prepared to help them in the question of alleviating their indebtedness.

The speaker was glad that the Liberal Party had taken up also the question of consolidation of holdings. That was an important though difficult question. Until steps were taken to check further fragmentation

of agricultural holdings it would be difficult for the tenantry to make substantial progress.

Concluding, Dr. Rajeshwar Bali warned people against being led away by false promises. They should urge for measures which would improve the lot of the agriculturists and at the same time keep the zamindars and tenants and debtors and creditors together. Such were the principles of the Liberal Party. No progress could be achieved by preaching methods which would divide the people.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra (Lucknow), supporting the resolution, remarked that it should be good news to the tenants that Rai Rajeshwar Bali had declared on behalf of the taluqdars and he on behalf of the zamindars that taluqdars and zamindars were also anxious that the tenants should be gladly accorded occupancy rights and that their rents should be reduced. The peasantry might then live in peace and prosperity.

Touching the question of the industrial policy of the Government, the speaker said that though it was to a limited extent, the Government had been following some policy of protection of Indian industries for the last 10 years. That policy was now threatened by the arrival of the present Finance Member of the Government of India, who was announcing at the top of his voice his adherence to free trade policy. The Law Member gave an assurance that the speeches of the Finance Member did not represent the views of the Government. The Merchants' Chamber of Calcutta recently asked his Excellency the Viceroy to give an assurance on the point but, the speaker added, the reply of his Excellency was not very encouraging, and it appeared that the little protection that the Indian industries had received so far was also in danger. He wanted the people of India to be very alert, otherwise the Indian industries would receive a serious blow.

Dr. D. L. Dubey (Meerut) : Mr. President and gentlemen, the resolution that I have been asked to support is one that puts forward a really liberal programme of action for the purpose of promoting the all-sided development of this country. It advocates measures that are intended to promote the agricultural development of the country, industrial expansion, commercial possibilities, a readjustment of the inequitable burdens on society, expansion of education and so many other essential reforms that are very urgently needed in the country at the present moment. We are passing through very troublous times. At a moment like this when there are disturbances and revolts in so many parts of the world, when every country in the world with a national government is busy in propounding measures for the purpose of the conservation of their resources and for the purpose of expanding their possibilities, we find that here in this country in the absence of a national government similar steps on the lines of those that are already being taken in other countries are not being taken. It is now a notorious fact that every important country in the world is following a policy of self-sufficiency and making the best possible use of its national resources with the substantial aid of its home government. Here in this country in many directions the energies of the people are being frittered away. The proper care of the national resources is not being taken in the way in which public opinion in this country would like the government of this country to take. I shall just take a few illustrations for the purpose of indicating the lines along which progress can sufficiently be made in India.

Now, for instance, take the question of gold export. We find that nearly 300 crores of gold has been exported from this country during the last five years. Indian opinion and I found some time ago Anglo-Indian opinion in this country, also urged that some steps should be taken by the Government of this country for the purpose of stopping this useless flow of gold. Now only about two weeks ago the Bank of England reduced its fiduciary issue and increased the amount of gold in the issue department to the extent of nearly 65 millions. If such a step is good enough for adoption in a country like Great Britain, surely it is much more useful for a backward country like India from where already gold to the extent of 300 crores has been exported. I venture to express a personal opinion without committing the Federation to that, that the export of gold which is taking place at the present moment may be avoided by its purchase for the purpose of strengthening the resources of the Reserve Bank of India. If that step is taken and the pertinent sections of the Reserve Bank of India Act are amended for the purpose of purchasing that gold which is intended for export for utilization in this country, I am sure that it will be a step in the right direction.

Then there is another question of protection. My friend, Mr. Shroff, has already referred to the mockery of the question of fiscal autonomy in this country. As a matter of fact a distinguished commission was appointed about 16 years ago and it brought out a report. It was presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah. The policy of discriminating protection has been adopted by the Government of this country with the consent of the people of India. What is the situation today? We find that the Finance Member who forms part of the Government of India goes on speaking at several official and nonofficial gatherings giving expression to sentiments whereby it appears that perhaps the policy that was adopted by the Government and the people of India 10 or 12 years ago has now under the changing conditions become unsuitable. This Federation urges that, if there is any change of policy, it is open to the Government of India to put the whole question before the country and make a re-examination of the problems regarding the question of protection but to express such opinions, to make such announcements in the public which are opposed to the question of protection is certainly not in the best interests of the country. It certainly does not befit the dignity of such high officials to express opinions on which the Government of India is so highly committed. In these matters there has been not only indiscretion committed by the Finance Member, but there are several other aspects of it to which I would like to draw your attention. For instance, on certain occasions these matters are referred by the Government of India to the Tariff Board, but on certain other serious matters the Government of India does not take care to refer those things to competent bodies like the Tariff Board. For instance, on many occasions it has happened that whenever the question of granting protection to Indian industries has come up before the country such questions have been referred to the Tariff Board. But what about excise policies, what about excise duties in the case of so many industries? We find that without referring these matters to the Tariff Board the Government of India often brings forward legislation for the purpose of imposing excise duties. It was so in the case of steel. It was so in the case of cotton. It was so in the case of matches. It was so in the case of

the sugar industry. The sugar industry was given protection for a period of seven years. But just after two years the Government of India thought fit to impose an excise duty in the country. No sensible person will question the right of the Government to impose excise duties or any other taxes in the country for the purpose of providing themselves with the necessary amount of money to administer various departments in their charge. But the whole question is, once it is decided to refer such questions to competent bodies the convention should be adhered to under all circumstances.

In another aspect we find that there has been rather something against public opinion. A Tariff Board was appointed some time ago on the question of textile industry in this country which happens to be the most important industry in the country. Now in the face of public opinion a European businessman was imported with a view to preside over that body. If it is a question of granting protection to the Indian industries, if the whole thing is required to be done for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of Indian industries, I do not understand why the Government of India cannot take sufficient care for selecting a personnel that will be popular, that will find favour with the people of this country. I do not understand why such people should be imported into this country for the purpose of presiding over bodies in the case of which there is such a great concern among those that live in our own country.

There are one or two things to which I would like to draw your attention. One question is with regard to the debt legislation. I may refer here to the fact that in many countries of the world legislation has been undertaken for the purpose of protecting the agriculturist from the clutches of moneylenders and others. But I find that the most important principle that has been adopted in other countries has been ignored here in the case of pieces of legislation that are mostly being passed in many parts of India at the present moment. In other countries the most important aspect has been that the state has always tried to subsidise those institutions that have stood between the agriculturist on the one hand and those that have guaranteed to pay the debts on the other. That is to say, the Government has in many cases advanced the necessary amounts of money, whether immediately or by payments of instalments and have undertaken the responsibility of paying back those debts in graduated instalments in a long period of years. That principle is absent in the case of most pieces of legislation passed in different parts of India. Here in our own country we find that the state of Bhavanagar has done something in that direction and the position is that the state has been able to wipe out a considerable portion of the rural debt according to the lines that have been adopted in other countries.

Sir, the resolution has got many parts. As a matter of fact this is not the time to discuss every portion of it. But if we want to summarise it, we can say that the resolution proposes measures whereby the wealth of the country can be increased, whereby greater opportunities can be created for our young men for employment, young men both literate as well as illiterate. The resolution advocates useful expenditure. The resolution seeks to remove inequalities wherever they exist in the adjustment of burdens. I think in every sense of the word it is a very liberal resolution expressing very sane and sound opinions on these questions and

if in fact we cannot go any further on the present occasion, at least the adoption of measures recommended herein will go a great deal in the amelioration of the people of this country. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and unanimously carried.

GOVERNMENT AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay).—I beg to propose the following resolution :—

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

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad said : Mr. President, as you are all aware, the alarming increase of unemployment in the ranks of educated people in this country has latterly drawn attention to the desirability of some reform in our system of education. We are quite willing that the system of education should be reformed so as to take account of different aptitudes and so as to include vocational courses at every stage of education. But while we are quite willing that that should be done we are naturally apprehensive that this cry of reforming our educational system should not be used as an opportunity for restricting or curtailing the spread of higher education in this country by people who believe that the extension of higher education in the country is a political danger to British rule in India. Gentlemen, I assure you that it is not an idle fear for I can tell you that not many years ago in Bombay we had a Governor who sent an order to the University of Bombay that in the curriculum of courses the writings of Burke be eschewed from English history because, he believed that Indian youths, if they studied English history and the battle for liberty fought by Englishmen in their own country and if they studied the writings of Burke, they may, according to him, be seditious in this country. A very great effort was made on that occasion to whip up in the University all nominated fellows. In those days there were a very large number of nominated fellows. We had only five or ten elected fellows. But on that occasion our members though nominated rose to the occasion and threw out the suggestion of the Governor. I am only referring to this for the purpose of illustrating the danger that I have been indicating and which, I am apprehensive, is not an idle fear. There are people in this country some of them in authority, who do believe that if Indian youths are given more and more higher education they will demand more freedom and more liberty to the curtailment of British power in this country. Therefore we want to warn the authorities that whatever they do in reforming the educational system in this country they must not in any manner curtail or restrict the opportunities that Indian youths have of entering universities and obtaining higher education.

Then again, gentlemen, remember that all this cry of unemployment, I quite agree, is very genuine. But are you going to lessen this unemploy-

ment among the educated classes by curtailing admission to universities or restricting admission to universities? Just imagine what will happen if you do that? If you bar entrance to universities and restrict it to a smaller number you could not thereby curtail unemployment. The result will be that instead of having as at present educated unemployed you will have uneducated unemployed on your hands. The only way to grapple with unemployment in this country either among the educated or uneducated classes is to open up and create avenues for employment. We may educate people in vocations, we may give them higher education, or they may not be educated. But what are they going to do if there are not available avenues in this country for their employment. Therefore, it behoves Government and it is their duty to create these avenues by fostering new industries in this country and helping industries that are there and thereby creating more and more scope for people who go out of your universities and your schools to be employed.

That also has been illustrated by one fact. Again I will give an illustration of Bombay. We have in the university of Bombay various scholarships for technical education in Europe. We have what are called Annadas Nathubhai technical scholarships and there are other scholarships. All these years all the students that were sent out on these scholarships have returned, but they have never been able to find employment because there are no industries. There are no opportunities for them to be employed and to use their technical knowledge and education. Therefore, the great need in the country is for the Government to realize that it is to their interest and to the interest of the country to create and foster industries in this country. Then alone you will decrease this unemployment either among the educated or the uneducated classes and this resolution brings that proposition out and warns against doing anything to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education in this country. I would ask you to accept this resolution. (Applause).

Mr. Surendra Nath Verma (Allahabad).—Mr. President and fellow-delegates, if there was ever any doubt in the mind of any individual as to the wisdom of the enthusiasts for university education that ought to be banished after the support extended to this resolution by so eminent a public man as Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a man of experience and a man of affairs, and you cannot say that this resolution has been moved only by a young enthusiast. We all deplore the situation created by the serious unemployment in this country among the youths and the overcrowding of the universities. But it should be borne in mind that overcrowding in the universities is more in the nature of a symptom than the disease itself and to cure the disease it will not do either to curtail or to impose restrictions upon admissions to the university but to afford more and more opportunities for younger men and to explore the vast resources of the country so that employment may be offered to them. It is true that in a large number of cases people do resort to university education only because they have not any thing better to do. But then the remedy is not to restrict admissions but to offer them occupations and that is the duty of the state. The great danger of restricting admissions to university is that it will deprive many young men of the opportunity of receiving higher education, who have aptitude for it but may not have the means of paying higher tuition fee or to meet the cost of expensive education. It will be the greatest misfortune if people really

in need of education should be deprived of it for want of financial means or by reason of artificial restrictions imposed upon admissions to the universities. I suspect that there is something more than the mere question of unemployment that is at the bottom of the move for restriction of the number of admissions to universities, and it is in the fitness of things that we assembled here are lodging our protest. I am sure that this protest would be brought home. If there is any idea of curtailing the opportunities of university education that ought to be abandoned. With these words I support the resolution.

Mr. M. S. Sirdar (Sholapur).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution which has been so ably moved by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and seconded by Mr. Verma. The resolution itself is very lengthily worded, but the gist of the resolution is that technical bias should be given to the educational system that is now prevalent, and while giving technical bias in the reorganization of our educational system, we should not forget the importance of higher education. As Sir Chimanlal has said there has been a genuine fear among some people because of the growing unemployment among the educated that, if this number of unemployed, educated youths increases they might turn out revolutionaries in the country and they might contribute to revolutionary propaganda; and so they have been advising that we must restrict the admission of students to higher education in colleges and universities. But this is not the proper remedy. The remedy suggested is worse than the disease itself. We all know that in western countries also there is so much unemployment. Probably there is more unemployment in western countries than we have got here in our country. But nobody advises there the closure of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge or London. On the contrary, those universities have been attracting more and more students not only from the European countries but also from America, India and several other countries of the world. So it is no use advising the closure of the colleges and universities as a cure for unemployment. Some time ago we heard some eminent men saying that as there is overcrowding in the legal profession and in the medical profession, the law colleges and the medical colleges should be closed down for a certain number of years. But as I said these are not the proper remedies.

The real remedy for curing unemployment, as has been suggested by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, is to foster industries and create new occupations in the country. Industries have been allowed to die out in this country. Government shows very scant courtesy to our industries. In fact many industries have already died out and those few which are living are not receiving the support that they ought to from the Government. In England there are hundreds of occupations open for educated people there. On the contrary, what do we find in our country? The occupations that are open to our educated people here can be counted on our finger tips—law, medicine, these are the most prominent professions that students always try to get into without thinking of the future. There are very few other honourable occupations. But in western countries there are hundreds and hundreds of such occupations which no respectable man will hesitate to get into. Such being the case it is incumbent upon the Government of our country to find out and foster such new avenues

of employment for the educated unemployed. Instead of that, if we were to close down colleges and universities, the remedy would be more dangerous than the disease itself.

After all what is the percentage of the highly educated people in this country, I mean persons who have received university education? The number of literate people is not more than 7 or 8 per cent. and the highly educated people must be only 1 or 2 per cent. If that is so, is it proper to suggest that there should be any restrictions placed upon higher education? Moreover, for the cultural advancement of the country higher education is most necessary. We have inherited a great ancient culture from our forefathers and that culture can only be preserved by imparting higher education through the universities. Universities are the only places where we can preserve our ancient culture. So, looked at from every point of view, the importance of higher education becomes obvious. Therefore, while showing bias for technical education we must not forget the importance of higher education also. Therefore I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

MILITARY POLICY AND EXPENDITURE

The hon. Mr. P. N. Saprū (Allahabad).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that has been entrusted to my care reads as follows :—

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India again condemns the continued unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The Government's unfavourable attitude is the more objectionable as the advance of India to self-government is held up on the plea of the unreadiness of Indians to assume responsibility for the defence of the country—unreadiness for which the whole of the responsibility lies on the British Government.
- (b) The Federation urges that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities.
- (c) The Federation urges a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor.
- (d) The Federation strongly objects to the exclusion of Indians from the Auxiliary Force and urges the amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.
- (e) The Federation reaffirms its grave concern at the continued maintenance of military expenditure at a level which is neither just to the Indian tax-payer nor within his capacity to bear, and which further accounts for the present very high level of taxation and the lack of funds for financing schemes of social reform and economic development.

Mr. Saprū said: We are a party of realists and it is because we are a party of realists that we attach importance to this military question. It is clear that if India is ever to become a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations she must be in a position to defend herself.

When we ask for Dominion Status we are told that we cannot have Dominion Status because there is not a sufficient number of Indian officers to man the officer ranks of the Indian army. But when the Dominions started on Dominion Status they were just as unprepared for their defence as we are. The argument that Canada, South Africa and Australia cannot have self-government because they are not in a position to defend themselves, was never advanced when those countries were given responsible government. Assuming that there is some validity about this argument, the question that we have got to ask Government is, what are you doing to accelerate the transfer of defence to Indian control? What are you doing to accelerate the pace of Indianization so far as the army is concerned? Their answer is, well, here is this very wonderful Chetwode scheme which would Indianize the army in about 180 years. On paper there has been an increase in the number of commissions to Indians. But as the Viceroy's Commissions have been abolished, there is in fact, no increase or hardly any increase in the number of commissions so far as Indians are concerned. There are six divisions of the Indian Army and the present scheme proposes to Indianize only one division. Well, it will take about 30 years to Indianize one division and if you want to Indianize six divisions, it will take 180 years. Indianization indeed! Are we, therefore, wrong in saying that there is no seriousness about this talk of Indianization, that this talk is a mere camouflage? We have got a right to ask our British friends this simple question. Do you seriously intend that India should be a self-governing country? If you intend that India should be a self-governing country, then you must provide proper facilities for the training of Indians in all ranks and branches of the army, navy and air force. What are you doing so far as these ranks and branches are concerned? Practically nothing.

Therefore, we are right in attaching importance to this question. We have had a number of committees and commissions in recent years to consider this question of Indianization. We had the Skeen Committee. We had the Rawlinson Committee. The Skeen Committee suggested that 50 per cent. of the recruitment should be Indian. Have you given effect to this recommendation of the Skeen Committee? Sir Pheroze Sethna, whom we shall be glad to have in the Council of State and who has been a tower of strength to us there, was a very distinguished member of the Skeen Committee. What has been the fate of that committee? What has been the fate of the Rawlinson Committee's report? The Rawlinson Committee visualized an Indian army within 30 years. The Government has not given any effect to the recommendations of these committees. They have not given effect to the recommendations of these committees because the recommendations were inconvenient for them. But then it is said, oh, we cannot get a sufficient supply of young Indians to officer the officer ranks of the army. If you will not confine your recruitment to certain martial classes only, if you will have a wider area of recruitment, if you will show that you are really in earnest about this policy of Indianization, if you will show to the youth of India that the army offers a career for them, you will find ample material in this country. There are martial traditions among the Mahrattas, among the Madrasis, among the Bengalis. But what is the present policy? You confine your recruitment to certain areas only. You will only have certain

favoured classes now known as the martial classes for purposes of recruitment to the lower ranks of the army. Personally I attach very great importance to the (b) part of the resolution. I think the future of Indian self-government cannot be safe unless we have a national and democratic army. If we persist in this policy of recruiting only from certain provinces and certain areas we shall have General Francos leading armies against democratic governments. We do not want to establish military autocracies in this country.

Then there is the big question of the reduction of British troops in this country. We want a steady but gradual reduction of British troops. I think, gentlemen, it is necessary to be a little outspoken in regard to this question of British troops. The present ratio of British and Indian troops was fixed after the mutiny and it was determined by the mutiny complex. I do not think all these British troops are necessary for the internal peace or the external defence of India. They are necessary here in order that Britain might be able to retain her control over this country. That is the plain truth of the matter. Britain is following a policy of distrust and we say that the time has come when you ought to substitute this policy by a policy of trust in the Indian people. If your policy is based on trust it will be possible for you to reduce substantially the number of British troops in this country. The British soldier costs three or four times as much as an Indian soldier. If we reduce the British garrison we shall be able to substantially reduce the Indian military expenditure. One way in which military expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of the army, can be reduced is by reducing the number of British troops.

We have in the (e) part of the resolution emphasized the fact that military expenditure in India is unbearably high. We are not unaware of the international situation. In our own way we take an intelligent interest in foreign affairs, but there are one or two facts in regard to foreign affairs which we must remember. We do not control our foreign policy. We are not responsible for the mess in which European nations and European powers find themselves. They have to thank the Treaty of Versailles, they have to thank Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau for all the troubles which Europe is having. Fascism, Nazism, the rise of Mussolini and the rise of Hitler—all this can be traced to it. If you are responsible for this unclean peace, if you want to have a big army in India for your imperial purposes—the fact is admitted that there is an imperial purpose behind this British garrison in India—then you must pay for this imperial purpose. Why should you make us pay for your imperialist designs and imperialist purposes? It is fair, therefore, that we should insist upon a much larger share of the burden being borne by Britain. The present contribution is two crores. Well, that is not sufficient and we want this contribution which we are receiving from the British exchequer to be very very substantially increased. If it is very very substantially increased, if steps are taken to reduce the number of British troops in this country, if steps are taken to organize a territorial army in India as a second line of reserve, if steps are taken to Indianize the officer ranks within a reasonable time, we want a definite time limit, I very much believe in planning myself, we shall be able, without impairing

the efficiency of the army, to substantially reduce military expenditure and we want military expenditure to be reduced substantially because we want a very rapid development of social services in this country.

The social conscience revolts against the injustices of the present social and economic system in this country. Large masses of men live in a state of semi-starvation and it is but right that we, who are more fortunately situated than they are in life, should do everything that we can to alleviate the distress and poverty that we find everywhere in this country. What can our Ministers do if they have no funds to carry through schemes of social development? You read the Niemeyer report and you find that, so far as provinces are concerned, they are not likely to get a share in the proceeds of income-tax for many many years. Our railways are not going to pay us for many many years. Whether we are going to get any share of income tax really depends upon our railway earnings. If you will keep this army expenditure at this very high level you will arrest the development of social services in the provinces. We desire a rapid development of social services in the provinces. Therefore, we say, please for heaven's sake reduce this heavy burden of foreign obligations, this burden of military expenditure, and we want you to do all this without impairing the efficiency of the Indian army. We think that it is possible for you to reduce this military expenditure without impairing the efficiency of the army if you will only trust the Indian people, if you will only show by your actions that you are genuinely anxious that India should become a self-governing community of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In clause (c) we have urged a wider expansion of the university training corps. I know that our young men are very anxious to join these training corps. I think one way in which we can encourage the university training corps is by giving commissions to men who have served in these university training corps. The Viceroy has the power of nomination and the Viceroy should use this power of nomination for the purpose of nominating university men also. These nominations should not be reserved for the martial classes which are the favourites of the British Government.

In clause (d) we say that we strongly object to the exclusion of Indians from the auxiliary force and we also urge an amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.

Now, gentlemen, time is short and I do not wish to take up more of your time. Undoubtedly the resolution is a very important one and in order to explain it fully it will require a very long time. I do not think I will be justified in taking your time any longer. I will commend this resolution to your acceptance with this observation that I look upon it as one of the most important resolutions that we have passed today. Personally I think that the question of army transcends all other questions. You cannot have a really responsible government at the centre without the control of the army. All dyarchic arrangements must in the nature of things be illusory. Responsibility with dyarchy must be of an illusory character and as we want this dyarchic arrangement at the centre to be finished as early as possible, we press that there should be a rapid increase in the Indian personnel of the army. With these observations I commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Applause.)

Mr. B. N. Gokhale (Bombay).—Mr. President and Fellow-Liberals, I rise to second this important resolution which states that India should have an army organized and equipped for national purposes. The organization of the Indian army, as at present existing, is not merely for the purpose of Indian defence, but our army is also organized for imperial purposes. Whether the Britishers may like it or not, the British army in India has been rightly characterised as an army of occupation. The Britishers may violently deny this charge, but no less an authority than Lord Curzon had to concede that our army was not merely organized for the purpose of Indian defence, that it was also meant to serve imperial purposes. That is quite clear from another fact and that fact is that whenever England was entangled in other commitments elsewhere the War Office in England has not hesitated to call for the services of the Indian army. We have armies in other parts of the British empire. But I think there is no instance in the Empire of any other country than India sending troops, for instance, to China. That proves that our army is not only equipped for Indian defence but also to serve imperial purposes. The demand of the Federation is that that should be immediately put a stop to.

We also demand that there should be a speedier nationalization of the army in India. That means in the first place that the army should have Indian officers commanding it, that the British personnel in the officer ranks should be replaced as early as possible by Indian personnel, and consequently that there should be a steady reduction in the strength of British troops. Now, as my friend the mover of the resolution pointed out, the British policy has been very contradictory in these matters. On the one hand, we have been told that we are not fit for Swaraj because we are unable to defend ourselves. We have not yet developed, it is said, that amount of military strength which will enable this country to protect itself against foreign aggression. On the other hand, it is the British Government that has been responsible for this unresponsive attitude towards the Indian demand for a rapid Indianization of the Indian army. Now it is said that there are difficulties in the way. It cannot, however, be stated that there is a dearth of candidates to serve as officers. Recently it was admitted by the Army Secretary in the Legislative Assembly that the Government were satisfied with the quality of the cadets that were forthcoming. That was also the substance of the evidence that was tendered by Sir John Maynard before the Sken Committee and, as you know, he had no less than 40 years' experience of this country and its people.

Secondly, our request is that, as at present, the army cannot be limited to particular classes of people. The recruitment should be thrown open to all classes. There should not be the distinction that is often made between martial and non-martial classes. As a matter of fact, we Indians do not believe that there is any such distinction. The distinction that is sought to be drawn out is a myth. But even supposing such a distinction exists, what do we find in other countries? Take the example of Great Britain. The international situation is becoming very grave. Great Britain is trying to reorganize its army, and we have seen that even those recruits who are not considered quite fit are being taken upon an experimental basis. If that can be done in England, I do not see why similar methods should not be adopted in this country also. Our demand is that

there should be an acceleration of the progress of Indianization of the commissioned ranks and also of the army in general.

Then I come to the question of military expenditure. It is undoubtedly true that the situation in the world today is not as it should be. We are perhaps precipitating towards a world conflagration. Therefore, it may be asked perhaps, whether it would be wise on our part at this juncture to suggest something which might possibly lead to an impairment in the efficiency of our army. Our answer to that is that the military expenditure as it exists today is absolutely as well as relatively very high. When you compare the taxpaying capacity of the Indian people you will find that the burden that is imposed upon us is intolerable. When we demand that the Indian army should be placed on a national basis we are also suggesting suitable and practical means whereby we can reduce our expenditure on the army without in any way impairing its efficiency. In this connection let me briefly point out two things. We have the problem of the capitation charges. You know that every year the British exchequer pays something like £ 1,500,000 equal to about two crores of rupees in respect of the services rendered by India to the United Kingdom in these matters. Now the cry of Indian nationalists on this subject has been always in favour of abolition of capitation charges. We do not want our army to be used for imperial purposes and therefore we do not want that England should pay anything to us in return. That has been our demand and that is due to very sound reasons. The British recruits when they come to this country after a few months' training in England stay here for about five years and the advantage of the training that they obtain in India accrues entirely to Britain. India is, therefore, to that extent a loser. Secondly, if the payment by England of these charges is to mean a perpetuation of the British army of occupation, India can never agree to such a thing. But so long as the army in India is organized on the basis on which it exists at present, we Indians demand that at least the payment that is made by the British exchequer should be commensurate with what the British are getting in return. It is sometimes said that Rs. 2 crores which England is paying is not a small amount. Admittedly it is not a small sum, but the question is whether it is an adequate contribution from the British exchequer. Sir Phillip Chetwode pointed out in the Legislative Assembly that it was very difficult for the Indian Government exactly to ascertain how the British Government assessed this contribution. When the Capitation Tribunal was sitting the India Council suggested several formulae on the basis of which these charges might have been calculated. You will be surprised to learn that the calculation was that on the basis of these formulae the British Government would have to pay something like between 10 to 18 million pounds of contribution to the Indian exchequer, which would mean about 10 times the present contribution of about two crores. Therefore, when we are suggesting that the military expenditure should be reduced, we are not suggesting a course of action which would lead to the impairment of the efficiency of the Indian army, but we are suggesting means whereby the burden on the Indian taxpayer would be appreciably reduced and yet the efficiency would be maintained at the same level.

The second point to which I would draw your attention relates to the frontier policy of the Government. The frontier policy of the Govern-

ment has been always difficult to ascertain. There have been recently disturbances on the frontier. There have been bombing operations which have cost an enormous amount of money to the Indian taxpayer. The question is whether this policy which is being pursued for so many years has been able to effectuate any pacification of the Frontier. The answer to that question must be in the negative. Therefore, when we are suggesting a reduction in the military expenditure in this country we are also suggesting that this Frontier problem might be tackled by means of a suitable enquiry into the political and economic conditions there.

Then I will refer only to one clause in the resolution relating to the University Training Corps. You will remember that the Territorial Forces Committee regarded the University Training Corps as the potential source of supply for commissions in the regular Indian army. But the policy of the Government in this matter also has been very unsatisfactory, and in this connection I may point out that the reply that the Commander-in-Chief gave to the memorandum that was prepared by the committee of the Central Legislature some time ago is sympathetic but does not go far enough. I, therefore, commend this resolution to your acceptance. (Applause.)

Mr. S. M. Bose (Calcutta).—I beg to support this resolution and I shall confine my remarks to clause (e). The increasing amount of the central revenues spent over the army is a standing menace to our nation's well-being. As we are aware, under the new Act, Defence is a reserved department under the portfolio of the Governor-General. The Joint Memorandum of the British Indian delegation before the Joint Parliamentary Committee protested against this as it would deprive the Indian Legislature of the influence it has at present upon army expenditure and they also suggested the formation of a statutory committee of Indian Defence on the lines of the Committee of Imperial Defence in England. Unfortunately the suggestion was not accepted. The army expenditure is now entirely at the discretion of the Governor-General who will be advised by experts. We all know experts. However honest they may be, they will always, like Oliver Twist, ask for more. They will not care about the means of the Indian people. Their attention will be solely and exclusively concentrated upon their pet hobbies. The Indian Ministers will have no say. In paragraph 17 of the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, it has been said that Indian Defence must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people. How can Defence be the concern of the Indian people if they are deprived of any power over expenditure? In paragraph 19 of the Instrument of Instructions, the Governor-General has been enjoined that, before placing the army estimates before the Indian Legislature, the Finance Minister and the Ministry as a whole should be consulted. That safeguard, we hope, will be scrupulously followed. We want more money for our economic and social reform. We in India are more concerned than Englishmen can ever possibly be with questions of defence which so essentially affect our own welfare. So I do not understand why our point of view, namely, that we want as much money for social reform and economic reform, should not be more and more listened to. With these few words, I support this resolution.

The resolution was then put and unanimously carried.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION AND THE ANDAMANS

Mr. J. N. Basu (Calcutta) next moved the following resolution :

- (a) The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Acts and the several provincial Special Powers Acts, which continue on the Statute Book and perpetuate or prolong the extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, virtually free of judicial control, first in the form of Ordinances and next in the form of Legislation. The legitimate liberty of the Press and the public is seriously menaced by these Acts, and the Federation, therefore, urges their immediate repeal.
- (b) The Federation also protests against the arbitrary use of the Sea Customs Act for the proscription of books.
- (c) The Federation also protests against the continued detention of suspected persons without trial, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and urges the release or judicial trial of the persons so detained.
- (d) The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic protest against the Government's policy in reviving the Andamans as a penal settlement for political offenders despite the assurances given by the Government of India in this regard. The conditions prevailing in that penal settlement have caused great hardship and unnecessary suffering to the political prisoners who have been transported there, and the Federation, therefore, urges upon the Government the necessity of an immediate reversal of its present policy in this matter.

Mr. Basu said : Briefly, the resolution expresses the opinion of the Liberal Federation on the repressive laws which still disfigure our statute-book and on executive action taken as regards the detention of people without trial. All that I desire to say is that we are now in the second quarter of the 20th century. It is time that measures which were thought to be of use, say 150 or 200 years ago were gradually repealed. The British connection has lasted all that time and the British administration should not be afraid to establish here the reign of ordinary law and order. As regards detention without trial the subject has become a public scandal. For four or five years continuously young men and women are kept in detention or jail without any opportunity being afforded to them of clearing themselves from suspicion or any charges that may be directed against them. No definite charges are formulated and they are afforded no opportunity to clear themselves of those charges. Having regard to the nature of the enquiry contemplated by these repressive measures, it is the one-sided statements of certain people that generally induce Government to detain these boys and girls. Many of them are in schools or in colleges. Many of them earn their living and are the means of livelihood for their families and they are detained without any hope of either their release or of their being brought to trial. The results have been disastrous. Recently some of these young people have become deranged in mind and committed suicide. We also know many cases of persons who are suffering from diseases. Detention has aggravated their diseases and resulted in death as in the case of the late Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. This is a matter

over which the Federation cannot remain silent. It must voice the united protest of the people against interference with their liberties in the manner in which those liberties are being interfered with.

There is another matter and that is the transfer of political prisoners to the Andamans. The Government of India, after due enquiry and deliberation, gave up the Andamans as a penal settlement for that class of prisoners, but the use of the Andamans has been resumed recently. Punishment specially in the case of young people like these should not be merely punitive and punitive with vengeance, but there should be some attempt at making the punishment corrective. In the Andamans they are snatched away from their country and from their surroundings without any chance of their being directly influenced by their own people or by other beneficial interests. It is practically forcing a young man to be a criminal. I think the people of this country should not stand this kind of thing. I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. M. D. Shahane (Nagpur).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen and friends, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution moved by my friend. I do not propose to go into details and the reasons which prompt me to do so are these. You all know that we are being treated as a country under martial law almost and being concerned for the last three years with the conduct of a newspaper, I can particularly refer to the fear and terror under which the press in India works. For myself I do not see, and many of our friends who are in charge of newspapers will agree with me, any reason for the press laws which are being imposed on us. To take a very recent example, when the British Crown found itself in a crisis the Indian press conducted itself with dignity and restraint which was marvelled even by the English press, and one English paper even remarked that the conduct of the Indian press was and could prove to be a model to the English press itself.

The second section deals with the use to which the Sea Customs Act is being put by the executive authorities in proscribing certain books. Recently a particular firm of publishers has come under the sea customs authorities' ban. There is an effort made by the Government at regimentation of intellect in this country by proscribing or preventing the entry of certain books into India. The Liberal Federation protests, I hope, against this misuse of power because it believes that regimentation of intellect is bound to end in chaos of emotions.

The third section deals with the Bengal detenus and I cannot speak with greater emotion than my Bengal friend, Mr. Basu. Mr. Basu said that it has become almost a scandal. It has passed beyond a scandal. It has become the tragic tale of Bengal. We protest against the concentration of young men and even women in camps because it is as bad—I make no distinction between confining them in a small room and suffocating them to death and concentrating them in camps and driving them to insanity and acts of suicide—if not worse.

The last section deals with the revival of the Andamans settlement. One of the highest officials of the Government of India was pleased to call the Andamans a paradise and a paper in India remarked and I agree, that if it is a paradise why should not the Government of India commercialise

that paradise and turn it into a holiday resort for rich people in India or those Government officers who seem to agree with the claim that the Andamans are as good as a paradise. I commend this resolution to your enthusiastic acceptance because it condemns things and matters which are repugnant to all ideas of Liberal democracy for which the Liberal Federation stands.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

UNTOUCHABILITY

Mr. E. Vinayak Rao (Madras.)—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which is committed to my charge runs in these terms :—

- (a) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its condemnation of 'untouchability' and, while noting with gratification the progress of the nation-wide movement for amelioration and reform, again exhorts all classes of people to render it active aid.
- (b) The Federation congratulates his Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on his memorable proclamation throwing open to all Hindus all the State temples of his territory, and hopes that his Highness's example may be widely followed both in other States and in British India.

This happens to be the last of the series of resolutions which are not merely of a formal character. But I venture to think it is a resolution which relates at the same time to one of the worst features of Hindu society and to one of the most-epoch-making events in Hindu culture. References to the question of untouchability on public platforms in this country were very familiar long before Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale made it a special feature of his utterances wherever he went. You can understand the magnitude of the problem if you will kindly recollect the figures. Out of a total population of 350 millions in this country—Hindus, Muhammdans, Christians, all told, nearly 50 millions are classified as depressed classes who are in different degrees untouchables, that is, one out of every seven. Gentlemen, just imagine their large number. What does it really signify in social life. It is not merely a great blot on Hindu society but has serious consequences social, economic and political. You will well imagine what untouchability is if only I mention one or two instances of the tyranny of untouchability where it is practised. Untouchables cannot come into streets where caste Hindus are living. They cannot use village wells wherefrom domestic water supply should be obtained. They cannot go into the markets to sell their products or to buy their requirements. They cannot have the services of the caste Hindu midwives, doctors, dhobis or barbers. There are special features where untouchability is approximating even to unapproachability. There are some classes of people who, if they come within 300 yards or 300 feet of a caste Hindu, pollute that caste Hindu. There are some other people—that number is happily very small—who are unseeable. If they are in a certain village they should take care that they are not in a position where a caste Hindu can see them. Naturally they have nothing else to do but to beg. But even begging they have to do hiding themselves behind a bush and leaving a cloth spread on the roadside for a few coins which a

caste Hindu passer-by may throw out of mercy. Such a situation is a serious derogation of the stature of man as such. Even as the quality of mercy is doubly blessed in that it blesseth him that takes and him that gives, this feature of untouchability is doubly cursed. It is a curse to him that is a victim and a greater curse to him that subjects that victim to that untouchability. (Hear, hear.) It is a degradation of every man. The divinity of man must stand up to rebellion against such degradation of man. Which society can prosper if it has this canker, if out of every nine in its population one was subjected to this most cruel treatment? It is for that reason that every social reformer, every politician who believes in political progress taking place side by side with social progress has laid the greatest stress upon this point. Economically just consider what it is to deny to these people the opportunities of labour, what it is to deprive the country of the great amount of wealth that will accrue by a proper employment of these untouchables along with touchables in productive work. Just consider what it is. These people are put to professional occupations of a degrading character out of which, however cultured they may be, they are not expected to escape. They may be literate, they may be graduates, they may be matriculates, but still a toddy drawer is expected to be a toddy drawer and what is worse in our villages, the man that is cultured, if he happens to belong to this community, does not get that social treatment and that economic advantage which otherwise he would obtain. Consider what this evil has meant to us politically? It is this evil that was responsible for the historic fast at Poona. Thanks to the magnificent result that followed, we have not lost the depressed classes out of the Hindu fold. Those who believe in the doctrine of divide and rule took advantage of the divisions that already existed on account of historical causes, but they tried to create a new division in the enunciation of scheduled castes to whom separate terms were offered the nature of which those who were at the Round Table Conference will never forget and will never fail to deplore. Politically, unless the great divisions of Indian society believe that the main incentive for national progress is the consciousness of each other's strength which will create respect for each other's feelings it is impossible for any political progress to be achieved and untouchability was till recently a great block in the way of our progress. That is the reason why we have condemned untouchability in season and out of season, and we reaffirm our condemnation.

The next portion is with reference to congratulations. It is said in South India by many persons, a very large number, that since the days of Ramanuja the greatest event in Hindu society has been this proclamation of his Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. (Applause.) Travancore is a very conservative country. It is a very enlightened country. The standard of literacy there is higher than even in British India. At the same time old forms and old traditions are clung to by the people of Travancore in a way which is not witnessed in any other part of British India or Indian India. In such a place a reform of that type is a matter of extraordinary difficulty. No doubt there was in 1932 a committee appointed by the Government of Travancore for making proposals for remedying this curse of untouchability. They thought the best manner in which untouchability could be removed was to give access to untouchables to the temples of God where all men, caste Hindus and untouchables, could go and worship on equal terms with-

out any restrictions whatever. His Highness with the greatest graciousness has done this act at the right time, none too early and none too late. It is my duty to bring to your notice another fact. The proverb, the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, is best illustrated with reference to this incident. Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore, the mother of his Highness, is one of the most enlightened and cultured ladies of India. She was responsible in a large measure for facilitating the issue of this proclamation. Gentlemen, I would commend this resolution for your acceptance. (Applause.)

Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Behari Misra (Lucknow).—Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, not many words are required to commend this resolution to your acceptance, but something has to be said with one set purpose. I wish to impress upon all of you present here to exert your influence from now, if you have not been doing it from before, in such a manner that this curse of untouchability must be removed once for all from amongst the Hindus throughout India. It is a shame which makes us hang our heads low. It is luckily not prevalent amongst the non-Hindus of India to any appreciable extent. But we Hindus alone have this curse prevailing amongst us and it behoves us, as the premier community of India, to abolish this curse at the earliest possible moment. I find four placards prominently exhibited in this room. One is, "no nation can prosper under foreign rule." We are not under foreign rule, so far as the removal of untouchability is concerned. (Hear, hear.) That does not stand in your way. Then there is another placard "Liberalism is our creed". If Liberalism is your creed, be liberal and remove this illiberality. Then there is, "Swaraj our birthright". Have Swaraj, have this as your birthright and embrace untouchables as your brothers and then unity will be your strength. (Applause). I see no reason, gentlemen, why this curse of untouchability should remain. It is wrong. It is bad. It makes us hang our heads in shame. Why should we not remove it? Government does not prevent it. We ourselves are responsible for it. Let us ourselves be a little liberal, not only call ourselves Liberal but actually be Liberals. I do not want to waste your time at this fag end of this session and to tire the patience of the House at this hour of the evening. I can say a lot on this important subject, but I do not wish to inflict a lengthy speech upon you. Nevertheless the importance of this resolution demands that you should realize that it is really very very disgraceful for Hindus to have this curse continuing any longer and it must be removed as early as possible.

Mr. K. S. Negi, supporting the resolution in Hindi, remarked that the greatest blot on the good name of India was the existence of the evil of untouchability. He added that his Highness the Maharaja of Travancore deserved the congratulations of the country for the great act he had done in throwing open the temples of the state to Harijans.

The resolution was then put and carried.

SECRETARIES FOR 1937

The Federation elected Messrs. A. D. Shroff and B. N. Gokhale as general secretaries for the year 1937. The names of the members of the Council of the National Liberal Federation for the ensuing year were then read out. (They are printed in Appendix D.)

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (President).—Gentlemen, you have heard the names of the General Secretaries and of the members of the Council. Before putting this resolution to the vote I, on my own behalf and on your behalf, express our sincere thanks to the outgoing general secretaries. The work of secretaries, gentlemen, is very often a thankless task undertaken by men who believe it to be their duty regardless of the work they have got to put in and the energy they have got to expend in the cause of public duty. I am sure you will echo my sentiments and allow me to convey to the outgoing general secretaries our sincerest thanks for their work. With these words I put the resolution to the vote.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

NEXT SESSION OF THE FEDERATION

Mr. J. N. Basu.—I have great pleasure in moving that the next session of the Federation be held at Calcutta during the Christmas of 1937. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the natural chill of the climate of Lucknow has been compensated by the warmth of welcome of which we have been the recipients. (Applause.) We may not be in a position to offer you hospitality to the same extent, but you may take it that we will do our best to make you comfortable.

Mr. N. C. Ray.—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been so ably moved by my friend and leader, Mr. J. N. Basu. We will do everything possible to make you comfortable in Calcutta next year.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

VOTE OF THANKS TO PRESIDENT

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Allahabad).—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me sincere pleasure to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our President who has conducted our deliberations with such tact and dignity. (Applause.) Indeed it is in no conventional sense that I can say that I regard it as a privilege to be able to propose a vote of thanks to so worthy a President. Those who have watched the manner in which he has presided both over the open sessions of the Liberal Federation and the meeting of the Subjects Committee will bear testimony both to the firmness and the tact which he exhibited in bringing our proceedings to a close. (Applause.) The proceedings in the Subjects Committee, if I may refer to them for a moment, were not of such a character as to excite no differences of opinion. I daresay that the President had views of his own on some of the subjects that were debated by us. Yet I could notice no attempt on his part to influence our decisions in any way. (Applause.) He acted in the truest sense of the word as a Liberal and democratic President. I have met Sir Cowasji Jehangir on many an occasion, but my esteem for him at the close of this meeting of the Subjects Committee was higher than ever. (Applause.)

I need say nothing about his address. Every word of it was uttered with sincerity which we have come to associate with Sir Cowasji Jehangir. You may not accept his views, but you cannot attribute motives to him. His sincerity is unquestioned and so long as character has a value, Sir Cowasji Jehangir will be one of those men in our country who will be entitled to the respect of his friends and countrymen. I could say much

more, ladies and gentlemen ; but there are two considerations why I think I must desist. First is the natural modesty of Sir Cowasji Jehangir. You may not all have noticed it. But I have always felt that in spite of having taken part in public affairs for many years, there is a shyness of disposition in him which, I am afraid, sometimes makes him misunderstood. But I think I can say confidently that there was no man who had less of pride in him and stood less on dignity than our distinguished friend, who has presided over our deliberations. And the second consideration that makes me come to a conclusion rapidly is the fact that the hour is late and that we must bring the proceedings to a close. For these reasons, gentlemen, I will only content myself with asking you once more to carry the vote of thanks by acclamation. (Applause.)

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye (Lucknow).—Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary to add any words to the vote of thanks that has been proposed by my friend, the hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. I can only say that my acquaintance with our President is 40 years old since the time we were students at Cambridge together. I may frankly say that in those days we were rather awed by the presence among us of one coming from such a distinguished and wealthy family and we thought that he would not probably take part in the usual occupations of the students and would not mix among them properly. But since those days it has been a real pleasure to all of us who have watched Sir Cowasji Jehangir's career that his eminent position inherited by birth has been amply justified by the distinguished public work that he has done during these years. As the president of the Bombay Corporation, as a leading business man in Bombay, as a member of the Legislative Assembly, as a member of the Bombay Government in which I had the honour of being his colleague for some time, Sir Cowasji Jehangir in all these capacities has devoted a great portion of his energies and eminent talents to the cause of the public and his work here in this Conference has shown what a stout-hearted Liberal he is. The way in which he has conducted our deliberations both at public sittings and in the subjects committee yesterday have shown what amount of tact, patience and ability he can show in doing any public duty. The Liberal Federation is fortunate in having at its helm of affairs for the next year a man of such qualities. I have very great pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, to second this vote of thanks.

The proposition was carried by loud and enthusiastic acclamation.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay).—who was received with loud cheers on rising to reply, said : I am very much indebted to my friends, the hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and Dr. Paranjpye, for their very kind words. Mr. Kunzru talked about tact and firmness. Let me candidly confess that there was no occasion for me to use tact and far less, firmness. The deliberations both of the Subjects Committee and of the open sessions of this Conference were of so friendly a character that neither tact nor firmness was required and if it had been required, I do not know whether I should have exercised either tact or firmness. But thanks to the cooperation received from everyone of you, I will again repeat there was no necessity either for firmness or for tact.

Gentlemen, many of us came amongst you as your guests from different parts of India and we thank you most sincerely for the welcome you have given us to your great and historic city of Lucknow. Many of us have been here before and many of us have experienced your delightful climate during the cold weather; but the welcome, the kindly feelings and the attention we have received at your hands were characteristic of the hospitality of your great city. (Applause). We have to thank Raja Sir Rampal Singh, chairman of your Reception Committee, whose absence due to illness we all greatly regret. We have to thank his brother here, Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, who so ably took his place. We will thank the secretaries on whom fell a considerable burden of the work.—Kumar Rajendra Singh, Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul who worked harder most probably than anybody else and Mr. Andrews Dube. Gentlemen, you have seen the secretaries working very hard, especially the last, who have been indefatigable in their energy, for our comfort and for our entertainment. We tender to them all our most hearty thanks and we trust that we shall also have the privilege of welcoming our friends from the United Provinces to each of our provinces. If we can show them the same hospitality, the same kindly feeling that has been shown to us, we shall feel that we have done our duty. Our special thanks are due to the captain of the volunteers, Pandit Shriram Bajpai and to the volunteers. (Applause.) I have seen the volunteers' work and believe me it is by no means the lightest work of them all. They are up early in the morning. They go to the stations to receive your guests, they see them to their residences, they call on them in the morning to find out whether they require anything. The days that we are amongst you we feel honestly that we are bound to be a burden to your volunteers. But I trust that they have carried their burden with the goodwill that we see on their faces and we tender to them and to their captain our most sincere thanks. (Applause.) And last but not least the man who holds the purse, the treasurer, Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra, has to be thanked.

Now, gentlemen, the hour is late and I have no desire to keep you here longer. We have still got another meeting before us just now. If the Liberal cause is dear to your hearts and if you feel that through putting your principles into practice you are serving your country best, I have no doubt that you will continue in years to come to work in the same direction with energy, with goodwill and with tenacity of purpose regardless of the fact whether the party receives its due, regardless of criticism and above all regardless of abuse that comes for a middle party. A party that will not listen to Government on the one hand; a party that refuses to play to the gallery, a party that refuses to go in for spectacular displays, a party that is determined to proclaim and act upon its principles, however unpopular they may be for the time being, is a party that must be prepared for criticism. Why, gentlemen, if there was not the Liberal Party, there would be no political party in India as a whole to kick. (Laughter.) There must always be some party, ready to be in that position in a country. As I have said in my address we are all cowards. I would like to see some of our friends of other parties continuing to be members of a party, small in numbers, who by no means are a magnet for popular applause. I think that many of our friends in other parties

will deserve our party. But the fact that even a few remain honest adherents to the party shows that the cause must be one worthy of support, notwithstanding the difficult conditions under which that loyalty has to be maintained. When there is loyalty under difficult conditions, when there is loyalty which faces unpopularity, surely there must be conviction behind such loyalty and I again repeat I would like to see many of our friends in other parties stick to that party and to that political creed in the conditions in which we work. Now, gentlemen, I feel confident that in the very near future, notwithstanding our actual following being small today you will find thousands of men and women who will actually practise your principles, who will follow your tenets without admitting that they are Liberals. (Mr. J. N. Basu : Hear, hear.) I also maintain that in a very short time they will become members of the Liberal Party. Let these reforms work for a short time and many of our friends who today will not acknowledge our principles, although in their heart of hearts they believe them to be true and in private conversations they will tell us that we are right but will not admit them publicly, will be forced by circumstances not only to admit them publicly but to join our forces. (Applause.) Therefore, I am by no means a pessimist. I am an optimist not by nature but by the force of arguments. Gentlemen, we hope and trust that we shall stick together and that we shall carry the flag of our principles from strength to strength during the next few years and the next time three or four years hence, when we shall meet, we shall find that this hall may be much too small for a meeting of the Liberal Party, and although we may not be tempted to the vast expanse of agricultural land and fields we may find it necessary to have our meetings in the open, in the maidans of our city and that halls and structures may be too small for future meetings of the Federation.

I thank you once again, gentlemen, for your very kind reception, for your very kind welcome. May I in conclusion, on my own behalf and on behalf of you, thank one prominent Liberal whom you have the good fortune to adopt for his strenuous work in our cause and his staunch support to all our Federation meetings, whether they be in his own adopted province of U. P., or whether they be in his own province of Madras, or whether they be in his neighbouring province of Bombay. I mean my old friend, Mr. Chintamani. I often felt that we were rather unfortunate that although being nearer his home of Madras than you are, he strayed further off than he need have. But you perhaps were more fortunate than we and we do not envy you your good fortune. But we trust that Madras may send us a Chintamani into our midst and if it does, we shall welcome with open arms, as you have done to our distinguished friend. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of all the delegates who have come to Lucknow. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The session of the Federation then terminated.

APPENDIX A
MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E.

The following letter was addressed to Raja Sir Rampal Singh by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer :—

I have received an invitation on your behalf from our friend, Mr. Chintamani, to the session of the Liberal Federation to be held at Lucknow. I regret that my poor health prevents me from attending the session. I have no doubt that under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, with his wide and varied experience and his faith in the principles of the Liberal Party of which he has been a staunch member for so many years, the deliberations of the Liberal Party will be guided by wisdom and practical idealism.

Wishing every success to the 18th session of the Federation,

MADRAS,)
Dec. 25, 1936. }

Yours sincerely,
P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

Dewan Bahadur G. A. Natesan

I wish this year's session success.—(Madras).

Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar,

Principal, Benares Hindu University.

I regret that I am detained owing to indisposition. I wish the Conference success.

Mr. Sankata Prasad Bajpai

Ill-health detains me. I wish the Federation unqualified success.—(Kheri).

Mr. Badri Datt

I am exceedingly sorry for my unavoidable absence and express my sincere wishes for the success of the Liberal Federation, the only sound political organization in India—(Almora).

Rao Krishna Pal Singh

I much regret my absence, but wish the Federation grand success.—(Etah).

Mr. Kittur, Belgaum

I am unavoidably detained. I regret my absence and wish success to the session.—(Bagalkot).

Mr. Gadgil

I regret, due to illness, my inability to attend the session over which Sir Cowasji Jehangir is presiding. I hope that the veteran Congressmen who are now Liberals and are meeting at Lucknow will give a clear lead to the country by securing a united political front and by exposing at present the futility of monstrosities like the Constituent Assembly, declaration and notice to the Britishers of complete independence amidst communal dissensions and the implantation of a Soviet State on the top of Swaraj. Concentrate on army, navy and air force reform for India. Long live the Federation, our old Congress. I wish all success.—(Poona).

Mr. B. S. Kamat

I regret my inability to attend and wish every success to the session of the Federation.—(Poona).

Mr. Jathar

I regret my inability to attend and wish the session all success.—(Poona).

Mr. Keshav Rao Pradhan

Pleader and president, East Khandesh Liberal Association, Jalgaon.

Severe cold prohibits my personal attendance. I am mentally attending the Conference though not physically.

Mr. G. K. Chitare (Advocate, Jalgaon)

Ill-health prevents my attendance. Yet, my heart is with the Conference and I wish our Conference every success.

Mr. T. G. Dhaneshvar

The following letter dated Dec. 27, 1936, was received by Mr. Chintamani from Mr. T. G. Dhaneshvar, Ahmednagar :—

Your kind invitation to hand. I am grateful to you for the same. I, however, very much regret that I am unable to attend the session of the Federation as my health does not permit me to undertake the journey. At the present critical juncture, I feel certain the Liberals will give a proper lead to the thought and action of all those who are alive to their duty to the country. I wish every success to the Federation.

Mr. S. K. Shindkar

Mr. S. K. Shindkar, Inamdar, Bhor, addressed the following letter dated Dec. 24, 1936, to the secretary of the Reception Committee :—

On behalf of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 18th session of the National Liberal Federation, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, and you all, I received a letter from our veteran leader, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, asking me to attend the Federation to be held at Lucknow by the end of this month. I too had a great mind to do so. But as I am suffering from lumbago for the last three weeks, I am extremely sorry to inform you that my doctor advised me not to risk the journey and the cold weather there. I, therefore, hope you all will excuse me.

I am sure, under the able guidance of the President-elect, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the country will receive a proper and definite lead in the present political situation. So also no pains should be spared to reorganize our limited party once again and make it more active.

I wish the Federation every success.

Mr. A. S. N. Murti

Mill-owner, Rambha, and President of the National Liberal Association of Orissa, wrote as follows :—

On account of heavy election work about my candidature for the Orissa Provincial Assembly, I am unable to be present. But kindly convey my sincere wishes for the success of the session.

Though I cannot be present personally to do it, I write to invite the next session to this Province. Please place the proposal before the meeting, and let me know the decision.

APPENDIX B

Members of the Reception Committee

The following is the list of the members of the Reception Committee :—

1. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., 11, Clyde Road, Lucknow.
2. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, 11, Clyde Road, Lucknow.
3. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, Montgomery Road, Lucknow.
4. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Lucknow.
5. Raja Bahadur Suraj Baksh Singh of Kasmanda, Park Road, Lucknow.
6. Pandit Jagmohan Nath Chak, Nabiullah Road, Park Road, Lucknow.
7. Mrs. Prem Nath Dass, Isabela Thobarn College, Lucknow.
8. Miss Chako, Isabela Thobarn College, Lucknow.
9. Mr. J. N. Mukand, Nazarbagh, C. M. S., Havelock Road, Lucknow.
10. Mrs. Mukand, Nazarbagh, C. M. S., Havelock Road, Lucknow.
11. Mr. Habib Ali Khan, Wazirganj, advocate, Lucknow.
12. Kunwar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
13. Mr. Om Prakash Gupta, Badshah Bagh, Lucknow.
14. Mrs. Gupta, Principal, Kashmiri Mohalla Girls' High School, Lucknow.
15. Prof. N. C. Sarcar, West Cattganj, Nazarbagh, Lucknow.
16. Miss E. M. Dube, Principal, Mahila Vidyalaya, Lucknow.
17. Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Wazirganj, Lucknow.
18. Rao Raja Rai Bahadur Pt. Shyam Behari Misra, Golagunj, Lucknow.
19. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Golagunj Lucknow.
20. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Pershad Varma, Katchery Road, Lucknow.
21. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, O. B. E., Taluqdar Press, Ganeshganj, Lucknow.
22. Mr. E. Thomas, retired deputy collector, Lucknow.
23. Pandit Parmeswar Nath Sapru, advocate, Suraj Bhawan, Fyzabad.
24. Pandit Krishna Parsad Kaul, G. P. Varma Memorial Hall, Aminabad.
25. Rai Bahadur Babu Shambhoo Dayal, retired district and sessions judge, 4, Havelock Road, Clay Square, Lucknow.
26. Thakur Udaya Pal Singh, chairman, Educational Committee, Partabgarh district board, and honorary first class assistant collector.
27. Pandit Uma Shanker Misra, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
28. Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Pershad Mehrotra, Biswan, district Sitapur.
29. Rai Krishna Pal Singh, Taluqdar, honorary magistrate and chairman, Partabgarh district board, Birapur, P. O. Jamtab.
30. Mr. A. L. Mahindra, retired magistrate and collector, 3 Oliver Road, Lucknow.
31. Pandit Bal Krishna Pande, Principal, Kanyakubja Intermediate College, Lucknow.
32. Raj Kumar Lal Shiva Amber Singh, honorary magistrate, Khajurgaon, district Rae Bareilly.

33. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, 26, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
34. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society Allahabad.
35. Dr. N. P. Ashthana, Canning Road, Allahabad.
36. Mehta Krishna Ram, Editor, The LEADER, Allahabad.
37. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, advocate, Allahabad.
38. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, General Manager, The LEADER, Allahabad.
39. Babu Vishun Nath, advocate, Allahabad.
40. Mehta Mahipat Ram, News Editor, The LEADER, Allahabad.
41. Rai Bahadur Lala Behari Lal, M. L. C., Allahabad.
42. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, advocate, Allahabad.
43. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Anapur estate, Allahabad.
44. Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal, Benares.
45. Babu Gauri Sanker Prasad, advocate, Bulanala, Benares.
46. Rai Bahadur Pandit Gur Sewak Upadhya, Benares.
47. Rai Bahadur Babu Brajendra Swarup, advocate, Cawnpore.
48. Rai Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Principal, Benares Hindu University, Benares.
49. Rai Bahadur Ram Narain, Cawnpore.
50. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra.
51. Rao Krishnapal Singh, M. L. C., Castle Grant, Agra.
52. The hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Albert Road, Allahabad.
53. Mr. Ayodhia Dass, bar-at-law, Gorakhpore.
54. Babu Kunwar Bahadur, Gorakhpore.
55. Pandit Baij Nath Misra, Azamgarh.
56. Babu Bodh Raj Sahnay, advocate, Jhansi.
57. Babu Brindaban Lal Varma, Jhansi.
58. Raizada Shanker Dayal, Jhansi.
59. Babu Dalipman Singh, advocate, Fatehpur.
60. Babu Gendan Lal, advocate, Farrukhabad.
61. Mr. Brijnandan Lal, bar-at-law, Farrukhabad.
62. Rai Sahib Radha Mohan, advocate, Jaunpur.
63. Dr. Chandra Mohan, Aligarh.
64. Mr. Dwarka Nath Bhargava, Muttra.
65. Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad, Muzaffarnagar.
66. Babu Kishori Prasad, Banda.
67. Rai Bahadur Pandit Badri Dutt Joshi, Almora.
68. Rai Bahadur Pandit Tara Dutt Gairola, Pauri.
69. Babu Pirthi Nath Bhargava, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
70. Pandit Katyayani Dutt Trivedi, Kuri-Sudhauhi (Rae-Bareli).
71. Rai Bahadur Lala Tirlok Nath Kapoor, Tanda, District Fyzabad.
72. Thakur Rajendra Nath, M.A., LL.B., Bara Banki.
73. Pandit Kalika Pershad Tirvedi, advocate, Sitapur.
74. Pandit Raj Narain Shukla, advocate, Lucknow.
75. Radha Krishna Srivastava, A.P. Sen Road, Lucknow.

76. Messrs. Sunder Lal and Co., Sadar Bazar, Lucknow.
77. Dr. Jai Karan Nath Misra, Bar-at-law, Lucknow.
78. Dr. B. N. Varma, Katchery Road, Lucknow.
79. Babu Nawal Kishore, Hallasia Buildings, Lucknow.
80. Rani Jaswanti Kumar of Gonda.
81. Kunwar Dalipat Shah, Singhai House, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow.
82. Sirdar Gur Baksh Singh of Lucknow, Gangni Shukul ka Talab, Lucknow.
83. Rai Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Cawnpore.
84. Mr. Devendra Swarup, Cawnpore.
85. Dr. J. U. and Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Madras.
86. Dr. J. Williams, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
87. Mr. J.B. Tantra, Qaisarbagh Circus, Lucknow.
88. Mr. Daya Narain Mehta, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
89. Mr. Govind Behari Lal Mathur, advocate, Narhi, Lucknow.
90. Mr. Kishan Chand Agrawal, Narhi, Lucknow.
91. Mr. R. N. Mehrotra, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
92. Messrs. Lakshmi Fruit Mart, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
93. Mr. H. Nauraji, Proprietor, Nowraji & Co., Hazratganj, Lucknow.
94. Messrs. Mathura Dutt & Co., Hazratganj, Lucknow.
95. Messrs. Ram Lal Bros (Banwari Lal), Hazratganj, Lucknow.
96. Messrs. Oudh Motor Works, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
97. Mr. Mustausar Ullah, contractor, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
98. Mr. Ram Kumar Bhargava, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
99. Mr. R. S. Mathur, Havelock Road, Lucknow.
100. Mrs. Irawati Mehta, Allahabad.
101. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
102. Rai Bahadur Dr. R. N. Banerji, Allahabad.
103. Babu Bishwavati Pershad, Allahabad.
104. Pandit Mool Chand Malaviya, Allahabad.
105. Rai Krishnaji, Benares.
106. Mr. Rukn Uddin Khan, advocate, Partabgarh.
107. Pandit Tirlok Nath Rai, advocate, Partabgarh.
108. Pandit Onkar Nath Rai, advocate, Partabgarh.
109. Babu Girja Shanker, Partabgarh.
110. Thakur Amaq Bahadur Singh, Partabgarh.
111. Thakur Madho Pershad Singh, Partabgarh.
112. Pandit Ajab Narain Sharma, Partabgarh.
113. Thakur Suraj Bux Singh, Partabgarh.
114. Thakur Bindra Prasad Singh, Partabgarh.
115. Thakur Ram Pratap Singh, Partabgarh.
116. Babu Sri Ram Sinha, Partabgarh.
117. Mr. Hira Lal Chatterji, Hewett Road, Lucknow.
118. Rai Bahadur Dr. Balbhadra Singh, Agra.
119. Thakurain Sahiba of Dhanawan, 7, Hilton Lane, Lucknow.

120. Khan Bahadur Haider Khan Sahib, Mainpuri.
 121. Raja Rampal Singh Sahib, Itaunja, Lucknow.
 122. Kumar Rajendra Singh, Harba Raj, Barabanki.
 123. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sankatha Prasad Bajpai, Kheri.
 124. Rajmata Sahiba of Ram Nagar, Dhamerai Raj, Bara Banki.
 125. Thakur Ram Pratap Singh, Narendrapur Charuhar, Rae Bareli.
 126. Thakur Muneshwar Bux Singh, M.L.C., Hardoi.
 127. Mohammad Ali Sahib, Radauli, Bara Banki.
 128. Raja Indrajit Pratab Bahadur Sahi, Tamkahi, District Gorakhpur.
 129. Raja Sayed Mohammad Mehdi Saheb, Pirpur House, Lucknow.
 130. Rao Bahadur Kunwar Chain Singh Sahib, Royal Hotel, Lucknow.
 131. Pandit Shiva Shanker Tripathi, advocate, Rae Bareli.
 132. Kunwar Dewakar Prakash Singh Sahib, Kamlapur, Sitapur.
 133. Major Raja Durga Narain Singh, 5, Way Road, Lucknow.
 134. Thakur Narendra Bahadur Singh Sahib, Paho, Rae Bareli.
 135. Raja Bahadur Vishwa Nath Saran Singh Sahib, Tiloi, Rae Bareli.
 136. Pandit Dev Datt Bajpai, Ganeshganj, Lucknow.
 137. Rai Bahadur Pandit Mahraj Narain Chakbast.
 138. Pandit Bishwa Nath Tholal, Cawnpore.
 139. Dr. Mrs. Panth, Ruttlege Road, Lucknow.
 140. Mr. C. J. Adams, Helins Buildings, Ruttledge Road, Lucknow.
 141. Mr. E. H. Canteenwala, Hazratganj, Lucknow.
 142. Pandit Jagat Narain Sahib, Golaganj, Lucknow.
 143. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad.
 144. Mr. A. S. David, Head Master, St. Joseph School, Lucknow.
 145. Pandit Brij Narain Tankha, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow.
 146. R. S. Nanak, Chowkapur, Partabgarh.
 147. Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Journalist, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
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APPENDIX C

List of Delegates

1. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay ; 2. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, Calcutta ;
3. Mr. Jatendra Nath Basu, M. L. C., Calcutta ; 4. Mr. S. M. Bose, M. L. C., Calcutta ;
5. Mr. Nirmal Kanta Mitra, Calcutta ; 6. Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Mitra, Calcutta ;
7. Mr. Burjor I, Shroff, Bombay ; 8. Mr. Ram Chandra Goswami, Calcutta ; 9. Mr. Sailendra Nath Goswami, Howrah Bally ; 10. Mr. Harish Chandra Goswami, Calcutta ;
11. Dr. Rabirod Lal De, Calcutta ; 12. Babu Kalika Prasad, Shahjahanpur ;
13. Rai Sahib S. P. Sanyal, Benares ; 14. Pandit Parmeshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad ;
15. Babu Hira Lal Chatterji, Gwalior State ; 16. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Fyzabad ;
17. Mr. A. S. David, Lucknow ; 18. Pandit Iqbal Shanker Kaul, Lucknow ;
19. Pandit Triloki Nath Kaul, Bahraich ; 20. Pandit Daya Shanker, Fyzabad ;
21. Babu Hazari Lal, Fyzabad ; 22. Babu Chedi Lal, Fyzabad ; 23. Mehta Krishna Ram, Allahabad ; 24. Rev. J. N. Mukand, Lucknow ; 25. Mrs. Mukand, Lucknow ;
26. Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Behari Misra, Lucknow ; 27. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Lucknow ; 28. Rai Bahadur Babu Shambhoo Dayal, Lucknow ;
29. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad ; 30. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Lucknow ; 31. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra ; 32. Rai Sahib Radha Mohan, Jaunpur ; 33. Mr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Allahabad ; 34. Pandit Sri Ram Bajpai, Allahabad ; 35. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Sholapur ; 36. Mr. N. A. Dravid, Nagpur ;
37. Babu Mahabir Prasad Agarwal, Fyzabad ; 38. Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Lucknow ; 39. Dr. Narain Prasad Asthana, Allahabad ; 40. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad ; 41. Rai Bahadur A. L. Mahendra, Lucknow ; 42. Kunwar Rajendra Singh of Tikra, Lucknow ; 43. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Bombay ; 44. Mrs. Indra Bai Gokhale, Bombay ; 45. Mr. S. P. Karandika, Bombay ; 46. The hon. Mr. Prakash Narain Sapru, Allahabad ; 47. Pandit Kailash Narain Dube, Jhansi ;
48. Mr. A. P. Nagar, Banda ; 49. Rai Bahadur Babu Brijendra Swarup, Cawnpore ; 50. Mr. A. D. Shroff, Bombay ; 51. Mr. N. C. Bhameha, Bombay ; 52. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Bombay ; 53. Mr. Zafar Ahmad, Fatehpur ; 54. Babu Devendra Swarup, Cawnpore ; 55. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh of Anapore, Allahabad district ; 56. Mr. Ramesh Nandan Sinha of Anapore, Allahabad district ; 57. Rai Ram Charan Agarwal, Allahabad ; 58. Rai Govind Chandra, Benares ; 59. Major Raja Durga Narain Singh, Farrukhabad ; 60. Pandit Uma Shanker Misra, Lucknow ; 61. Mr. B. P. Mathur, Allahabad ; 62. Rai Amarnath Agarwal, Allahabad ; 63. Mr. Sate Nath Ghosh, Calcutta ; 64. Mrs. Subarnafata Ghosh, Calcutta ; 65. Mr. B. K. Aga, Dehra Dun ; 66. Babu Dalip Man Singh, Fatehpur ; 67. Rai Bahadur Lala Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Biswan, Sitapur district ; 68. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad, 69. Mrs. Gopi Nath Kunzru, Allahabad ; 70. Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, Madras ; 71. Thakur Ram Adhar Singh, Fyzabad ; 72. Mr. D.L. Sahasrabuddhe, Poona ; 73. Mrs. Yamunabai Sahasrabuddhe, Poona ; 74. Mr. Suraj Baksh Singh, Partabgarh ; 75. Mr. Onkar Nath Roy, Partabgarh ; 76. Mr. Girja Shanker, Partabgarh ; 77. Mr. Devi Persad, Rae Bareli ; 78. K. S. Negi, Allahabad ; 79. Mr. E. Thomas Chawdhree, Lucknow ; 80. Mr. Bodhraj Sahney, Jhansi ; 81. Mr. Bhola Nath Mehra, Jhansi ; 82. Babu Dwarka Nath Bhargava, Muttra ; 83. Mr. Kedar Nath Gupta, Allahabad ; 84. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Allahabad ; 85. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, Allahabad, 86. Mr. B. B. Roy, Calcutta ; 87. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, Nagpur ; 88. Mrs. Sarswati Bai Brahma, Nagpur, 89. Mr. R. K. Brahma, Amraoti ; 90. Mrs. R. K. Brahma, Amraoti ; 91. Mrs. Jankibai Brahma, Amraoti ; 92. Mr. V. T. Despande, Teotwal, Berar ; 93. Mr. M. D. Shahani, Nagpur ; 94. Babu Gauri Sankar Prasad, Benares ; 95. Thakur Udaipal Singh,

Partabgarh; 96. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Madras; 97. V. Venkatasubbiya, Madras; 98. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, Madras; 99. Mr. S. G. Gokhale, Poona; 100. Dr. D. L. Dubey, Meerut; 101. Mr. Bal Krishna Pandey, Lucknow; 102. Mrs. P. L. Asam, Lucknow, 103. Mr. N. M. Joshi, Bombay; 104. Mr. V. B. Sathi, Sholapur; 105. Mr. M. T. Chati, Sholapur; 106. Rai Bahadur Chain Singh, Jodhpur; 107. Rai Bahadur Ram Prasad Varma, Lucknow, 108. Mr. G. V. Gaur, Bombay; 109. Mr. S. B. Kotwal, Dhubia, West Khandesh; 110. Mr. V. M. Apte, Dhubia, West-Khandesh; 111. Mr. B. B. Kirtane, Dhubia, West Khandesh; 112. Mr. V. R. Bhide, Bombay; 113. Mrs. Santinbai Bhide, Bombay; 114. Mr. Vishun Nath, Allahabad; 115. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Lucknow; 116. Mr. Radhey Shiam Rastogi, Lucknow; 117. Mr. M. D. Altekar, Bombay; 118. Mr. Katyayani Dutt Trivedi, Rae Bareli; 119. Dr. S. N. Ghosh, Lucknow; 120. Rai Saheb Jai Narain Misra, Lucknow; 121. Mr. P. S. S. Tupatta, Rae Bareli; 122. Mr. E. H. Canteenwala, Lucknow; 123. Mr. Lalta Prasad Srivastava, Allahabad; 124. Mr. B. K. Dar, Agra; 125. Babu Mani Lal, Hardoi; 126. Rai Sahib Nanak, Chaukapur, Partabgarh; 127. Dr. M. H. Syed, Allahabad; 128. Mrs. Janak Sapru, Allahabad.

APPENDIX D

Council for 1937

President

1. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Bombay.

Vice-Presidents

2. Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Madras.
3. Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C.H., LL.D., Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Lucknow.
6. Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Nagpur.
7. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Bombay.
8. The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna, O. B. E., Bombay.
9. Mr. J.N. Basu, M.L.C., Calcutta.
10. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Allahabad.
11. Mr. T.R. Venkatrama Sastry, C.I.E., Madras.

General Secretaries

12. Mr. A.D. Shroff, Bombay.
13. Mr. B.N. Gokhale, Bombay.

Nominated by the President

14. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., Lucknow.
15. Dr. Heramba Chandra Mitra, Calcutta.
16. Dr. Narayan Prasad Asthana, Allahabad.
17. Mr. K.S. Jathar, C.I.E., Poona.
18. Mr. R.R. Bakhale, M.L.C., Bombay.

Elected Members

Madras

19. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
20. Janab C. Abdul Hakim Saheb Bahadur, Hakim House, Jaffer Sirang St. G. T., Madras.
21. Janab Jamal Mahomed Saheb Bahadur, 16, Thambu Chetti St., Madras.
22. Rao Bahadur Dr. C.B. Rama Rao, Kanthi Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
23. Rao Bahadur G.A. Natesan, Mangala Vilas, Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
24. Raja Sir Vasudeva Raja of Kollengode, S. Malabar.
25. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral, P. O. Madras.
26. Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao, B.A., B.L., Advocate, East Mada St., Mylapore, Madras.
27. Mr. C. L. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Vizagapatam.
28. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, B.A., B.L., The Ashram, Luz, Mylapore, Madras.

29. Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, B.A., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
30. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao, B.A., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
31. Mr. K. G. Sivaswamy, B.A., Servants of India Society, Mayanur, (Trichy Dist.)
32. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundaram Naidu, Avl. C.I.E., Ritherdon Road, Vepery, Madras.
33. Mr. S R. Venkatraman, B.A., B.L., Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
34. Mr. V. R. Narayanon, Servants of India Society, Calicut.

Bengal

35. Sir Bijay Prasad Singh Roy, Kt., M. A., B. L., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
36. Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., 213, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
37. Mr. C. C. Biswas, M.A., B. L., C.I.E., 58, Puddapukur Road, Calcutta.
38. Mr. B.K. Basu, M.A., C.I.E., 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
39. Mr. H.M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
40. Mr. B.B. Roy, M.A., Scottish Church College, Calcutta.
41. Mr. Satinath Roy, M.A., B.L., 12, Holwell Lane, Calcutta.
42. Mr. Prabhanath Singh Roy, M.A., B.L., 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
43. Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Mitra, 34/1 Elgin Road, Calcutta.
44. Kumar Rajendra Narayan Roy, 79, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.
45. Rai Nagendranath Mukerji Bahadur, M. A., B. L., Ranaghat (Nadia), Bengal.
46. Rai Keshab Chander Bennerji Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
47. Rai Satyendra Chandra Das Bahadur, Dacca.
48. Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara, E. I. Railway.
49. Maharaja Sirish Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar.
50. Rev. B. A. Nag, M.L.C., Congress Exhibition Road, Calcutta.
51. Mr. S.M. Bose, M.L.C., Bar-at-Law, 3, Federation Road, Calcutta.
52. Mr. B.K. Chaudhury, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
53. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
54. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashirpur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
55. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 6, College Square, Calcutta.
56. Mr. Shiva Prasanna Ghosh, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Bhagwandas Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
58. Mr. Sew Nissen Bhattar, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
59. Mr. Gostho Behari Mondal, Nawabganj, Barrackpore (Bengal).

Bombay

60. Sir Homi Mehta, Maneckji Wadia Building, Esplanada Road, Fort, Bombay.
61. Sir Byramjee Jeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay.
62. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
63. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

64. Mr. D. G. Dalvi Advocate, Shireen Villa, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.
65. Mr. Vasant Rao, S. Ravut French Bridge, Chaupatty, Bombay.
66. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Servants of India Society, Bombay 4.
67. Mr. R. K. Tatnis, 364, Thakurdwar, Bombay 2.
68. Mr. N. R. Wadia, 120, Wodehouse Road, Bombay 1.
69. Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi, Nanpura, Surat.
70. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, Advocate, 468 Kalbadevi, Bombay 2.
71. Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhatt, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
72. Mr. J. R. Gharpure, Advocate, Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
73. Khan Bahadur H. P. Chahewala, Khanpur Road, Ahmedabad.
74. Prof. M. D. Altekar, M. A., Park Road Vile Parle (B. B. C. I. Railway.)
75. Mr. V. P. Kittur, Advocate, Belgaum.
76. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
77. Mr. K. J. Dubash, Solicitor, Medows Street, Bombay 1.
78. Mr. V. B. Sathe, M. A., LL. B., Sholapur.
79. Mr. M. T. Chati, B.A., LL. B., Sholapur.
80. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law.
81. Mr. H. G. Gharpure, I. C. S. (Retd.)
82. Mr. G. V. Ranade, Poona.

United Provinces

83. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, Thornhill Road, Allahabad.
84. The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru, Bar-at-Law, Albert Road, Allahabad.
85. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, M.L.C., Rehwan, district Rae Bareli.
86. Dr. Rajeshwar Bali, O.B.E., Daryabad, district Bara Banki.
87. Kumar Rajendra Singh, Tikra House, Cantonment Road, Lucknow.
88. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
89. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Keshav Dham, Shivala, Benares City.
90. Mr. Ayodhya Das, Bar-at-Law, Anand Bhawan, Gorakhpur.
91. Babu Bodh Raj Sahney, Jhansi.
92. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Lucknow.
93. Pandit Gopi Nath Kunzru, Clive Road, Allahabad.
94. Mr. S. P. Andrews Dube, Servants of India Society, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
95. Mehta Krishna Ram, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
96. Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M.A., LL.B., Fatehpur.
97. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, Stanley Road, Allahabad.
98. Babu Vishun Nath, 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
99. Rao Raja Pandit Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunj, Lucknow.
100. Rao Krishnapal Singh, Castle Grant, Agra.
101. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeo Bihari Misra, 105, Golagunj, Lucknow.
102. Rai Bahadur Mathura Prasad Mehrotra, Biswan, district Sitapur, Oudh.
103. Babu Vishwanath Prasad, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
104. Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru, Surya Bhawan, Fyzabad.

105. Rai Bahadur Babu Brijendra Swarup, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
106. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, Principal, Benares Hindu University.

Punjab

107. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
108. Mr. R. Jlia Ram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore.
109. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
110. Lala Kesheo Ram Shekri, M. L. C., Vakil, Civil Lines, Lahore.
111. Mr. Manoharlal, Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
112. Mr. Hardatta Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, Machagan Road, Lahore.

C. P. and Berar

113. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M. B. E., Advocate, Nagpur.
114. Mr. V. K. Rajwade, Advocate, Nagpur.
115. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.
116. Mr. N. A. Drawid, M. A., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
117. Mr. V. G. Mandpe, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
118. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
119. Mr. A. Shahane, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
120. Rao Bahadur B. V. Dravid, Yeotmal.
121. Rao Bahadur R. M. Khare, Amraoti Camp.
122. Mr. Shankerrao M. Bhalchandra, Yeotmal.
123. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal.

Behar

124. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh (Anapur, Allahabad district).

Orissa

125. Mr. A. S. N. Murthi, President, National Liberal Association of Orissa, Berhampore.
126. Mr. Laxmi Narayan Sahu, M. A., Cuttack.

Assam

127. Mr. Chandra Dhar Barua, Jorhat, Assam.

APPENDIX E

Working Committee for the year 1937

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bart), K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Chairman,

Madras

Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.,
The Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H. LL.D.,
Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, B.A., B.L., C.I.E., and
Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, B.A., B.L.

Bombay

Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Mr. H. G. Gharpure,
Mr. M. D. Altekar, and
Mr. M. S. Sirdar.

Bengal

Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.A.,
Mr. S. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, and
Mr. N. C. Ray, M.A., B.L.

United Provinces

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani,
The hon. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, and
Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh.

C. P. & Berar

Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., M.B.E.,
Mr. N.A. Dravid, M.A.,
Mr. V. T. Deshpande, and
M. M. D. Shahane.

Punjab

Pandit Hardatt Sharma.

Orissa

Mr. A. S. N. Moorti,
Messrs. A. D. Shroff and B. N. Gokhale, Secretaries (ex-officio).

APPENDIX F

Resolutions Passed at Previous Sessions

FIRST SESSION (BOMBAY)

1. Loyal Homage

This Conference offers its loyal homage to the throne and person of his Majesty the King-Emperor and expresses its gratification at the announcement by his Majesty of the intended visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, where, the Conference is confident, a warm and enthusiastic welcome assuredly awaits him.

2. India and the War

The Conference rejoices at the decisively hopeful turn which the great war has taken in favour of Great Britain and her gallant allies and fervently hopes that the war will soon end in the complete triumph of the ideals for which the allied powers were compelled to unsheathe their sword, and expresses its determination to ensure that until the final victory is won, India will continue to render to Government unstintedly and whole-heartedly whatever assistance and service she can in the successful prosecution of the war.

3. The Reform Proposals

This Conference cordially welcomes the reform proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India as constituting a distinct advance in present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the provincial Governments and also a real and substantial step towards the progressive realization of "responsible government" in the provincial Governments in due fulfilment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As such this Conference records its hearty support to those proposals and, while suggesting necessary modifications and improvements therein, expresses its grateful appreciation of the earnest effort of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to start the country on a career of genuine and lasting progress towards the promised goal.

4. Rejectionists and Reactionaries

This Conference regards all attempts at the condemnation or rejection of the reform scheme as a whole as ill-advised and, in particular, protests emphatically against the reactionary attitude assumed towards it by the Indo-British Association and some European public bodies in this country which is certain to produce, if successfully persisted in, an extremely undesirable state of feeling between England and India and imperil the cause of ordered progress in this country. This Conference, therefore, most earnestly urges his Majesty's Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions of the scheme and the suggestions of its supporters in regard thereto as early as possible by suitable legislation.

5. Government of India

- (a) This Conference, while making due allowance for the necessities or drawbacks of a transitional scheme, urges that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917, and in order that the progress of India towards the goal of a self-governing unit of the British Empire may be facilitated and not unduly delayed or hampered, as also with a view to avoid the untoward consequences of a legislature containing a

substantially elected popular element being allowed merely to indulge in criticism unchecked by responsibility, it is essential that the principle of "responsible government" should be introduced also in the Government of India simultaneously with a similar reform in the provinces. There should, therefore, be a division of functions in the central Government into 'reserved' and 'transferred' as a part of the present instalment of reforms and the committee on division of functions should be instructed to investigate the subjects and make recommendations.

- (b) While, as suggested above, some measures of transfer of power to the Indian Legislature should be introduced at the commencement, provision should be made for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India by specifically authorizing the proposed periodic Commissions to enquire into the matter and to recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be deemed necessary or desirable in that behalf.
- (c) This Conference recommends that the composition of the Council of State should be so altered as to ensure that one half of its total strength shall consist of elected members.
- (d) This Conference urges that legislation of an exceptional character, having the effect of curtailing ordinary rights such as the freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial, should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly of India, except in a time of war or internal disturbance, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the scheme, unless such legislation is of a temporary character and limited to a period of one year only, the said legislation being in any case made not renewable without such approval in the last resort.
- (e) The power of certification given to the Governor-General should be limited to matters involving the defence of the country, foreign and political relations, and peace and order, and should not be extended to "good government" generally or "sound financial administration".
- (f) The Indian element in the executive Government of India should be one half of the total number of members of that Government.

6. India and Fiscal Freedom

Saving such equal and equitable imperial obligations as may be agreed upon as resting on all parts of the Empire, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Legislature, should enjoy the same power of regulating the fiscal policy of India as the governments of the self-governing Dominions enjoy of regulating their fiscal policy.

7. Provinces

- 1 (a) The status and emoluments of Ministers should be identical with those of Executive Councillors, and the Governor should not have greater power of control over them than over the latter.
- (b) Whatever power may be given to the Governor in Council to interfere with the decisions of the Governor and Ministers on the ground of their possible effects on the administration of the reserved subjects, corresponding power should be given to the Governor and Ministers in respect of decisions of the Governor in Council affecting directly or indirectly the administration of the transferred subjects.

- (c) The proposal to appoint an additional Member or Members, from among the senior officials, without portfolios and without vote, for purposes of consultation and advice only, but as *Members of the Executive Government* in the provinces, should be dropped.
- (d) Heads of Provincial Governments in the major provinces should ordinarily be selected from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.
- (e) No administrative control over subjects vested in provincial Governments should be "reserved" in the central Government, particularly in respect of "transferred" heads.
- (f) The Government of India should have no power to make a supplementary levy upon the provinces; they may only take loans from the latter on occasions of emergency.

TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS

(2) This Conference recommends that the largest possible number of subjects should be included in the "transferred" list in every province as the progress and conditions of each province may justify and that none mentioned in the illustrative list No. II appended to the report should, as far as possible, be "reserved" in any province.

8. Franchise, electorates, etc.

- (a) The franchise should be as wide and the composition of the Legislative Council should be as liberal as circumstances may admit in each province, the number of representatives of the general territorial electorates being fixed in every case at not less than one half of the whole Council.
- (b) The elected element in the provincial Legislative Councils should be four-fifths of the total strength of the Councils, at least in the more advanced provinces.
- (c) The franchise should be so broad and the electorates so devised as to secure to all classes of taxpayers their due representation by *election*, and the interests of those communities or groups of communities in Madras and the Bombay Deccan and elsewhere who at present demand special electoral protection should be adequately safeguarded by introducing a system of plural constituencies in which a reasonable number of seats should be reserved for those communities till the first Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry.
- (d) Mahomedan representation in every legislature should be in the proportions mentioned in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916.
- (e) In the case of any community, for which separate special electorates may be deemed at present necessary, participation in the general territorial electorates, whether as voters or candidates, should not be permitted.
- (f) It shall be left to the option of an individual belonging to a community, which is given separate representation, to enrol himself as a voter either in the general or the communal electorate.

9. Some other Suggestions

- 1 (a) It should be provided that when the Legislative Assembly is dissolved by the Viceroy or the Legislative Council is dissolved by the Governor, a fresh election should be held and the new Council summoned not later than four months after the dissolution.
- (b) Some provision should be made for the appointment and co-option of qualified Indians on the periodic commissions proposed to be appointed.

every 10 or 12 years and it should further be provided that the first periodic commission shall come to India and submit its recommendations to Parliament before the expiry of the third Legislative Council after the reform scheme comes into operation and that every subsequent periodic commission should be appointed at the end of every 10 years.

- (c) The Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Councils should have the right to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS.

- 11 (a) This Conference thanks the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for recommending that all racial bars should be abolished and for recognizing the principle of recruitment of all the Indian public services in India and in England instead of any service being recruited for exclusively in the latter country.
- (b) This Conference strongly urges that Indians should be nominated to 20 per cent. to start with, of King's Commissions in the Indian Army and (2) that adequate provision for training them should be made in this country itself.
- (c) All racial inequalities in respect of trial by jury, the rules made under the Arms Act, etc., should be removed and the latter should be so amended as to provide for the possession and carrying of arms by Indians under liberal conditions.
- (d) A complete separation of judicial and executive functions of all district officers should be made, at least in all major provinces, at once and the judiciary placed under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the province.

10. India Office and Parliament

This Conference, while generally approving of the proposals embodied in the report regarding the India Office and Parliamentary control, urges

- (a) that the administrative control of Parliament over the Government of India exercised through the Secretary of State should continue except in so far as the control of the legislature on the spot is substituted for the present Parliamentary control ;
- (b) that Indian opinion should be represented on the committee appointed to report upon the organization of the India Office and the evidence of Indian witnesses invited ;
- (c) that at least a major part of the cost of the India Office should be borne by the British exchequer, and
- (d) that until the India Council can be abolished by substituting Indian control for the control of Parliament over the affairs of India, it should be a mere advisory body with its strength reduced to eight members, four of whom should be Indians.

11. Deputation to England and Organisation in India

- (a) This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, to select a deputation to proceed to England, at a time to be determined by the committee in consultation with the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the press and the British public generally, the wisdom and

necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme and giving legislative effect to it at an early date with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested in the foregoing resolutions.

- (b) The said committee, with power to add to their number, should also take steps to form a properly constituted permanent organization of the party with branches in the various provinces with a view (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people, (2) to give combined expression from time to time to the considered opinion of the Party on matters of public interest, and (3) to inform and educate public opinion in this country in support of its views, methods and policy.

COMMITTEE

1. The hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea—*Chairman* ;
 2. The hon. Sir Dinsha Edulji Wacha—*Vice-Chairman* ;
 3. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar—*Vice-Chairman*,
 4. The hon. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee,
 5. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar,
 6. Sir Binode Chandra Mitter,
 7. The hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj,
 8. The hon. Sir Bipin Krishna Bose,
 9. The hon. Sir Gangadhar M. Chitnavis,
 10. Sir Hormusji A Wadya,
 11. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar,
 12. Mr. M. V. Joshi,
 13. The hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi,
 14. The hon. Pandit Jagat Narain ;
 15. The hon. Nawabzada Syed Altaf Ali Chowdhuri,
 16. The hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,
 17. The hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru,
 18. The hon. Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter,
 19. The hon. Dr. A. Surahwardy,
 20. The hon. Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay,
 21. Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon,
 22. Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad,
 23. Pandit Manohar Lal of Lahore,
 24. The hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye,
 25. Babu Satyanand Bose,
 26. Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray,
 27. Mr. D. C. Ghose,
 28. Mr. V. R. Kothari,
 29. Mr. N. M. Samarth, and
 30. the hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani
- } *Secretaries.*

SECOND SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Proclamation of Dec. 23, 1919

This Conference begs to convey to his Majesty the King-Emperor its profound homage and sense of deep gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December, 1919, which opens a new era in the history of British India by inaugurating the beginnings of responsible government. By the exercise of his Royal clemency in favour of political prisoners, by his deep sympathy with our political aspirations and by his confidence in our future, his Majesty has ensured an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill which is bound to contribute to the successful working of the reforms.

2. Visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales

This Conference desires to express its profound satisfaction at the announcement of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India next winter to inaugurate the constitutional reforms and to assure him of a loyal and most hearty welcome.

3. Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha

- (a) This Conference desires to convey to the rt. hon. Mr. Montagu its heartfelt appreciation of the statesmanship, courage and single-minded devotion displayed by him in initiating and carrying the reform proposals and setting India firmly on the road to responsible government.
- (b) This Conference desires to record its proud appreciation of the rt. hon. Lord Sinha's services to the country in his capacity as a member of the War Cabinet, as a representative of India at the Peace Conference and in his conduct of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords.
- (c) This Conference desires to thank the Joint Committee for removing several defects in the original Reform Bill and improving it.

4. Government of India Act, 1919

While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central government, this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as the first definite and substantial step towards the progressive realization of responsible government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and nonofficials, wholeheartedly to cooperate for the successful working of the Act.

5. Settlement with Turkey

This Conference deeply regrets the long delay in the settlement of satisfactory peace terms with Turkey and views with grave concern any political action which may tend to affect the position or dignity of the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa or the guardian of the holy places of Islam.

This Conference earnestly calls the attention of his Majesty's Government to the depth and intensity of the feelings of his Majesty's subjects on this question and strongly pleads for an early and satisfactory settlement in consultation with the allies.

This Conference emphatically urges that any settlement which disregards the sentiments of the Moslem world, with which it is in agreement, will create widespread discontent and may be detrimental to peaceful progress. No settlement of the Turkish question can in the opinion of this Conference be satisfactory which contravenes the principles of justice and national integrity and even fails to redeem the solemn pledges made during the war.

6. Martial Law in the Punjab

This Conference wishes to record its emphatic condemnation of the outrages committed by the mobs at several places in the Punjab and elsewhere and its deep sympathy with the victims and their families.

This Conference, while in no way wishing to anticipate the decision of the Hunter Committee, must express its sense of profound horror and indignation at the manner in which the situation which arose in the Punjab in April and May last was dealt with by the officials concerned as disclosed in their own evidence.

This Conference is of opinion that it is imperatively necessary—

(1) to make amends for the outraged feelings of the Indian nation and that British honour and justice should be vindicated by taking steps to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or to have authorised such acts ;

(2) that reparation should be made for all serious hardship caused by unwarranted acts of severity;

(3) that safeguards should be provided against the recurrence of such things in the future.

This conference authorizes its All-India Committee—

(1) to take such action as may be necessary on the publication of the report of the Hunter Committee;

(2) to consider the necessity of the following safeguards among others and taking such further action as may be necessary :—

(a) that the introduction, exercise and duration of martial law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England;

(b) that martial law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions;

(c) that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers;

(d) that if courts martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting any person not subject to Naval Discipline Act or Military Law who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation should be allowed the option of a trial by the civil court;

(e) that the remedy in the nature of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India.

(3) to further the object of the resolution by arranging for a deputation to England or otherwise.

7. Indian Press Act

This Conference is of opinion that the Indian Press Act should be repealed or at least that the Act should be radically revised so that no security or forfeiture should be called for except on satisfactory proof by the Government before a judicial tribunal that the liberty of the press has been abused and that the conditions entailing forfeiture or deposit of security should be so defined as not to render an application to the High Court an illusory safeguard as shown in practice.

8. Indian Army

This Conference is of opinion that as a necessary preparation for the goal of responsible government in recognition of the just claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence of their country and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, it is essential to take early steps to place the defensive organization of the country on a national basis—

- (a) by throwing open King's Commissions to Indians on a liberal scale not merely to officers who have risen from the ranks and proved their merit but to the members of the educated classes on conditions similar to those obtaining in the British army;
- (b) by throwing open to Indians all arms of the regular defensive organization such as the artillery, the navy and the air force;
- (c) by taking steps for the organization of the territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army and will bear at least the same proportion thereto as the proposed European auxiliary force will bear to the British army in India ;
- (d) by providing adequate military training and instruction in India to the highest standard possible and of the same character as in the case of the British army in all subjects of military instruction, whether technical or administrative, including military and naval engineering, the construction of aircraft and submarine engineering, the knowledge of tactics and strategy, etc.

9. Indians in South Africa

- (a) This Conference strongly protests against the attempts made in South Africa to deprive the Indian settlers of rights hitherto enjoyed by them by means of the Asiatic Trading and Land Amendment Act and by other legislation of a similar character calculated to drive them out of the country.
- (b) This Conference appeals to the Imperial Government to affirm and protect the unrestricted rights of Indians to emigrate to British East Africa and the African colonies which have been taken from Germany and to support the Indian settlers in these colonies and all future Indian immigrants in the unrestricted exercise of their civil, municipal and political rights.

10. Flogging in Army

This Conference is of opinion that the punishment of flogging which was abolished in the British army nearly 50 years ago should be immediately abolished in the Indian army.

11. Boy Scout Movement

This Conference is of opinion that the Government and the people should do all in their power to support and promote the Indian boy scout movement and take steps to bring it into line with Baden Powell's boy scout movement.

12. Subjects of Indian States

This Conference recommends that the subjects of Indian states who have settled in British India or under the British administration in India may be declared eligible for political franchise and for election to the Legislative Councils in the same manner as British Indian subjects.

13. Thanks to Sir Rash Behari Ghosh

This Conference tenders its heartfelt thanks to Sir Rash Behari Ghosh for his munificent gifts to the cause of higher scientific education in this country, and trusts that all wealthy citizens would emulate his noble example.

14. National Liberal Federation

(1) The Liberal Party of India will work for the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of cooperation, and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country. It will aim at a

higher standard of rational efficiency by means of administrative reforms, the wider spread of education, the improvement of public health, economic development, and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of the population.

(2) The organization of the Liberal Party shall be known as the National Liberal Federation of India and the future sessions of the All-India Moderate Conference shall be designated the annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation.

(3) The Indian Association of Calcutta, the Bengal National Liberal League, the National Liberal Association of Western India, the Deccan Sabha of Poona, the Madras Liberal League, the United Provinces Liberal Association, the National Liberal League of the Central Provinces and Berar, and other Liberal Associations or Leagues which may adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and may be admitted by the Council (hereinafter referred to), shall be component parts of the National Liberal Federation of India.

(4) The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a Council consisting of not more than fifteen members from each province in addition to office-bearers, elected at the annual session. The office-bearers shall be the President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who will be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-Presidents, who will be the Vice-Chairmen, and two General Secretaries.

(5) Members of the Council shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 25.

(6) The members of Associations or Leagues which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their Committees are eligible for membership of the annual sessions of the Federation. Those who attend the session shall pay a fee of Rs. 5.

(7) The Council shall take all necessary steps to carry on work in India and in England.

15. Instructions to Council

- (a) That the Council be instructed to do all that is necessary and possible in connection with all action that has to be taken under the Government of India Act of 1919 and the reports of the Punjab Enquiry Commission and the Indian Army Commission, as well as to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act and also the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.
- (b) That the Council be further instructed to organize a deputation to proceed to England to urge before the statesmen and publicists there the views of the Conference on the aforesaid subjects, and do such other work as the Council may decide.
- (c) This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the various provincial organizations of the National Liberal Federation should consider the following subjects and frame suitable programmes of constructive work in connection therewith :—
- (1) The placing of the principles of land revenue settlement on a legislative basis.
 - (2) A definite programme of development of irrigation, if necessary, by borrowed capital.
 - (3) Development of provincial railways and reform of the present method of railway administration and of the railway tariff so far as it affects each province.
 - (4) An immediate expansion of free elementary education with the ultimate goal of introduction of compulsory education at an early date.

- (5) Reforms connected with the elementary, secondary and higher education (collegiate and technical).
- (6) Development of agriculture and the improvement of the economic condition of the agriculturists.
- (7) Reform of the excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total prohibition.
- (8) Development and expansion of industries and the organization of better credit for the rural classes.
- (9) The amelioration of the condition of the backward classes and the improvement of the present condition of labour and the housing of the poorer classes.
- (10) Retrenchment of public expenditure and reform of existing methods of administration with specific reference to the improvement of district administration.
- (11) Organization of medical relief and sanitation.

16. General Secretaries

This Conference appoints the hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and the hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as general secretaries of the National Liberal Federation for the year 1920.

THIRD SESSION (MADRAS)

1. Welcome to the Duke of Connaught

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to accord a loyal and most hearty welcome to his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on this occasion of his visit to India on behalf of his Majesty the King-Emperor to inaugurate the constitutional reforms.

2. Lord Sinha's Appointment as Governor

This Federation records its satisfaction at the appointment of his Excellency the rt. hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of the province of Bihar and Orissa and tenders its hearty congratulations to him on this mark of high appreciation of distinguished service to this country and offers its best wishes for success of his administration.

3. Indian Military Policy

- (a) This Federation protests against the recommendations of the Army in India Committee, the composition of which was alike inadequate and unsatisfactory in that it included pronounced reactionaries like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Malik Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana and left Indian interests to be represented practically by only one member.
- (b) The Federation expresses strong condemnation of the procedure followed by the Committee (1) in deciding upon the principles governing the future military policy of India before they left England and before the Indian members were appointed or could join them and before they could consult the Government or the people of India; (2) in deciding to examine no witnesses; and (3) in conducting the proceedings *in camera*.
- (c) The Federation desires to record its protest against his Majesty's Government giving effect to, or otherwise disposing of, the recommendations made by commissions or committees on matters of vital importance to the people of India, without affording any opportunity for the expression of their views to the Indian Legislature and Indian public, and the

Federation urges that none of the recommendations of the Esher Committee should in any way be acted upon until the Indian public and Indian Legislature have expressed their views and before the actual cost of the scheme is worked out and made known to the public. The Conference notes with alarm that the Government is even now carrying into effect some portions of the recommendations without consulting Indian public opinion and considers that such action will only deepen the distrust of British military policy already widely prevalent in this country

(d) The Federation is further of opinion that the problems considered by the Esher Committee have been approached exclusively from the standpoint of imperial policy and requirements, and hardly, if at all, from the point of view of the requirements of India, whether with reference to her internal needs or her position as a partner entitled to equality of status with the self-governing dominions, or to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country, or her capacity to bear the financial burdens entailed by the scheme.

(e) The Federation regrets the fundamental assumption in the report that conditions of grave unrest in the Near and Middle East, which have been created by complications of European diplomacy and politics, and for which India is in no way responsible, are matters which must be provided against by saddling India with burdens necessitated by imperial military policy.

(f) The Federation records its emphatic protest against the recommendations of the Committee (1) to allow the Imperial General Staff in England to exercise what the Committee call a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India, which, if carried out, must have the effect of reducing the military administration of India to a position of dependence upon the War Office in England, and depriving the Government of India of their control over Indian military affairs, and (2) to virtually release the Commander-in Chief in India from the supremacy of the civil power.

(g) In the opinion of the Federation the reforms urgently needed in the organization and administration of the Army in India should *inter alia*, include the following :—(1) The position that the Army in India should be independent of the British Army and under the control of the Government of India and not of the War Office should be recognized. (2) The Commander-in-Chief should only be the executive head of the army, and not a member of the Governor-General's Council and the portfolio of defence should be entrusted to a Civilian Member of the Governor-General's Council. (3) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the external frontiers of India except for defensive purposes or in very grave emergencies and with the free consent of the Governor-General in Council. (4) The King's Indian subjects should be freely admitted to all arms of his Majesty's forces in India, including the Territorial Army. Not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Commissions should be given to his Majesty's Indian subjects to start with and the proportion raised in 10 years to 50 per cent. by annual increment of 2½ per cent. (5) Adequate facilities should be provided in India for training Indians as officers in all branches of the army by their admission into the existing institutions, as well as by the establishment of new institutions and in all other possible ways. (6) The system of having two sets of commissions in the army, one proceeding from the King and the other from the Viceroy, should be abolished. All differences of designation between the British and Indian officers of various ranks should likewise be abolished. All invidious distinctions, based upon racial considerations, should be abolished in the army.

(1) So long as the army in India is maintained partly to meet imperial needs and controlled by the British War Office, a fair and adequate share of India's military expenditure determined by the relative interests and capacity of the two countries should be paid by the British.

4. The Naval Defence of India

The National Liberal Federation of India requests the Secretary of State to publish immediately in India the report of Lord Jallicoe regarding naval defence of India, and urges that no conclusions should be reached on the recommendations contained therein until the Indian Legislature and the people of India have had opportunities of expressing their opinions on the same. Any fresh burdens imposed upon India without reference to her needs and requirements and to her existing burdens, will produce great dissatisfaction. No scheme of naval defence which does not provide for the free and unrestricted admission of Indians to all ranks of the Navy will be acceptable to the country.

5. Procedure re. Commissions and Committees

The Federation urges that rules be framed to ensure that no action, administrative or legislative, shall be taken on the reports of any commission or committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India until an opportunity shall have been given to the Indian Legislature to express its opinion thereon and, in regard to matters specially affecting any province, until such an opportunity shall have been given to the legislature of that province. It further urges that, in regard to commissions and committees appointed by local Governments, similar rules be framed ensuring that an adequate opportunity shall be afforded to the local Legislature concerned for the consideration of the reports of such commissions and committees.

6. The Non-Cooperation Movement

The Federation expresses its emphatic disapproval of the policy of non-cooperation as calculated to destroy individual liberty of speech and action, to incite social hatred and retard the progress of the country towards responsible government; but the Federation feels that the best way of successfully combating the non-cooperation movement is for the Government to redress the wrongs that have led to its adoption.

7. The late Mr. Tilak and Rai Bahadur D. C. Ghose

The National Liberal Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss that the country has sustained in the death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the eminent patriot who devoted his life to the political advancement of the Indian nation.

The Federation also desires to place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Rai Bahadur Devendra Chandra Ghose who rendered distinguished services to the country.

8. Indians Abroad

- (a) Having regard to the historic and honourable connection of Indians with the East African territories which owe not merely their development but practically their very existence to Indian capital and labour and to Indian enterprise and initiative, and to the part played by Indian soldiers in the conquest and pacification of the East African Protectorate (Kenya Colony), the National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the anti-Indian agitation of the European residents of the Protectorate and against the political and economic disabilities imposed upon Indians by the Government of the Protectorate.

- (b) The Federation urges that there is absolutely no justification for the policy of racial discrimination against the Indian subjects of his Majesty in a part of the British Empire the internal administration of which is under the control of his Majesty's Government, and that Indians should enjoy absolute equality with Europeans in the Protectorate (Kenya Colony). The Federation urges in particular that restrictions on the allotment of land for commercial and other purposes to Indians should be abolished and that a liberal political and municipal franchise and adequate representation on the legislative and municipal councils should be granted to them.
2. (a) The Federation invites the urgent attention of the Government of India to the news received from Fiji that 30,000 Indians, despairing of obtaining justice, have been driven by gross oppression to decide to sell all their property and leave the colony in which they have settled and which owes its prosperity mainly to them.
- (b) The Federation would urge, strongly that the Government of India should press for an independent inquiry into the causes of the recent riots in Fiji, the methods employed in suppressing them, with special reference to the treatment of women and the wages of labourers and the conditions under which Indians live, representatives of the Government and the people of India being associated with the enquiry.

9. Racial Distinctions

In the opinion of the Federation, the inauguration of the new regime conferring a measure of self-government on the people of India must be signalled by a comprehensive measure abolishing all distinctions in law based merely on the race of the individual and it urges, in particular, that the provisions in the criminal law of India conferring upon Europeans and Americans certain special privileges and rights must be repealed at an early date.

10. Exchange and Currency

In view of the admitted failure of the efforts of the Government of India to maintain the country's gold exchange at or near the basis recommended by the last Committee on exchange and currency and even at the sterling level fixed by themselves, and in view of the enormous losses caused to the Indian exchequer mainly by the sale of reverse councils against which the public strongly protested, and the utter disorganization and demoralization of the export and import trade of the country which have been accentuated by the said policy of the Government, the National Liberal Federation strongly urges a fresh and immediate inquiry into the whole exchange and currency problem, such a reconsideration of Government's policy having been recommended by the Babington-Smith Committee itself. The Federation further urges that the suggested reconsideration should aim at placing the Indian system of exchange and currency on a self-adjusting basis so as to promote the best interests of the trade, manufactures, industries and finance of the country and to bring India in a line in this connection with the advanced nations of the world.

11. Fiscal Policy of India

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Governor-General in Council in February, 1920, to advise as to the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India, the National Liberal Federation of India urges the immediate appointment of a strong and representative Commission, with power to take evidence in various parts of the country from

representatives of all interests concerned, such as those of importers, exporters, producers, manufacturers and consumers, to examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India.

The Federation further urges that the country should not be committed, in the meanwhile, to any policy of Imperial Preference until a Commission such as the one recommended above has collected evidence and made its report.

12. The Medical Services

The Federation considers the recommendations of the Lovett and Esher Committees as being retrograde and calls upon the Government to set them aside. The Federation is of opinion that the medical service in India should be separated into two divisions, one military and the other civil. The former should be recruited both in England and India, while the latter should be recruited mainly in India. While exchange of officers may be allowed for purposes of training, the two services should be kept strictly separate and to meet military emergencies officers in the civil medical service should be obliged to undergo military training for fixed periods at stated intervals and go on field service when required.

13. The Khilafat

The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January, 1911, has not been redeemed; and strongly urges his Majesty's Government to avail themselves of the developments in Greece and suitably revise the treaty with Turkey.

14. Repressive Legislation

The Federation urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Deportation Regulations.

15. Suffrage for Women

The Federation requests the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils, respectively, to remove the sex disqualification in their respective franchise from women otherwise duly qualified.

16. Trade Unions

The Federation urges the Government of India to take steps to legalize trade unions on the lines of the English legislation on the matter.

17. The Punjab

1. The Federation records its conviction that the failure of British statesmanship to rise to the demands of the situation in regard to the Punjab affair, has largely prevented the people from realizing the value of the constitutional reforms.

2. The Federation protests against the failure of the Government to render justice by imposing adequate punishment upon officers who were guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration in the Punjab.

3. The Federation has noticed with surprise that the compensation awarded to the victims of the martial law excesses was extremely inadequate and disproportionately small as compared with the compensation awarded to the victims of mob violence as well as with the losses sustained by them. This Federation further regrets that the heavy fines levied upon certain cities have not been revised and reduced.

4. The Federation again strongly urges that effective safeguards should be provided against a recurrence of such things as happened in 1919 in the Punjab on the lines recommended at the Calcutta session of the Federation.

18. The Factory Act

The Federation is of opinion that, to improve the conditions of labour in this country, the Factory Act should be amended in the following respects :

(1) Work in all industrial undertakings should for the present be limited to 10 hours a day in the case of men, eight in the case of women and five in the case of children between the ages of 12 and 14. (2) Children between 14 and 16 years should be classed as young persons and their hours of work should not exceed six per day. (3) In the case of mines the maximum should be fixed at 54 hours a week. (4) Exceptions under sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Factories Act of 1912 should be removed altogether. (5) A rule should be made prohibiting the employment of women for six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth and provision should be made for maternity benefit. (6) Women and children should, under no circumstances, be employed during night time. (7) Provision should be made for the appointment of special health officers, including women health officers, to supervise health conditions in factories. (8) The minimum age for admission to industrial employment should be fixed at 12. (9) The definition of 'factory' should be so revised that all industrial undertakings employing 20 persons and above even without the use of mechanical power are brought under the Act.

19. The Government of India

The Federation regrets that, instead of consideration being given to the need for reduction of the strength of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, there should have been an addition to the Council even after the devolution of powers to Ministers in the Provinces. The Federation protests against the recommendations of the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee in so far as they relate to the creation of consequent increase in the staff and to the creation of posts of private secretaries to the members of the Executive Council.

20. The Executive Councils

(1) The Federation protests strongly against the fixing of the strength of the Executive Councils in Madras, Bombay and Bengal at 4 instead of 2 as involving waste of public money, as thoroughly unjustifiable in view of the transfer of about one half of public business to Ministers, and as tending to retard the transfer in the near future of more subjects to Ministers.

(2) The Federation notes with regret that the strength of the Executive Council in Bihar and Orissa should have been fixed at three instead of at 2 and that, with the strength of the Executive Council at 3, only one Indian should have been appointed against the express recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, both when they first reported on the Government of India Bill and subsequently, when they discussed the matter at the instance of the Government of India in connection with the Rules.

21. Depressed and Backward Classes

The Federation urges the Reformed Legislatures in the provinces to lose no time in framing a suitable programme for the educational advancement and social uplift of the backward and depressed classes in the country.

22. The Indian Reform Committee of London

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India recognizes the Indian Reform Committee of London as its British Committee, and resolves to contribute a sum of £ 600 per annum for its maintenance, in addition to one half of the delegation fees realized by the Reception Committee of the annual session of the Federation.

- (b) Of the said £ 600, the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras shall each contribute £ 150, the United Provinces £ 100, and the Central Provinces and Berar, £ 50.
- (c) The amount shall be remitted to the Indian Reform Committee in the December of each year in advance for the next succeeding year.

23. General Secretaries for 1912

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1921.

4TH SESSION (ALLAHABAD)

1. The Late Rai Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Rai Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

2 The late Sir Rash Behari Ghose

This Federation desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose, C. I. E., and to convey its sincere condolence to the members of his family.

3. Welcome to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales

This Federation accords its most loyal and respectful welcome to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his visit to India.

4. Indianization of the Army

This Federation urges the Government to give effect immediately to the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly in regard to the Indianization of the commissioned ranks in the Indian army by starting with an initial recruitment of Indians to 25 per cent. of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by annual increments of not less than 5 per cent.

5. Civil Disobedience

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the campaign of civil disobedience, resolved upon by the Congress, is fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and is bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people, and earnestly appeals to the country not to follow a course which imperils peace, order and personal liberty, and is bound to produce a mentality inimical not merely to the present Government but to any form of Government, and so far from achieving Swaraj, which Indians of all political schools desire, is bound to lead to a deplorable setback in the progress of the country.

6. Self-Government.

In view of the experience obtained of the working of the Reforms Act, the rapid growth of national consciousness and the strong and growing demand among all sections of the people for a fuller control over their destinies, this Federation strongly urges that

(1) Full autonomy should be introduced in the Provincial Governments at the end of the first term of the various Legislatures, and

(2) As regards Central Government, all subjects except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian states and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control at the end of the first term of the Legislative Assembly, subject to such safeguards as may be suitable and necessary for the protection of all vested interests.

7. Political Situation

(1) This Federation fully realizes the difficulties of the Government in dealing with the present critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of civil disobedience, and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties, and it recognizes the duty of all patriotic citizens to support the Government in all measures necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. But it views with great concern the inauguration of a policy of indiscriminate arrests and extensive application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that such a policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed attention to the fact that some local Governments and local authorities have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in the matter of arrests and with harshness and severity in regard to sentences of which the Federation strongly disapproves. It therefore strongly urges on the Government an immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the present situation.

(2) This Federation urges the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee and to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act as early as possible, making such amendments of the ordinary law relating to intimidation as may be suitable and necessary for the effective protection of law-abiding citizens.

8. Railway Management

This Federation expresses its entire approval of the recommendations of the Chairman and four other members of the Railway Committee, that the undertakings of the Guaranteed Railway Companies as when the contracts fall in, should be entrusted to the direct management of the State and trusts that this policy will be accepted by the Government.

9. Moplah Outrages

This Federation condemns the Moplah rebellion and expresses its profound abhorrence of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in the course of the rebellion and feels it its duty to support the measures taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion and to protect the lives and the properties of the peaceful citizens in the area affected. It further appeals to the people to show their practical sympathies to the sufferers by liberally subscribing to the Malabar Relief Fund. This Federation expresses its horror at the train tragedy at Podanur and trusts that those responsible for it will be early brought to punishment.

10. Punjab Question

This Federation expresses its dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the action taken by his Excellency the Viceroy as a result of reviewing the cases of martial law prisoners in the Punjab and reiterates its opinion that full satisfaction cannot be afforded until the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration are suitably punished.

11. Khilafat Question

The National Liberal Federation of India regrets that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans of India made in January, 1918, has not been redeemed and strongly urges his Majesty's Government suitably to revise the treaty with Turkey.

12. Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

This Federation congratulates the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on his able and bold advocacy in urging the claims of India's equality of status in the Empire at the Imperial Conference and places on record its warm appreciation of the great service rendered by him in obtaining recognition of the same.

13. Indians Abroad

(a) This Federation, while welcoming the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of Indians in the Empire as marking a distinct advance on the existing state of things, urges the British Government to induce the Union of South Africa, where the position of Indians is steadily deteriorating, to give effect to the resolution.

(b) The Federation trusts that the position of Indians in East Africa will be determined in accordance with the policy approved by the Imperial Conference.

14. Non-Cooperation

This Federation requests the various Liberal Leagues and other organizations with allied objects to take early and effective steps for combating the non-cooperation movement by a systematic propaganda by lectures and leaflets and in such other ways as may be found practicable.

15. Women's Franchise

This Conference notes with pleasure that Madras and Bombay have given the vote to duly qualified women and calls on the other provinces to remove the disqualification of sex in the franchise as soon as possible.

16. General Secretaries for 1922

Resolved that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., and Mr. G. A. Natesan be the General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India during the year 1922.

5TH SESSION (NAGPUR)

1. Condolence Resolution

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

2. Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu

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

3. Self-Government

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

4. Indianization of the Army

This meeting of the All-India Liberals regards with the gravest concern the delay in the inauguration of the plans for the Indianization of the officer ranks in the Indian army, for the reduction of the British element and for the introduction of other improvements and economies recommended by the Military Requirements

Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly, and regards it as a crucial test of the sincerity of the authorities regarding India's dominion status and sees no way except through drastic retrenchment under this head of the country's regaining financial equilibrium and calls upon the British Cabinet and the Army Council to restore by speedy action the confidence of the people of India in the oft-repeated promises to grant full responsible government to India.

5. Retrenchment

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

6. Princes' Protection Act

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

7. Education of the Masses

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

8. Untouchability

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

9. The Imperial Services

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

10. Secretary of State's Powers

This meeting of the All-India Liberals attaches the utmost importance to the principle laid down with emphasis by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that where an executive Government in India and its Legislature are in agreement on any matter, there should be no interference by higher authority except when Imperial interests are involved. It regards it as an essential condition for the growth of Indian constitution and the preparation of the Legislatures for the ultimate responsibility of the whole government, and it trusts further besides loyally observing the principle, the Secretary of State will give it full scope by releasing the Government of India

from the obligations to consult him previously in such matters, both by liberal interpretation of the rules and regulations on the subject and by modifying these wherever necessary.

11. Indians Overseas

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

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

12. Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

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

13. Indian Territorial Force

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

14. Liberal Organization

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

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

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

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

15. Reforms Committee in London

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

16. General Secretaries for 1923

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

6TH SESSION (POONA)

1. Condolence

This meeting of the All-India Liberals mourns the death during the last year of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kt., Mr. V. R. Gupte, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Datta, all of whom worthy sons of India and devoted workers in her cause. The Conference offers its heart-felt condolence to their bereaved families.

2. Self-Government

Having in view the many inconveniences and anomalies which have been felt in practical administration under a system of dyarchy in the provinces and the incongruity and difficulty in practice of an irresponsible Central Government controlling and superintending the administration of transferred departments by Ministers responsible to local Legislatures, having also in mind the difficulties of the Central Government having no majority of its own in a legislature with a majority of elected representatives of the people; and having further in mind the immediate necessity of releasing the Government of India and the local Governments from the control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and the proved inability of the Government of India, not yet fully responsible to the people, to protect the interests of Indians settled in self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies, this meeting of the all-India Liberals, concurring with previous meetings thereof, is emphatically of opinion that full responsible government in the provinces and complete responsibility in the Central Government except in the Military, Political and Foreign departments should be established without delay, and for this purpose urges the immediate appointment of a commission similar to that provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919 for making a full inquiry into the actual working of the present constitution and making recommendations in respect of future constitutional advance.

3. Indians Overseas

(i) This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its indignation and resentment at the Kenya decision of July last which, besides being grossly unjust and invidious, violates the most solemn pledges of the Crown and other constituted authorities, and its firm determination which is likewise the determination of the whole of India, never to accept any settlement which assigns to their countrymen in Crown Colonies, particularly Kenya, a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of his Majesty's subjects. This meeting trusts that the Committee to be appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of the resolution of the last Imperial Conference will be able to secure for Indians in Kenya a position in keeping with her recognized status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, besides safeguarding in an effective manner their economic interests.

(ii) This meeting further views with alarm the tendency of the provisions of the Kenya Immigration Bill and requests the Government of India, notwithstanding the unfavourable attitude of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to press upon him the necessity in ordinary good faith of delaying the progress of the Bill through the Kenya Legislature until the Committee above mentioned should have had opportunities of examining the measure and discussing its provisions with Colonial Office. This meeting is further of the opinion that the Government of India should without delay appoint a strong and representative Committee and send it to England at the earliest possible date to raise the question with regard to the Kenya Immigration Bill with the Colonial Office.

(iii) In view of the facts that the political, civil and economic interests of Indians in South Africa have been for generations without adequate protection, that at the present moment their economic status is further threatened by the imposition of restraints which are humiliating to this country as well as injurious to their interests and that the position of Indians within the Union of South Africa excepting Cape Colony has, during many years, been inconsistent with their status as subjects of a common Sovereign and with the national dignity of India, this meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take effective retaliatory measures against the Government of that Dominion whose representative refused even at the last Imperial Conference to explore any avenue for the redress of the grievances of Indians, great numbers of whom were born in that country and own it as theirs. In particular, this meeting recommends the imposition on non-Indian South African Colonials of reciprocal restrictions and disabilities in respect of the franchise, both political and municipal, eligibility for the public services and the right to hold properties and trade, mining and navigation licenses.

(iv) This meeting strongly urges (1) an amendment of the Racial Distinctions Removal Act so as to deprive non-Indian South African Colonials in India of the special privileges still accorded to them in criminal trials, and (2) the imposition of a prohibitive import duty on South African coal, taking care at the same time by suitable measures, to provide adequate facilities to Indian coal in the way of transport and otherwise.

4. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I., at the last Imperial Conference to the cause of Indians overseas in general and Kenya Indians in particular and notes with satisfaction that the Kenya decision is no longer found to be treated as final and that the Committee to be sent by the Government of India will raise the entire question with the Colonial Office.

5. Retrenchment

While taking note of the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee and the various Provincial Retrenchment Committees, this meeting of the all-India Liberals calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments concerned to effect all possible economies and to lose no time in exploring further avenues of retrenchment.

6. Removal of the Sex Disqualification

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the time has arrived for the removal of the sex disqualification in regard to membership of and franchise for the Provincial and Central Legislatures.

7. Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

This meeting of the all-India Liberals deplores the delay in carrying into effect a long over-due reform, *viz.*, the separation of judicial and executive functions and urges the Government to lose no time in giving immediate effect to it.

8. Labour Representation

This meeting of the all-India Liberals desires to press on Government and Liberal organizations the need of encouraging the establishment of trade unions in the country and of labour being adequately represented in Provincial and Central Legislatures by direct election instead of by nomination as at present.

9. Protection to Indian Industries

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that protection to industries of national importance should be given the period, form and degree of protection depending upon the condition and prospects of each industry.

10. Repeal of the Princes' Protection Act

This Conference urges that the Princes' Protection Act should be repealed as early as possible as it is opposed to the interests both of British India and of the subjects of Indian States.

11. The Army

(1) This meeting of the all-India Liberals is emphatically of opinion that it is the duty of the Government to take steps for a more rapid training of Indian officers in all arms of the army including the air force so that the army may truly be Indianized at an early date.

(2) This meeting of the all-India Liberals considers that with a view to expedite the Indianization of the army and in the interests of national economy, a substantial reduction in military expenditure accompanied with a reduction of British troops now used for internal security purposes should be effected as soon as possible and that in any case the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee in this behalf be given full effect to as a first step.

(3) This meeting urges that the report of the Military Requirements Committee should be published without delay.

(4) This meeting of the Liberal Federation is further of opinion that Indian young men reading in universities or colleges should be made to undergo some military training and discipline.

(5) This meeting of the all-India Liberals further urges that no distinction should be made in the status of officers of the territorial and auxiliary forces and in the matter of granting King's Commissions.

12. Indian Deputation's Work

This meeting of the all-India Liberals records its sense of high appreciation of the work done, under the most discouraging circumstances, in connection with the discussions on the Kenya question by the Indian delegation consisting of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., and Messrs. B. S. Kamat and Jannadas Dwarkadas.

13. The Salt Tax Certification

This meeting of the all-India Liberals enters its emphatic protest against the certification by his Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Finance Bill, 1923, providing for the enhanced salt tax in the face of the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Assembly to the contrary. In the opinion of this meeting, the Bill should not have been certified either on economic or political grounds. This meeting is further of opinion that section 67-B of the Government of India Act is wholly inconsistent with any true responsibility of the Legislature and that even under the constitution as it is, it is necessary that the power of certification vested in the Viceroy should be strictly limited to genuine cases affecting the safety and tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

14. Mr. C. F. Andrews' Services

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of Indians overseas in general and of Kenya Indians in particular, especially in connection with the discussions in India and England about the Kenya dispute.

15. Uplift of the Masses

This meeting of the all-India Liberals is strongly of opinion that for the purpose of accelerating the process of nation-building, more strenuous, more sustained and more vigorous efforts must be put forth by the people and Government.

so as to bring sound and suitable education within the reach of the literate masses at an early date by means of compulsion, to improve their economic and moral condition by adequate measures, to raise their political status by a broadened franchise, and in the case of the untouchables to remove untouchability which is a great impediment in the way of national advance. This meeting further calls upon the people to make adequate sacrifices to secure this object and the Government to find more money for the achievement of nation-building as quickly as possible.

16. Mr. H. S. L. Polak's Services

This meeting of the all-India Liberals places on record its sense of gratitude of the services rendered by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in connection with the discussions in London on the Kenya dispute.

17. Indianization of the Services

(1) This meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the real question on which it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy for the future in connection with the public services is the question of the venue of recruitment.

(2) This meeting is further emphatically of opinion that in view of the fact that the traditions of administration established in this country by British officers have been in full operation for over half a century at least and that many of the British officers now serving in this country will continue to hold their appointments for nearly another 25 years, it is necessary both on economic and political grounds that recruitment in all public services should, in future, ordinarily take place only in India, power being reserved to the Government of India to recruit experts on special terms for limited periods.

(3) This meeting is further of opinion that the recruiting, appointing and controlling authority in future should be the Government of India and not the Secretary of State and that the Public Services Commission should be appointed by the Government of India to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of public services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Government of India.

(4) That the basic pay of all these services should be on an Indian basis with special allowances to be given to British officers on such conditions as may be determined by the Public Services Commission to be appointed hereafter.

(5) That in regard to any grievances of a financial character or of any other kind, this meeting is of opinion that they should be examined and redress given to public servants consistently with the financial capacity of the country to bear any additional financial expenditure; provided further that before any steps are taken in this behalf, the Legislative Assembly shall be taken in full confidence by the Government.

(6) This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintaman to appear before the Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Liberal Federation.

18. Restatement of the Creed

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

19. Swadeshi

This meeting of the all-India Liberals strongly urges upon the people of India the urgent need of bringing into greater practice the doctrine of Swadeshi and calls upon them to make it a point to purchase Indian-made goods only, wherever possible.

20. Indians in Mauritius

This meeting of the all-India Liberals urges the Government of India to enquire into any legislation under the contemplation of the Mauritius Government which is understood to prejudicially affect the political representation of Indians settled in Mauritius and to take effective steps to safeguard Indian interests against any impending danger. And if our countrymen there fail to get their grievance redressed, this meeting is of opinion that further assisted emigration of Indian labour to that colony be stopped as soon as possible.

21. Appointment of office-bearers

This meeting of the all-India Liberals appoints Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra as secretaries for the next year and directs that the all-India Council should be constituted in accordance with the lists to be submitted by provincial Liberal organizations by the end of January, 1924.

22. Party Organization

Whereas in the opinion of the Federation it is imperatively necessary that effective steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the Liberal Party so as to bring about greater solidarity among its ranks, to extend the scope of its influence and to increase its utility and to carry on an effective propaganda for the early attainment of responsible government and the securing of a status for Indians overseas comparable with India's status as an equal partner of the British Commonwealth, and whereas it is realized that these objects cannot be achieved without first raising a large party fund; secondly, without increasing its membership; thirdly, without adopting a definite programme and policy for work; fourthly, without securing public support for that programme and policy and educating the electorates either by speeches or through the press, English and vernacular, or by taking other steps that may be necessary, this meeting of the all-India Liberals is of opinion that the work of organization should be entrusted to a committee consisting of :—

1. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K. C. S. I. (Chairman).
 2. The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
 3. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
 4. Mr. S. M. Chitnavis (Nagpur.)
 5. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani; and
 6. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra
- } Secretaries.

This meeting further resolves that the gentlemen named above be asked to form themselves into a Committee with power to co-opt such and so many other members of the Party in India as may seem to them necessary.

This meeting directs that the abovenamed gentlemen shall pay visits to important centres in the country to interview members of the Liberal Party, to address meetings and to take all such other steps as may be necessary for the raising of the funds and increasing the membership of the Party and securing support for its programme and policy.

It further directs them to prepare a scheme of work by the members of this Party to be carried on among the electorates and the people at large.

It further directs them to consider the advisability of sending a deputation of two or three members to England and at such time as may seem to them proper for securing support there to the programme for further constitutional advance.

And it further authorizes the Committee to take steps for raising funds for this deputation and also for the establishment of an organization in England for the dissemination of the views held by this Party and for securing the cooperation and support of English politicians and public men. It further directs this

Committee to submit a report of its work to the Council of the Liberal Federation not later than the end of May, 1924, and in consultation with Council to arrange for the holding of a special session, if necessary, at such time and place as may be found suitable.

This meeting places a sum of Rs. 10,000 at the disposal of the Organizing Committee to enable it to carry on the work indicated above.

The Federation further authorizes the Organizing Committee to carry on the work of the Council pending its appointment, after which it shall be open to the Council to delegate all or any of its functions to the Organizing Committee.

7TH SESSION (LUCKNOW)

1. The late Mr. Montagu

The seventh annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the premature demise of the rt. hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, a most devoted friend of India, who gave the major part of his brilliant public life to the unselfish service of this country and laid the foundations of responsible government by introducing the constitutional reforms which will ever be associated with his honoured name. The death of Mr. Montagu is an irreparable loss to India, and her people will always cherish his memory in grateful esteem.

The Federation deeply sympathizes with the hon. Lady Venetia Stanley Montagu in the cruel loss she has suffered in the death of her illustrious husband.

2. Indian Patriots who have passed away

The National Liberal Federation of India deeply regrets the death of Dr. S. Subramania Iyer, Babu Bhupendranath Basu, Babu Sir Ashutosh Chaudhry, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, Mrs. Ramabhai Ranade, Bi Amman, Dr. S.K. Mullick and Mr. H.K. Patwardhan, in whom India has lost devoted children who in their respective ways rendered eminent public services, and offers its condolences to the bereaved families.

3. The Reforms Enquiry Committee

The National Liberal Federation regrets that the scope of the Reforms Enquiry Committee was too restricted for their deliberations to prove of substantial utility.

But it urges the publication without delay of the reports of the Committee and of the evidence, oral and written, received by them together with the dispatches of local Governments, including minutes of Members of Executive Councils and Ministers which may have accompanied those dispatches.

4. Self-Government for India

(a) The National Liberal Federation of India reaffirms its conviction of the paramount necessity of the early introduction of full responsible government in British India, alike in the provinces and in the Central Government, only the Foreign, Political and Military departments being retained for a time under the control of the British Parliament, and of the full recognition of India as a Dominion in all matters of imperial concern and inter-imperial relations.

(b) The Liberal Federation holds it to be essential

- (i) that the Control of the Secretary of State for India over the administration and revenues of British India should be curtailed by statute, so that his position may approximate as nearly as may be to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions ;
- (ii) the council of India should be abolished ;
- (iii) the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal civil administration ;

- (iv) the Foreign, Political and Military departments should be under the control of Parliament, a certain amount of money for expenditure on them being fixed by statute, any further demand being subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, and the position be reviewed after a definite period ;
 - (v) the provincial Governments should be responsible to their respective legislatures, except in the administration of agency or central subjects ;
 - (vi) all civil services at present recruited on an all-India basis should in future be recruited in India and their control should be transferred from the Secretary of State to authorities in India, subject to such conditions as may be laid down by statute ;
 - (vii) the franchise should be widened and adequate representation should be accorded to the depressed classes and the urban labouring population ; and
 - (viii) women should be given the right of vote as well as candidature on the same terms as men.
- (c) The Federation authorizes its Council to prepare a scheme of reform on the aforesaid lines and on the lines of other resolutions of the Federation relating to this subject and to confer with regard thereto with other political organizations in the country whose object is the attainment of self-government for India.

5. Provincial Contributions

The National Liberal Federation has noted with grave concern the financial embarrassment of provincial Governments, which has severely handicapped the Ministers and Legislatures in developing the beneficial services and contributed to the unsatisfactory working of the reforms in provinces, and calls upon the Government of India to abolish the system of provincial contributions and reconsider the division of the sources of revenue between the central and provincial governments so as to leave everyone of the latter adequate sources for the efficient performance of their duties and for development, the central government balancing their own budget by strict enforcement of economy, generally in all departments and specially in the Army department.

6. Lee Commission

- (a) The Liberal Federation records its protest against the acceptance by his Majesty's government, in utter disregard of Indian opinion, of the Lee Commission's recommendations in behalf of increased emoluments to the British Services in India which, in the Federation's opinion, are excessive, and beyond the capacity of the Indian taxpayer as well as compromising to the self-respect of India.
- (b) In the opinion of the Federation the continuance of recruitment in England under the Secretary of State's control is incompatible with steady progress to the goal of responsible government, which is the policy authoritatively laid down by the Sovereign and Parliament and in future all recruitment should be made only in India.

7. Military Policy and Expenditure

This Federation expresses its grave dissatisfaction with the manner in which the military training and equipment of Indians has been and is being neglected by the Government, and while it takes note of the grant of the King's Commission to a few Indians in recent years, the establishment of a preparatory school called "Military College" at Dehra Dun and the scheme for the Indianization of eight units, it is strongly of the opinion that these steps are wholly inadequate and it

accordingly makes the following recommendations and urges the Government to give effect to them :—

(1) That a scheme for the education and training of officers be prepared so as to bring about the Indianization of the army within a reasonable distance of time—the scheme of the Indianization of eight units bearing in the opinion of the Federation no relation to the growth and development of the constitution.

(2) That Indians be admitted to all branches of the Army, including Artillery and Air Force, and that they should be admitted into these sections of the Army not merely in subordinate positions but as officers.

(3) That proper and well-equipped colleges should be established, and a definite programme for military education should be prepared.

(4) That all distinctions based upon race between the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces should be abolished, and that these forces should be properly organized.

(5) That officers Training Corps should be established in all Universities in British India and that compulsory military training should be made the rule in the case of all University students who are physically fit.

(6) That Selection Boards for selecting young men of all classes of people should be established, and that Indians should be adequately represented on such Boards.

(7) That the question of the financial liability of India to the British Exchequer for British troops should be referred for examination to a Commission on which Indians should be adequately represented.

(8) That the strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to the needs of India for her internal security and safety against foreign aggression, and should not be based upon considerations of the needs of the other parts of the Empire.

(9) That military expenditure be reduced to Rs. 50 crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, that the possibilities of a further reduction be examined and that the scheme for the Indianization of the Army should be adequately financed.

8. The Depressed Classes

The Federation expresses its deep sympathy with the depressed classes, abhors the ungodly and unholy sentiment that any section of humanity is untouchable, and calls upon the Hindu community to exert to the utmost of their power to undo the grievous wrong done to them and take all possible steps to ameliorate their condition socially, educationally and economically.

9. Economic Development and Swadeshi

(a) The Federation desires to impress equally upon the people and the Government the urgent necessity of measures of economic amelioration, including the improvement of agriculture, the development of co-operation, the organization of capital and the encouragement of manufacturing industries.

(b) The Federation is in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement and urges both the people and the Government to give preference to the products of Indian industry even at a sacrifice.

10. Education

This Federation is firmly of opinion that for the political, social, material and moral advancement of India a sound system of universal education is absolutely essential and calls upon all Provincial Governments and the Government of India to do all they can to advance it in all possible ways; in particular by

(i) making elementary education compulsory for all boys and girls,

- (ii) creating a sound system of secondary schools in which special attention will be devoted to the building of character and the inculcation of discipline by a proper selection of teachers who should be well paid and by providing ample facilities for games, physical and moral instruction, sound manual training and for promoting proper understanding between students of various communities,
- (iii) starting and encouraging schools of a modern type in which boys from secondary schools can be given vocational training which will enable the students to learn some bread-winning occupation,
- (iv) encouraging the promotion of the highest standards of learning and research in the universities,
- (v) founding institutions of the highest grade in all specialized subjects so as to make it unnecessary for Indian students to go abroad,
- (vi) paying special attention to the education in all grades of backward classes and the depressed classes,
- (vii) making special efforts to advance the education of girls and women; that funds should be amply provided by all Provincial Governments for a well thought out programme of education and by the Government of India for educational institutions of the highest grade of an all-India character.

11. Judicial and Executive Services and Functions

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial and executive services and functions.

12. The Kohat Riots

The Federation is of opinion that the report of the Government enquiry on the Kohat tragedy is incomplete, one-sided and altogether unsatisfactory. The Federation is strongly of opinion that the local authorities responsible for law and order failed utterly in the discharge of this duty and their failure should be dealt with by the Government. The Federation further urges that every possible step should be taken to resettle the Hindus of Kohat in their homes and to make reparation for the losses they have sustained.

13. Medical Aid in Rural Areas

The Liberal Federation deplores the insanitary condition of the rural areas and the inadequacy of medical aid for its people and therefore it urges the Government to lose no more time in removing these legitimate and due needs of the people.

14. Hindu-Muslim relations

The Federation deplores the outbreaks of lawlessness in several parts of the country due to tension of feeling between the two great communities of India and emphasizes the need of all possible measures to create a feeling of mutual trust and regard. It commends the resolutions of the Unity Conference held at Delhi in September, to provincial and district Liberal Leagues and Associations as being eminently practical and fair-minded and urges them to secure the largest measure of public support for them by means of active propaganda.

15. The Liberal Party Organization

- (a) In addition to the associations and leagues mentioned in Resolution no. XIV of the second session of the Federation held at Calcutta in 1919, the Federation recognizes the Berar Liberal League established in Akola in 1923 as one of its provincial organizations.
- (b) The Federation authorizes its Council to set up a working committee to which it may delegate such of its functions as it may deem fit, and further

to constitute from time to time standing or special committees to deal with specific subjects or matters. Standing and special committees may co-opt as members Liberals as well as persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation but do not belong to any Liberal organization. The number of co-opted members may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of a committee.

- (c) In supersession of Resolution XX11 of the third session of the Federation held at Madras in 1920 except in respect of the part reaffirmed below, the Federation instructs the Council to take steps to organize a British Committee of the Liberal Party of India and to make suitable financial provision for it. The Federation reaffirms the decision that the reception committee of each annual session shall hand over to the General Secretaries one half of the delegation fees raised by it.

16. Indians in South Africa and Kenya

- (a) The Liberal Federation strongly protests against the enactment of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance depriving Indians of the Municipal Franchise and thereby not only creating a new civic disability but ruinously hampering them in their occupation as traders.
- (b) The Liberal Federation urges the Government of India to immediately send an officer of theirs and a nonofficial to South Africa to enquire into the Indian situation and to make a full report to them. The Federation urges the Governor-General in Council to move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909.
- (c) The Federation reaffirms its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of his Majesty's Government in Kenya in 1923 and notes with regret that the late Labour Government did nothing to undo the wrong done to Indians by its predecessor.
- (d) The Federation further urges the Government of India to publish the report of the Colonies Committee and the steps which have been taken to implement it.
- (e) The Federation reaffirms its resolution asking the Government of India to take urgent steps to secure a reversal of the anti-Indian policy in Natal and Kenya as well as in other parts of the Empire and not to hesitate to have recourse to retaliatory measures.

17. The Bengal Ordinance

The Federation is firmly of opinion that anarchical crime is entirely opposed to the progress of the country and the Federation would support any reasonable measures for its suppression. But it is not satisfied that the recent measures taken in Bengal were called for and strongly protests against the promulgation of Ordinance 1 of 1924. The Federation is further of opinion that all ordinary means for proceeding in the matter should have been exhausted before the Government had recourse to any special measures.

The Federation is further strongly of opinion that Regulation 111 of 1818 should not have been resorted to as, in the opinion of the Federation, it is an abuse of that Regulation to apply it in the present case.

The Federation is further of opinion that a measure like the Ordinance or the proposed Bill, of such wide extent and giving such arbitrary powers to the executive, especially that of detention of persons without trial for an indefinite period is not justified. In the opinion of the Federation any special measures which may be passed to cope with the anarchical movement should provide for the speedy trial of

persons against whom action is taken under it by a bench consisting of three permanent judges of the High Court.

The Federation is of opinion that Bengal Regulation 111 of 1818 as well as the corresponding Madras and Bombay Regulations of 1819 and 1827 should be forthwith repealed.

In the opinion of this Federation the only effective permanent remedy for the recrudescence of anarchical activities is the removal of the causes of discontent which encourage and foster such crimes.

18. General Secretaries for 1925

The Federation re-elects Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra as honorary joint General Secretaries for the year 1925.

8TH SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Death of Queen Alexandra

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

2. The late Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other Patriots

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of deep regret at the death of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, its first President, who, during an active and distinguished public life of half a century, rendered signal services to the country and whose honoured memory will long be cherished by the grateful people of India as one of their foremost nation-builders.
- (b) The Federation records its deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the deaths of Desabandhu C. R. Das, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, His Highness the late Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, Sir P. Theagoroya Chetty and Babu Avinash Chandra Mazumdar of Lahore.

3. Constitutional Reform

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of disappointment at the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, which is against the volume and weight of evidence placed before it, and warmly approves of the Minority Report of the Committee. It records its sense of appreciation of the patriotic services rendered by the signatories of the Minority Report, three of whom, it notes with gratification, are among its ex-Presidents.
- (b) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the position taken by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their speeches of July and August, respectively, and by the Government of India in the resolution moved by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in September, which position is against the unanimous opinion of all parties in India.
- (c) While according its general support to the amendment to the Home Member's resolution, which was adopted by the Legislative Assembly, the Federation affirms its conviction of the necessity of a reform of the constitution without delay on the lines indicated below :—
 - (1) Provincial governments should be responsible to the respective provincial legislative councils, which should be wholly elected.
 - (2) The central government should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.

(3) The control of the foreign and political relations of the government and of the military, naval and air defence of the country should remain vested in the Governor-General for a definite period, after the expiry of which the position should be reviewed by a commission on which Indian opinion is adequately represented.

(4) During this period a fixed amount should be allotted for expenditure on the departments controlled by the Governor-General, who should be free to spend up to that limit notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Assembly.

(5) When the Governor-General certifies that an emergency has arisen which requires additional expenditure for the safety of the country, he shall have authority to incur such expenditure, but he shall apprise the Legislative Assembly of such expenditure at its next sitting.

(6) Indians should be trained for, and freely admitted to, all arms of defence and such financial provision shall be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.

(7) The principles and conditions of recruitment for all superior services shall be laid down by, and the control over such services shall vest in, the Governments in India; the actual recruitment being made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commission in England.

(8) All subjects not specifically vested in provincial governments should be under the control of the central Government.

(9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished, and his position should, as far as possible, be made analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Dominions.

(10) The strength of all legislative bodies should be increased, the franchise widened and lowered, and adequate provision made for the representation by election of the backward, depressed and labouring classes.

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

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

4. Internments, Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Regulations

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

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

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

5. The Cotton Excise Duty

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

6. Judicial Reform

The Federation strongly urges the immediate and complete separation of judicial from executive functions, the recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, and

prompt action on the report of the Civil Justice Committee so as to expedite the disposal of suits.

7. Untouchability and the Elevation of all Backward Classes

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

8. Financial Position of Provincial Governments

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

9. Military Policy, Education and Expenditure

- (a) The Federation is deeply disappointed at the Secretary of State's decision to adhere to the so-called scheme of Indianization of eight units of the Army, which is grossly inadequate as well as unsound, and has noticed with gratification that the opinion of Indian military officers expressed before the Committee on Military Training accords with Indian opinion generally on this matter.
- (b) The Federation expresses the hope that the Committee on Military Training will recommend adequate measures for the provision of facilities in India for the training of Indians in all arms of defence and for all ranks.
- (c) Indians should be eligible for employment in all branches and ranks of the defensive organization of the country.
- (d) The recommendations of the Committee on Non-Regular Forces should be promptly carried into effect, adequate financial provision being made therefor in the budget for 1926-27.
- (e) The strength of the Indian Army should be determined with reference to India's requirements and not upon a consideration of the needs of Britain's Empire in Asia, and any excess of troops stationed in India for the latter purpose should be paid for by Britain.
- (f) Military expenditure should without delay be brought down to Rs. 5) crores as recommended by the Inchcape Committee, and as the Federation believes that even at that figure it will be excessive and beyond India's capacity, it urges that an early examination be made of the possibilities of a further substantial reduction.

10. The Civil Services Act

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

✓ 11. Development of Agriculture and Industries

- (a) The Federation again impresses upon the people and the Government the great importance of measures of economic development, including not only the improvement of methods of agriculture but the stimulation of agricultural, manufacturing and cottage industries, the organization of capital and the encouragement of cooperation.
- (b) The Federation also desires to impress upon the people and the different governments—central and provincial—the importance of establishing educational institutions, higher as well as secondary, for imparting agricultural, commercial, technical and industrial education.

12. Indians in South Africa and Kenya

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its indignant protest against the anti-Asiatic Bill now before the Union Parliament, which is the most offensive and oppressive of the Union Government's measures against the loyal and inoffensive Indians settled in that dominion, and which, if passed into law, will make conditions still more intolerable for them, and strongly urges that, if the Union Government should finally reject the proposal of a round table conference and the Bill be passed, the Government of India should move his Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow it under section 65 of the South Africa Act, 1909, and further, should not hesitate to take whatever retaliatory action may be feasible to mark the deep resentment of the people of India.
- (b) The Federation reiterates its strong protest against the anti-Indian policy of his Majesty's Government in Kenya, and urges that the Government of India should not acquiesce, directly or indirectly, in the policy of the segregation of races in separate areas in that territory.

13. Elementary Education

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

14. Social Work in Rural Areas

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

15. Medical Aid in Villages

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

16. Relations between Tenants and Landlords

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

17. Improvement of Labour conditions

- (a) The Liberal Federation places on record its opinion that the conditions of labour in India, including wages, housing, care of health, education, provision against sickness, unemployment and old age, and the general welfare of labour should receive the sympathetic attention of the central and provincial governments.
- (b) The Federation also recommends to all Liberal Associations in the country to help the working classes and organize themselves into unions for the protection of their interests.

18. Anti-Indian Legislation in Burma

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

19. Constitution of the Federation

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

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

20. General Secretary

Resolved that in the year 1926 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani be the General Secretary of the National Liberal Federation of India.

9TH SESSION (AKOLA)

1. Swami Shradhanand

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of horror at the murder of Swami Shradhanand by a fanatic and the loss sustained by the country in the death of the great patriot, who devoted his life to the cause of education, religion and social reform.

2. Death of Prominent Public Men

The National Liberal Federation records its deep sense of regret at the death of Sir Krishna Govind Gupta, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Rao Bahadur W. R. Dholey, Munshi Gulzari Lal, Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast and Mr. N. G. Virkar, members of the Liberal Party, and Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Sir Lalubhai Shah, Mr. H. S. Dikshit and Babu Govind Das who all rendered meritorious public services.

3. Indians Overseas

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses the earnest hope that the Conference between the delegates of the Government of India and South Africa may result in the repeal of the Colour Bar legislations and in

securing for Indians settled in the Union the status of free and full citizenship.

- (b) The Federation again urges that Indians settled in any part of the Empire should in law and in fact be accorded their rightful position as equal subjects of the King and that all the racial inequalities and distinctions should be removed.

4. Bengal Internments

- (a) The National Liberal Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges that they should be either set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.
- (b) The Federation again urges the repeal of the said Act as well as of the Deportation Regulations of 1818, 1819, and 1827.

5. Judicial Reform

The Federation once more urges the immediate and complete separation of the Judicial and Executive functions and services.

6. The Hindu-Muslim Relations

The National Liberal Federation of India deplors the estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations and exhorts both communities to make earnest and sustained efforts to bring about a better understanding, and urges the Government to see that the law is enforced with firmness and strict impartiality in all matters likely to engender communal friction.

7. Improvement of the condition of the people

The Federation again emphasizes the urgency of the amelioration of the condition of the people by measures for the better organization of the cooperative movement, free and universal elementary education, extended medical relief, improvement of the rural sanitation, development of communications, agricultural education, the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the backward classes.

8. Military Policy and Expenditure

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India urges that the Government should make an explicit declaration defining the goal of British policy to be the making of India self-sufficient in the matter of defence, within a reasonably short period and that the Government should take effective steps towards the Indianization of the Army as regards both officers and ranks in all arms of defence in accordance with such policy.
- (b) The Federation reiterates its demands that steps should be taken immediately for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and that no further time should be lost by Government in carrying into effect the recommendations of the Territorial and Auxiliary Committee.
- (c) The strength of the Army should be determined by a reference to India's requirements and not by any consideration of the needs of the British Empire in Asia and military expenditure should be substantially reduced.

9. Land Revenue Settlement in Berar

The Federation enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Central Provinces Government in giving effect to the proposals for the enhancement of land revenue assessment in some taluks of Berar and in proposing the revision of assessment in some other taluks against the opinions and recommendations of the Berar Legislative Committee and even without obtaining the sanction of the Government of India to the principles of assessment as required by the Joint Select-

Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, and recommends to Government that the enhancement announced or proposed, should be suspended at least, till the necessary legislation has been passed with the approval of the representatives of the people of Berar on the Berar Legislative Committee.

10. Education of the Electorate

The Federation emphasizes the urgent necessity of educating the electorate and hereby calls upon the various Liberal Associations to take up the work of organization in that behalf.

11. The Civil Services

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion

- (1) that there should be rapid Indianization of all the superior Civil Services ;
- (2) that the principles and conditions of recruitment for all such services should vest in the Government of India ;
- (3) that the actual recruitment should be made by an independent statutory body like the Civil Service Commissioners in England ; and
- (4) that direct recruitment should be made by means of examination and not of nomination by the Government.

12. Self-Government

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its convictions of the necessity of a revision of the present constitution of the Central and Provincial Governments on the following lines ;

- (1) Indian should be accorded the same status as the Dominions.
- (2) Except in respect of foreign and political affairs and of the defence of all the country, for a transitory period, the Secretary of State in relation to the Government of India should occupy a position analogous to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Dominions.
- (3) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
- (4) The superintendence, direction and control of the revenues and administration of British India should be vested in the Governor-General in Council.
- (5) While for a transitory period the Governor-General should remain responsible to his Majesty's Government and the British Parliament for the foreign and political relations of the Government of India and for the defence of the country, the Governor-General in Council should be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the whole sphere of internal civil administration.
- (6) Provincial Governments should be responsible to the respective Legislative Councils and Governors should be constitutional Governors.
- (7) Indians should be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of defence and such financial provision should be made for their training as the Legislative Assembly may decide.
- (8) The Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils should be wholly elected bodies with due provision for the rights of important minorities.

13. General Secretaries for 1927

Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., be the joint honorary secretaries of the Federation for 1927.

10TH SESSION (BOMBAY)

1. The Statutory Commission

- (a) The National Liberal Federation is strongly of opinion that the official announcement made about the constitution of the Statutory Commission and the functions of the Committees of the Indian Legislatures is unacceptable as it flagrantly denies the right of the Indian people to participate on equal terms in framing the future constitution of the country and that the Legislatures and Indians throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form.
- (b) That the Council of the Federation be authorized to take all necessary steps to give effect to this resolution.

2. Indian Representation on International Bodies

The National Liberal Federation strongly urges that Indian representation on the League of Nations and other International or Imperial Conferences should be by a delegation predominantly Indian in its composition and led by an Indian.

3. A Constitution for India

This Federation resolves that a Committee of the undermentioned persons, with power to add to their number, be constituted in order to formulate, as far as may be in cooperation with similar committees of other political organizations in the country, a scheme of constitutional advance towards Swaraj, and that the Committee do submit its report to the Council of the Federation as early as practicable.

Members of the Committee

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (*Chairman.*)
Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.
Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad.
Sir Moropant Joshi.
Babu Jotindranath Basu.
Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji.
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai.
Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma.
Rao Bahadur V. M. Kelkar.
Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.
Mr. C. M. Gandhi.
Babu Bhagvati Saran Singh.
Mr. Manu Subedar.
Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (*Secretary*) and
Messrs. Surendra Nath Varma and Vishwanath Prasad (*Honorary Assistant Secretaries.*)

4. Improvement of the Masses

- (i) This Federation affirms its conviction that the condition of the masses in India is deplorable owing to their poverty, low physical stamina and lack of education.
- (ii) This Federation strongly urges upon the Government and the people of India the urgent need for initiating adequate and suitable measures for the improvement of their moral, material and physical condition and for this purpose it earnestly recommends (a) the promotion of free and

compulsory education among boys and girls alike, (b) the development of agriculture, (c) the expansion of the cooperative movement and other schemes for debt redemption, (d) the initiation of schemes for rural reconstruction, (e) the improvement of village sanitation by a systematic propaganda for spreading the knowledge of the laws of health, and (f) by introduction of organizations like the village panchayats.

5. Inter-Communal Unity

- (a) This Federation places on record its deep conviction that in the interest of the general progress of the country, and in particular for the early attainment by India of responsible government, it is of paramount importance that unfortunate differences of a communal character should be composed; and in order to remove this serious menace to the progress of the country, this Federation calls upon all its members to promote and actively support every movement calculated to bring about a better understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims and to place the relations of the two communities upon an honourable footing of toleration in religious matters and on a basis of unity in political matters by the just representation of the minorities in the Legislatures and with due regard to efficiency in the public services of the country.
- (b) This Federation cordially appreciates the earnestness of the distinguished Muslim leaders who have put forward the scheme for the settlement of outstanding differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities and suggests that various items of the proposed settlement should be discussed at an early date by duly elected representatives of the communities in a spirit of such genuine cooperation as will lead to complete agreement.
- (c) This Federation affirms that national patriotism should be the foundation of representative institutions and that such patriotism can best be developed by a system of joint electorates qualified by a reservation of seats for important minorities until such time as it may be possible with the goodwill of the communities concerned to dispense with the reservation of seats.

6. Military Policy

- (a) While recognizing that the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee do not satisfy Indian aspirations, this Federation deplors the delay and unwillingness of the Government to give effect to them, as they mark a beginning in the Indianization of the higher ranks of the army in India and urges that no time should be lost in carrying them out.
- (b) This Federation further urges that progressive reduction should be carried out in the ratio of British to Indian troops till the army in India is completely Indianized.

7. Industrial Labour

- (a) This Federation recommends to the Government of India to appoint a committee to enquire into the condition of industrial labour such as wages, hours of work, unemployment and unprovided for sickness and to suggest remedial legislative measures when found necessary, such as establishing machinery for fixing minimum wages, for reduction of hours of work, for establishing unemployment and health insurance and establishing machinery for settling industrial disputes.

- (b) This Federation recommends to all Liberals in the country to help the working classes to organize themselves into unions for protecting their interests and for mutually helping themselves by cooperative efforts.

8. Problems of Indian States

This Federation notes with satisfaction that certain Indian States have made a beginning in the direction of introducing representative institutions in their territories and hopes that all the Indian States will take early steps to bring their administration into accord with modern ideas of progressive government.

9. Indian Mercantile Marine

- (a) This Federation while welcoming the establishment of the Training Ship "Dufferin" in Bombay, strongly urges upon the Government of India, with a view to make the Training Ship a success, the necessity for taking legislative action to ensure the compulsory employment on coastal ships of Indians as officers and engineers in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Committee.
- (b) This Federation, moreover, endorses the finding of the Committee that something more is required beyond the provision of training facilities in order to develop an Indian Mercantile Marine and strongly urges the Government of India to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee that the Indian coastal trade should be reserved to ships, the ownership and controlling interests of which are predominantly Indian.
- (c) This Federation further urges the Government of India to (i) help ships, owned and managed by Indians, to participate in the overseas trade of India, (ii) adopt effective measures to develop the ship-building industry of India, (iii) legislate for the abolishment of the deferred rebate system.

10. The East African Problems

- (a) This Federation views with grave concern the declaration of policy contained in the recent White Paper entitled "Future Policy in regard to Eastern Africa (Comd. 2904)," which in the constitutional changes likely to be introduced under the guise of Federation, threatens to place the Indian residents, as well as the African natives under the domination of the European settlers, in complete reversal of the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923 (Comd. 1922). This Federation is opposed to the new policy of "associating the immigrant communities in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government" and urges his Majesty's Government to retain all political power in its own hands and not to advance the political status of either immigrant community till a fair proportion of the natives attain the franchise on a common property and educational qualification and can obtain an effective share in representation by election on a common register.
- (b) This Federation further protests against the non-inclusion of a single Indian member in the East African Commission.

11. Improvement of Untouchables

- (a) This Federation notes with satisfaction the general awakening in favour of urgently removing the evil of untouchability and declares its emphatic opinion that unless and until the equal status of depressed classes in political and social matters is recognized, there can be no real progress in the country.

- (c) This Federation impresses upon all Provincial Governments and local bodies the necessity of allotting annually an adequate sum for the award of scholarships to the children of the depressed classes and of making their education—primary, secondary and higher as well as technical—free. The Federation further urges that the Provincial Governments should at once open the door of all services under them for the admission of fit candidates belonging to these classes and give them preference for employment when fully qualified candidates are available.

12. The Late Hakim Ajmal Khan

This Federation has just learnt with deep sorrow of the sudden death of Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib of Delhi and places on record its tribute to his memory. In his death Delhi loses its premier citizen, the Unani system of medicine its most commanding exponent, and Indian nationalism a leader of rare personal charm whose memory will be always cherished as that of a devoted servant of the country and one whose constant effort was by his personal example and great influence to establish peace and harmony between the Hindus and his co-religionists.

13. Assessment of Land Revenue

This Federation protests against the inordinate delay made by nearly every Provincial Government in carrying into effect the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in a legislation and the Federation urges that this should be done without delay.

14. Bengal Internments

This Federation strongly reiterates its protest against the continued detention of many persons in Bengal under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, and urges that all of them should be either set free or tried under the ordinary criminal law.

15. Constitution of the Federation

- (a) The following be inserted at the end of Rule 3 :—

“The Council of the National Liberal Federation shall be styled as the National Liberal Council of India,” and,

- (b) the words “and such number, if any, of Assistant Secretaries, as may be appointed.”

16. This Federation re-elects Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru as the Honorary General Secretaries and elects Messrs. Surendra Nath Varma and Vishwanath Prasad as Honorary Assistant Secretaries for the year 1928.

11th SESSION (ALLAHABAD)

(a) Lord Sinha

The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its deep sense of the loss the country has sustained in the death of Lord Sinha, one of the most illustrious Indians who rose to fame by dint of his uncommon qualities of intellect and character and who will long be remembered as a man who demonstrated, in every office he filled, the capacity of Indians to do full justice to duties the most arduous.

(b) Lala Lajpat Rai

The National Federation records its sense of deep sorrow at the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the greatest of Indian patriots, the more keenly felt because of the circumstances in which it occurred. In Lala Lajpat Rai the Motherland has lost a public worker whose love of country was passionate and profound. He bore

much and braved much for winning freedom for his countrymen, and he laboured with equal zeal for the advancement of education, social reform and philanthropic causes.

(c) Other Leaders

The National Liberal Federation expresses its sense of deep regret at, and of the loss the country has sustained in, the death of Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Hormusji Wadya, Sir Ramanbhai Mahipatram and Babu Durga Charan Banerji who all served the country faithfully for her political uplift as well as in other spheres of public utility.

The Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the bereaved families.

2. The Statutory Commission

- (a) The National Liberal Federation urges upon all Indians the imperative necessity of continuing the boycott of the Simon Commission in full vigour.
- (b) The Federation emphatically condemns the police assaults committed in the name of peace and order, which have marked the reception accorded by the officials to the Simon Commission at certain places.

3. Dominion Status for India

This Federation is strongly of opinion that the system of government to be established in place of the present system should be the same as that which prevails in the self-governing dominions which are equal members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and that this step should be taken immediately. Any further delay and postponement is fraught with danger to the mutual relations of India and England.

4. Nehru Committee Report and the Problem of Minorities

- (a) This Federation accords its general support to the report of the Nehru Committee and the resolutions of the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow, in particular with reference to the establishment of complete provincial autonomy without second chambers and of full responsible government in the Government of India with all residuary powers.
- (b) This Federation is further of opinion that if, in addition to or in substitution of the recommendations of the Nehru Committee, the settlement of the problem of minorities is possible by agreement on any other basis, such basis should be accepted in the larger and more abiding interests of the country.
- (c) The Federation appoints a committee consisting of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad (Bombay), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad), Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer (Madras), and Babu Jitendra Nath Basu (Secretary) to cooperate with the representatives of other organizations for the settlement of communal questions.

5. Indian States

- (a) While in general agreement with the recommendations of the Nehru Committee in regard to Indian states this Federation welcomes the suggestion made recently in some quarters that representatives of British India and Indian states should meet to discuss their points of view to arrive at a conclusion which will be acceptable to both parties.
- (b) This Federation, while appreciating the efforts made by some states to introduce representative government, is strongly of opinion that more systematic and liberal measures should be taken to introduce

responsible government and associate the people with the administration of their own states.

6. Resolved that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C., and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M. L. A., be reappointed honorary General Secretaries of the Federation for the year 1929.

12th SESSION (MADRAS)

1. Message to H. E. the Viceroy

This Federation strongly condemns the dastardly attempt to wreck his Excellency the Viceroy's train and conveys to their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin its congratulations on the providential escape of themselves and their party. The Federation places on record its abhorrence and detestation of the crime which is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Indian life and culture.

The Federation authorizes the President to convey this resolution to his Excellency the Viceroy by telegram.

2. Departed Patriots

This Federation places on record its sense of the great loss sustained by the country in the passing away of Mr. Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Mr. Justice Gokaran Nath Misra who were distinguished members of the Liberal Party.

3. The Round Table Conference

The National Liberal Federation of India cordially welcomes the Announcement made on October 31, 1929, by his Excellency the Viceroy as it authoritatively confirms the view that Dominion Status for India was what was intended by the Declaration of 1917, as it definitely recognizes that British India and the Indian states should together form a Greater United India and as it concedes India's claim to a right to confer on a footing of equality with the British Cabinet on the form of the future constitution of India.

The Federation further resolves that the Liberal Party do participate in the deliberations of the Conference contemplated in the Announcement. This Federation strongly urges that the Round Table Conference should be held as early as possible in 1930 and that the progressive elements in the country should have preponderant representation therein.

4. Dominion Status Constitution

This Federation urges upon all parties in India which accept the recent Announcement of his Excellency the Viceroy wholeheartedly and are prepared to secure its complete and immediate realization to combine together for the purpose of securing a constitution based on Dominion Status, with such safeguards and reservations as may be necessary for the period of transition.

5. Indian States and Reforms

- (a) This Federation notes with gratification the acceptance by prominent rulers of Indian States of the implications of the Announcement of his Excellency the Viceroy and recognizes that in any future constitution of India based upon Dominion Status, suitable guarantees should be provided for continuance of their rights and their obligations regarding the internal autonomy of Indian states.
- (b) This Federation trusts that the rulers of Indian states will themselves reorganize the system of administration in their respective states and level up the standards of administration in the states so as to approximate them to the form of government prevailing in British India.

6. The East African Question

This Federation views with grave alarm the recommendation in the report of Sir Samuel Wilson for an increase in the proportion of the representatives of the European community on the Legislative Council of Kenya, to the serious detriment of the interests of the African natives as well as of the Indian community in that colony and is strongly of opinion that no constitutional advance be sanctioned in any of the East African colonies till the natives are able to take an effective share in the representation by means of election on a common franchise in common electorates. The Federation therefore supports the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission in favour of a substitution of common for the existing separate electorates and calls upon the Imperial Government to start enquiries with a view to establishing a common roll in the interest not only of the Indian community but of the whole colony.

7. General Secretaries

Resolved that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K. C. I. E., and the hon. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan be the Honorary Joint General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India for the year 1930.

8. Appreciation of Retiring Secretaries

The Federation places on record its appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru as General Secretaries of the Federation.

9. The Whitley Commission

This Federation invites the attention of the Government to the necessity of asking the Whitley Commission to expedite their work and to take effective action on it with a view to ameliorate the present situation.

10. Propaganda for Dominion Status

This Federation appoints a committee of eight members to collect materials and prepare the case for Dominion Status and to authorize the President to meet the necessary cost from the Party funds.

Names of Committee Members

1. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.
2. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.
3. Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar.
4. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
5. Sir Moropant Joshi.
6. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
7. Sir Sankar Rao Chitnavis.
8. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (Convener).

13th Session (Bombay)

1. Sympathy and Condolence

The National Liberal Federation of India places on record its sense of the loss the country has sustained by the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mohammad Ali, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Mr. K. T. Paul and Mr. Eardley Norton, and the country and the Liberal Party in particular have sustained by the death of Sir Shankar Rao Chitnavis, Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle and Principal B. G. Sapre, all of them patriots who rendered meritorious services in the furtherance of India's achievement of self-government; and the Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the families of the distinguished and lamented deceased in their great sorrow.

2. Condemnation of outrages

The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong condemnation of and abhorrence at the dastardly attempt on the life of his Excellency Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, and the assassination of Mr. Garlick, sessions judge of Alipore. The Federation considers such acts highly detrimental to the best interests of the country.

3. Lord Irwin

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of high and grateful appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to India and England by the right hon. Lord Irwin as Viceroy and Governor-General and of the services he is continuing to render for the recognition of India's status and her claims as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth.

4. The New Viceroy

The National Liberal Federation of India accords a cordial and respectful welcome to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon and earnestly hopes that his Excellency's viceregency will be signalized by the establishment of responsible Government in India and by her achievement of Dominion Status.

5. The Round Table Conference

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of appreciation of the useful preliminary work done by the last session of the Indian Round Table Conference, especially in getting the principles of a Federated India and Responsibility at the centre accepted.
- (b) This Federation greatly appreciates the services rendered to India and England by the Prime Minister, the Lord High Chancellor and the Secretary of State for India, among other members of his Majesty's government, by their assiduous labours in connection with the Conference.
- (c) This Federation welcomes the Prime Minister's statement on behalf of his Majesty's Government that "responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon legislatures, central and provincial", and expression of the willingness of ruling princes that the Indian states and British Indian provinces should form component parts of a Federated India. The Federation trusts that the next session of the conference will succeed in producing a workable and satisfactory constitution for securing genuine responsible government for India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.
- (d) While the Federation is gratified that the Indian National Congress will be represented at the next session of the Conference, it most earnestly appeals to his Excellency the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government to remove instead of increasing the inequalities of representation in the Conference by inviting to its next session an adequate number of Nationalist Musalmans, of representatives of Burma opposed to separation from India, and of Indians representing labour and the agricultural classes.

6. The Scheme of Federal Government

The National Liberal Federation of India, while cordially approving of a scheme of Indian Federation constituted of states and provinces, is of opinion that—

1. The Federal Executive should be made responsible to the popular Chamber of the Legislature. (The Federation is in favour of preventing a vexatious use of motions of no-confidence and securing the stability of the Executive by means of reasonable

provisions. It recommends in particular that procedure similar to that applicable to motions of no-confidence obtaining at present in legislatures in India and in certain other countries should be adopted in the future constitution. Members of the Federal Assembly belonging to the states excepting Ministers should have no right of speech or vote on motions of no-confidence arising out of matters affecting only British India.)

2. There should be no nomination of British Indian representatives and the states should allow their representatives to be chosen by some form of election which should after a fixed transitional period be uniform with the system obtaining in British India although in the beginning all of them may not be elected.

3. The provinces should return their representatives to the Lower House by election.

4. The Federation is of opinion that in the popular Chamber of the Federal Assembly, the distribution of seats should be made strictly on the basis of population.

7. Residuary Powers

The Federation is of opinion that exhaustive lists (as far as possible) of central and provincial subjects be made and the central government be vested with power to deal with any matter affecting the whole country that may not have been anticipated and put in the central list.

8. Government of States

The National Liberal Federation, while recognizing the maintenance of internal autonomy and sovereignty of states, hopes and trusts that the rulers of states will seriously consider the desirability of gradually making their administrations approximate to the system of administration in British India.

9. Defence

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that Defence should be a reserved subject under the Governor-General during a transitional period the duration of which should be fixed by statute, and provision should be made on the following lines during such period :—

1. The expenditure should be fixed for five years and revised every five years by a committee of an equal number of experts nominated by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature.

2. The amount so fixed should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the Legislative Assembly in this behalf but without prejudice to its right of discussion.

3. Any excess over that amount should be the subject of a demand for grant which will have to be voted by the Assembly.

4. The Governor-General should, in the event of hostilities on the Frontier, have the further power of declaring an emergency and appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the Legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussion.

5. A definite scheme for the Indianization of the Defence Forces including officers and men within a specified time as far as practicable should be immediately propounded and the provision of facilities for the training of Indians for service in all arms of defence so as to complete the process within a specified period should be in charge of a Minister responsible to the Legislature.

10. Safeguards

(a) The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that the "Governor-General's special powers" should be limited to cases where there is a

breakdown of the constitution by reason of serious disturbance of the peace likely to involve the country as a whole.

- (b) The Federation is of opinion that while the service of loans and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees by the Secretary of State should be secured along with the supply required for the reserved departments (subject in respect of defence in the foregoing resolution) "as Consolidated Fund charges", no power with regard to finance should be vested in the Governor-General except that as regards external loans, provisions similar to those contained in other dominion constitutions may be embodied in the Indian constitution.
- (c) The Federation disapproves of the "Safeguards" proposed at the Round Table Conference vesting power in the Governor-General to override the Finance Minister in the matter of Exchange and Currency, borrowing and budgetary arrangements and is of opinion that the necessary safeguards in this behalf for the transitional period may be secured, if necessary, by the creation of a Statutory Financial Council till a Reserve Bank is established.
- (d) The National Liberal Federation regrets that the policy pursued by the Government of India with regard to Exchange resulting in frittering away the gold resources of the country is calculated indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a Reserve Bank.

11. Trading Rights

The National Liberal Federation is unable to accept the proposal embodied in clause 14 of the Minorities Committee's Report unless it is made clear that the future Government of India will have complete freedom to adopt measures for promotion of basic trades and industries.

12. The Indian Debt Question

The National Liberal Federation, whilst unreservedly denouncing all suggestions for repudiation of India's public debt by any future Government of the country, is of opinion that, in view of the various financial obligations imposed hitherto on India, an impartial and independent tribunal be appointed to investigate and decide the nature and extent of adjustment between Great Britain and India on the eve of the transference of power from the British Parliament to a responsible Indian government.

13. Provincial Constitution

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while generally approving of the recommendations of the Conference Sub-Committee on Provincial Constitution, is strongly opposed to the following majority recommendations, *viz.*, :—
 - (1) that the Governor should be endowed with special powers, legislative and financial, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, except that he may have emergency power to deal with a serious disturbance of peace, and
 - (2) that second chambers should be established in some and may be established in other provinces.
- (b) It is this Federation's deliberate conviction that these two recommendations, if carried into effect, will materially detract from the autonomy of provinces and should be reconsidered.

14. I. C. S Governors

The National Liberal Federation is strongly of opinion that no member of the Indian Civil Service hereafter be appointed as Governor of any province.

15. Burma

The National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that the Secretary of State for India's declaration in Parliament upon the separation of Burma from India was premature as the proceedings of the Round Table Conference show that the issue was left open for further consideration. The Federation urges that the question should be decided on the merits after the fullest opportunity has been given to that section of opinion in Burma which is opposed to such separation, to state its case.

16. The Services

The National Liberal Federation is of opinion that judicial services throughout should be recruited entirely from the members of the bar as in England and that members of the Indian Civil Service should not be eligible for the same; that provincial governments should have the same freedom in respect of the recruitment of their medical services as in respect of other services under their control, and that their control over the police in their respective provinces, both legislative and administrative, should not be less complete than over any other departments.

17. Franchise

The National Liberal Federation approves of the extension of the franchise for men and women alike and strongly supports the recommendations of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Conference.

18. The Minorities Problem

While the National Liberal Federation regrets that until now no solution of the problem of minorities acceptable to all could be reached and while it is deeply concerned that every possible attempt should be made by all the parties to arrive at an agreement generous to minorities and fair to all, this Federation is of opinion that in any arrangement, the following points should be borne in mind as being essential to its durability and acceptability and as conforming to the requirements of responsible government :—

1. Separate electorates should be done away with and there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities.

2. There should be no statutory fixation of a majority.

3. The position of all important minorities should be equitably considered in the determination of weightage.

4. There should be no statutory recognition of communal representation in the All-India or the Provincial Executive or in the services, but by a convention, a fair and adequate representation should be secured to the various communities consistently with consideration of efficiency and the possession of the necessary qualifications.

5. All necessary, reasonable and practicable guarantees should be given to all communities with regard to their religion, culture, language and special laws.

19. The "Depressed" Classes

The National Liberal Federation has the strongest sympathy with the most legitimate and laudable aspirations of the classes called "depressed" to ameliorate their condition in all the spheres of national life and heartily commends all suitable measures for achieving this end.

20. Office-bearers

This Federation elects Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.), K. C. I. E., M. L. A., and Mr. D. G. Dalvi to be the honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next session.

14th SESSION (CALCUTTA)

1. Losses of the year

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of the great loss the Liberal Party and the country have sustained by the untimely death of Rao Bahadur R. V. Mahajani, a distinguished citizen of Akola and President of the Berar Liberal Association, and of Mr. Sorabji Warden of Bombay who was an active member of the Western India Liberal Association, and it offers its sympathy and condolence to the members of their bereaved families.
- (b) The Federation regrets the deaths of Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar of Srirangam, Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar of Madras, Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai of Gooty, Sir B. Narasimha Sarma of Vizagapatam, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Sir Syed Ali Imam of Patna and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal of Calcutta, all of whom rendered useful and distinguished services in their respective spheres.

2. Government, Congress and Political Prisoners

- (a) While disapproving of the civil disobedience movement, the National Liberal Federation emphatically protests against the measures and methods of repression employed by Government which have led to the increase of discontent by reason of needless and unjustifiable harshness and to growing alienation of public opinion.
- (b) The Federation urges equally on the grounds of justice and expediency the release without delay of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen imprisoned without trial or convicted mostly of technical offences involving no violence or detained without trial under Ordinances and Special Laws which are a continuation thereof.
- (c) At the same time the Federation makes an earnest appeal to the Congress to abandon the civil disobedience movement in order to avoid further misery and suffering, and in the best interests of the country. The Federation equally appeals to the Government to adopt a policy of wise conciliation.

3. The White Paper

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the "Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform" embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are overweighted by safeguards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not "demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period", but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments.
- (b) The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

- (c) (i) The Federation is strongly in favour of All India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and the Indian States and on lines consistent with responsible government, and appeals to the Ruling Princes and the British Government to take all steps necessary to bring this about without avoidable delay and almost synchronously with the reform of provincial governments.
- (ii) The Federation cannot approve of the conditions laid down as precedent to the inauguration of Federation as they make for undue delay, and are neither necessary nor reasonable. It does not accept the prior establishment and successful functioning of a reserve bank as an essential condition of Federation and responsible government. And it disapproves still more of the further stipulation that "general, financial, economic and political conditions" must be favourable.
- (iii) In addition, the Federation urges that the All-India Federal Constitution should come into being as soon as indispensable, preliminary arrangements are completed automatically as the new provincial constitutions, and fresh approval by the British Parliament must not be necessary.
- (iv) In the opinion of the Federation the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should continue to be exercised by the Governor-General and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.
- (d) The Federation is strongly of opinion that a body of fundamental rights of federal citizenship, applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.
- (e) If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialize or be unduly delayed, there should be a responsible central government for British India concurrently with "provincial autonomy", without prejudice to the effectuation of All-India Federation at the earliest possible date thereafter.
- (f) (i) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Government in India by his Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.
- (ii) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to the subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures for the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.
- (iii) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purposes.
- (g) The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of government, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of opinion that these proposals if carried into effect will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autocrats than at present.

- (h) (i) While the Federation consents to the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of Defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper as they will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of transition.
- (ii) The Federation further urges that his Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the nationalization of the army within a period of 20 years and for the progressive reduction of British troops in India with a view to their elimination as early as possible. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers.
- (iii) The Federation strongly urges that recruitment to the Indian army instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes should be thrown open to all communities and provinces.
- (iv) The amount of expenditure on Defence should be fixed every five years by a committee of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without a vote of the Legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over the amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event of hostilities on the frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the legislature. But he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it.
- (i) While the Federation approves of a bi-cameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that—
- (i) the strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper ;
- (ii) there should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General ;
- (iii) all the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the states as a transitory measure for a fixed period ;
- (iv) the responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both houses assembled in joint session ;
- (v) a two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of the motion of no-confidence ;
- (vi) the representatives of the states should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and the

decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects.

- (vii) the Council of State should have no right of considering demands for grants or money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited as that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911 ;
- (viii) the Governor-General should not have the power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both the houses of the Legislature, and
- (ix) the Governor-General should not have the power of certifying a demand or any part of a demand for grant when it has been refused in whole or in part by the Assembly.
- (j) (i) The Federation, fully concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Ministers, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which, while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve large and excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of powerlessness in the disposal of the bulk of it.
 - (ii) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed "financial safeguards" are both unnecessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion governments and legislatures.
- (k) (i) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British nationals doing or seeking to do business with India, cannot support the White Paper proposals against "commercial discrimination" as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may in their judgment be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development.
 - (ii) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General, whether in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of "external relations" to override the will of the legislatures or the Government.
- (l) The Federation objects to the creation of a statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive the future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the taxpayer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.
- (m) The Federation is of opinion
 - (i) that the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and

- (ii) that provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal for British India should be made in the Constitution Act itself.
- (n) The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the constitution of the central government in the interval between the introduction of "provincial autonomy" and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reactionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be decidedly worse than the present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.
- (o) The Liberal Federation is constrained to remark on the unreal nature of the so-called "provincial autonomy" as outlined in the White Paper in view of the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of finance, legislation and administration, and it objects to them without the least hesitation.
- (p) The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at the previous session against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the further perpetuation for the time being of such electorates, not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.
- (q) (i) The Federation protests against the modifications for the worse made by his Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.
- (ii) and it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organizations to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.
- (r) (i) The Federation has read with amazement the most reactionary and objectionable proposals of his Majesty's Government regarding the services, proposals contrary in the main to the recommendations of the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference and never placed before any of the three conferences for consideration. These proposals would in the opinion of the Federation reduce provincial autonomy and responsible government to a mockery, and should be abandoned if the coming constitution is to have a chance of success.
- (ii) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment and control and determining the emoluments of the Indian Civil Services and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents; and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices, and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for officers of that service.
- (s) The Constitution Act should vest in the future legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

- (t) In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, aggravate the present unhappy conditions, further alienate opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the line of Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations will alone meet India's requirements and satisfy the national self-respect of the people of India.

4. Swadeshi

The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its strong support to the Swadeshi movement for the furtherance of Indian trade and industrial development, and urges the people to support, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry in preference to imported goods.

5. Untouchability

- (a) The National Liberal Federation accords its fullest support to the nation-wide movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the backward classes, and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for the complete success of this important national effort.
- (b) The Federation accords its approval to the principles underlying the legislative measures now before the Indian Legislative Assembly.

6. The Ottawa Agreement

The National Liberal Federation protests against the premature ratification of the Ottawa Agreement, the effect of which has generally been considered by the people of India likely to be more injurious than beneficial to them.

7. Office-bearers

The National Liberal Federation elects Messrs. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., and S. N. Bose, M. A., LL. B. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, M. L. C., its joint secretaries.

15TH SESSION (MADRAS)

1. Recent Losses

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its profound sense of the great loss suffered by the country in the death of Mrs. Besant who developed her wonderful gifts and energies to the service of India and humanity and fought for popular rights and liberties with unsurpassed courage and tenacity of purpose.
- (b) The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its sense of the loss the country has sustained in the deaths of Sir Bepin Krishna Bose and Rao Bahadur D. V. Bhagvat who were staunch members of the Liberal Party and of Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mr. V. J. Patel and Sir Mancharjee Bhowmaggree who in their various spheres rendered distinguished services to the country.

2. Swadeshi

- (a) The Federation again emphasizes the supreme importance of the Swadeshi movement, and exhorts the people to support national enterprises in the field of Banking, Insurance and Shipping, and to prefer, even at a sacrifice, the products of home industry to imported goods.

- (b) The Federation strongly urges the Government actively to encourage and support the Swadeshi movement in every possible manner.
- (c) The Federation urges the Government of India not to allow Indian interests to be subordinated to those of Lancashire or Japan in the negotiations now going on between them and the representatives of those countries.

3. Terrorism

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India views with abhorrence terrorist activities wherever they exist and earnestly appeals to all classes to do everything in their power to check and prevent them as they are repugnant to all notions of humanity as well as injurious to the best interests of the country.
- (b) The Federation expresses its sympathy with the bereaved relations of the victims of terrorist outrages.

4. Repression and Conciliation

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India records its strong protest against the Government's repressive policy which by its excessive and often uncalled for harshness has been adding to discontent in the country. The Federation impresses on the Government the urgent need for the repeal of repressive measures and for the easing of the tense political situation by the adoption of a conciliatory policy.
- (b) The Federation at the same time appeals to all who advocate or take part in the civil disobedience movement to abandon the movement and help in the creation of a peaceful atmosphere in the best interests of the country.

5. Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions

The Federation once more strongly condemns the combination of judicial and executive functions and urges the Government to separate the same and place the judiciary under the control of the High Courts in the different provinces. In case the above policy is not adopted by the Government the Federation requests its Council to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the acceptance of the policy and report the same to the next session of the Federation.

6. Temperance

The National Liberal Federation of India urges on the Central and Provincial Governments in India the necessity of adopting a clear and definite policy of temperance reform and calls upon the people to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in favour of total abstinence.

7. Indians Overseas

- (a) This Federation strongly condemns the demands which the European settlers of Kenya, encouraged by the discussions between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and their representatives, have put forward for acquiring control over the Government of Kenya. It urges that the doctrine of paramountcy of native interests laid down by the Conservative and Labour Governments should not be departed from and that no further constitutional power be transferred to the European settlers either by the institution of a Finance Committee with an unofficial European majority as proposed by them, or in any other way.

- (b) The Federation presses the Government of India to watch over the interests of Indians in Kenya with special care in present circumstances. It further draws their attention to the complaint of the East African Indians that with the ostensible object of improving African agriculture, monopolies are being granted to Europeans, especially in Uganda and Tanganyika, for the purchase of special agricultural products from the Africans and that Indians are consequently being driven out of a business in which they were pioneers and have been engaged for generations past. The Federation urges the Government of India to take immediate steps to investigate and obtain redress for this grievance.
- (c) The Federation extends its wholehearted support to the Indians of South Africa in their just fight for their elementary rights and assures them that India will always be behind them in their struggle to uphold the honour of the Motherland and protect the interests of Indian nationals.

8. Untouchability

The National Liberal Federation of India accords its fullest support to the movement for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of the classes concerned and earnestly appeals to all classes of the community to do everything in their power for its success.

9. Princes' Protection Bill

The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic disapproval of the Princes' Protection Bill now before the Legislature as it makes further inroads on the freedom of the Press.

10. Party Organization

In view of the impending changes in the constitution of the country and the introduction of the democratic principle the National Liberal Federation of India is of opinion that there is urgent need for the formation of a country-wide Liberal political organization, and that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to so extend and establish its organization as to ensure the progress of the country on sound and healthy national lines and calls upon all members and associations belonging to this school of thought to work for the collection of the necessary funds and securing members and workers necessary for the building up of the Liberal Party.

11. Economic Distress

The National Liberal Federation of India desires to impress upon the Government of India and all Provincial Governments the imperative necessity for the adoption of measures for the relief of the acute economic distress among the people, including an appreciable reduction of the burden of taxation, and for planned economic development.

12. Reserve Bank Bill

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India, while welcoming the prospect of early establishment of a Reserve Bank, does not approve of the control by the Governor-General at his discretion of the Bank's policy and working, as thereby the domination of Whitehall and the city of London over India's monetary policy will be perpetuated.
- (b) The Federation further deems it necessary that the Indian Legislature should at all times be free to so amend the Reserve Bank Act as may be found necessary.

13. Reciprocity between India and Dominions

The National Liberal Federation of India expresses its surprise that the Secretary of State for India should have declared himself against India being allowed the right of retaliation against Dominions which may discriminate against her and which may deny to Indian nationals the elementary rights of citizenship. In the opinion of the Federation the possession of such right by the Government and the Legislature of India is indispensable and a Constitution Act which withholds the right can never be acceptable to the people of this country.

14. Cooperation with other organizations

The Federation authorizes its Council to take necessary and feasible steps from time to time in cooperation with other organizations and parties to devise plans for joint work after the presentation to Parliament of the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the publication of the Indian Constitution Bill in its final form.

15. The White Paper Proposals

INTRODUCTORY

1. The National Liberal Federation of India, reiterating its sense of profound disappointment at the White Paper proposals on Indian constitutional reform, records its emphatic opinion that the elucidation of the White Paper by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee and the supplemental proposals made in the course of his evidence before that Committee have strengthened among the people of India the conviction that the proposals are not calculated to establish any real responsible government in India either in the Provinces or in the Centre and that the Secretary of State's declaration in the House of Commons that Dominion Status is neither the next stage nor the next but one violates the spirit of solemn pledges given with the sanction of the British Cabinet and has shaken their faith in the intentions of the British Parliament and people.

Dominion Status

2. The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full power and status of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

Control from England

3. (a) The Federation takes strong exception to the continued maintenance of the India Office, of the India Council under a different name and of the separate office of the Secretary of State for India, and to the continued control of the Governments in India by his Majesty's Government in England as proposed in the White Paper.
- (b) In the opinion of the Federation such control should be strictly limited to subjects not transferred to the control of Indian legislatures during the period of transition and should be exercised by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.
- (c) In no event can the Federation reconcile itself to the continuance of the India Council in whatever form and for whatever purpose.

Amendment of the Constitution

4. The Constitution Act should vest in the Federal Legislature of India the right to amend its provisions, subject to reasonable and necessary safeguards.

All-India Federation

5. (a) The Federation is strongly in favour of All-India Federation on terms equitable to both British India and the Indian states and on

lines consistent with responsible government, but notes with regret that the proposals made in the White Paper and elaborated recently by the Secretary of State, as conditions precedent to the inauguration of the Federation not only make for undue delay but are neither necessary nor justified.

- (b) In the opinion of the Federation it is unnecessary and inexpedient to create a separate statutory authority called the 'Viceroy'; and in any case the rights of paramountcy of the Crown, whatever they may be, should be exercised by the Government of India and not by the Viceroy, as proposed in the White Paper.
- (c) The Federation is emphatically of opinion that none of its constituent units should have the right of subsequent secession.

Fundamental Rights

6. The Federation is strongly of opinion that a declaration of fundamental rights of citizenship applicable to all component members of the All-India Federation, should be a part of the Constitution Act.

Responsible Government for British India

7. If for any reason the inauguration of All-India Federation should not materialize or be unduly delayed, there should be a responsible central Government for British India concurrently with "provincial autonomy", without prejudice to the effectuation of All-India Federation at the earliest possible date thereafter.

Defence

- 8. (a) While the Federation is prepared to accept the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of Defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they contemplate the retention of complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It views with the gravest misgiving and apprehension the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the Army to Indian control at the end of a limited period.
- (b) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly urges that recruitment to the Indian Army, instead of being confined as at present to the so-called martial classes, should be thrown open to all communities and provinces.
- (c) The Federation urges that his Majesty's Government should immediately frame schemes for the Indianization of the commissioned ranks of the army within a period of twenty years. It is further of opinion that the replacement of the Viceroy's commissioned officers by Indian King's commissioned officers should be postponed till the present British officers in the Indian Army have been replaced by Indian King's commissioned officers.
- (d) The amount of expenditure on Defence should be fixed every five years by a committee consisting of an equal number of experts appointed by the Governor-General and of members elected by the Legislature. And it should be at the disposal of the Governor-General without the vote of the Legislature, which however shall have the right of discussion. Any excess over that amount will have to be voted by the Legislative Assembly. But in the event of hostilities on the frontier the Governor-General should be empowered to declare a state of emergency and of appropriating supply to meet it without prior reference to the Legislature. But

he should report his action to it and it should have the right of discussing it.

- (e) During the period of transition the Defence Councillor should be a non-official Indian, preferably an elected member of the Federal Legislature, or one of the representatives of the Indian states in the Federal Legislature.

Financial Safeguards

9. (a) The Federation concurring with the Secretary of State that there can be no real transfer of responsibility without the transfer of financial responsibility to Ministers, regrets that this sound canon has been utterly disregarded in the White Paper proposals which, while imposing upon them the duty of raising revenue, reserve excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General and virtually reduce Ministers to a position of impotence in the disposal of the bulk of it.
- (b) The Federation records its deliberate conviction that the proposed financial safeguards are both unnecessary and objectionable and that the Government and the Legislature should have the same power in the sphere of finance outside the region of reserved subjects as Dominion Governments and Legislatures.

Commercial Discrimination

10. (a) The Federation, while not at all in favour of any needless and vexatious restriction on the freedom of British Nationals doing or seeking to do business in or with India, cannot support the proposals against "commercial discrimination" as they will deprive the future government and legislature, in large part, of the power that must reside in every such authority to take from time to time such steps, legislative and administrative, as may, in their judgment be required in the interests of Indian trade and industrial development.
- (b) In this point of view the Federation must object to the powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General to override the will of the legislature or the Government in the discharge of his responsibilities in the sphere of "external relations".

Statutory Railway Authority

11. The Federation objects to the creation of a statutory railway authority to replace the present Railway Board as it is calculated to deprive future government and legislature of powers which they should possess in the interests of the tax payer. In any event it should be left to them to decide the question and any provision in that behalf should not be included in the Constitution Act.

The Services

12. (a) The Federation considers the proposals of the White Paper regarding the Services as wholly reactionary and objectionable and regards the Secretary of State's further commentary thereon, in the course of his evidence as placing the future Provincial and Central Governments in an even worse position than the present dyarchic Ministries and rendering them practically impotent to maintain control and regulation of Services in a manner that would enable them to discharge their responsibilities to the Legislature for the carrying out of their policies and the efficiency of the departments under their administration in any satisfactory manner. The Federation, while quite willing to protect the rights of the present members of the

Services, is wholly against any proposals which would give them inducements by way of enlarging the scope and character of the compensation for "existing and accruing rights" and also of making such rights available for those recruited subsequent to the passing of the Constitution Act.

- (b) As recommended by the Services Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, the recruitment, control, and the determination of the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service must in future be vested in the Government of India, subject to the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of present incumbents : and recruitment of the Indian Civil Service should not be made for judicial offices and no such offices should anywhere be reserved for the officers of that Service.
- (c) No member of any permanent service shall be appointed as Governor of an Indian Province.

Powers of the Governor-General and the Governors

13. The Federation condemns the proposals to confer on the heads of Government, central and provincial, special powers under various names—powers financial, legislative and administrative—as being the negation of constitutional government. While agreeing that the minorities should receive all legitimate protection in the new constitution, the Federation is of opinion that these proposals if carried into effect will make the Governor-General and Governors even greater autocrats than at present.

Federal Legislature

14. While the Federation approves of a bicameral federal legislature, it is strongly of opinion that

- (i) the strength of the Assembly should be 450 as recommended by the Lothian Committee and not 375 as proposed in the White Paper ;
- (ii) there should not be in the Council of State any member nominated by the Governor-General ;
- (iii) all the members of the Assembly should be directly elected representatives from the federating units, some form of indirect election being allowed in the case of the states as a transitory measure for a fixed period ;
- (iv) the responsibility of the Government should be to the Assembly and not to both houses assembled in joint session ;
- (v) a two-thirds majority should not be required for the success of motions of no confidence ;
- (vi) the representatives of the States should have no right of participation by speech or vote in the discussion and decision of subjects affecting British India alone, including motions of no-confidence arising out of British Indian subjects ;
- (vii) the Council of State should have no right of considering demands for grants of money bills, and its power in respect of legislation should be limited like that of the House of Lords under the Parliament Act of 1911 ;
- (viii) the Governor-General should not have the power of recommending that any bill or part thereof should be passed in a particular form or should not be proceeded with or of certifying any bill so as to make it a law without the consent of both houses of legislature ; and

- (ix) the Governor-General should not have the power of certifying the whole or part of a grant refused by the Assembly.
- (x) This Federation is of opinion that the appointment of a Financial Adviser, if any, should vest in the Federal Government.

Communal Electorates

15. The Federation reiterates the resolutions passed at its previous sessions against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the continued maintenance and strongly protests against the proposed extension of such electorates. The Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will be best secured by reservation of seats—with reasonable weightage wherever necessary—in joint electorates.

Women's Franchise and Communal Electorates

- 16. (a) The Federation protests against the modification for the worse made by his Majesty's Government in the Lothian Committee's recommendations regarding women's franchise.
- (b) And it cordially supports the almost unanimous objection of Indian women's organizations to the forcing of women into communal electorates against their clearly expressed wishes.

Judicature

- 17. The Federation is of opinion
 - (a) that the jurisdiction of the Federal Court should be co-equal and co-extensive in respect of all units of the federation, and
 - (b) that provision of a Supreme Court to function as a Court of Appeal of British India should be made under the Constitution Act itself.
 - (c) The Provincial High Courts should be under the control of the Federal Government.

Central Government : Transitory Powers

18. The Federation considers the proposal of the White Paper relating to the Constitution of the Central Government in the interval between the introduction of "provincial autonomy" and of a responsible federal government to be wholly reactionary and unacceptable as the position created thereby will be worse even than at present, highly unsatisfactory as is the latter.

Provincial Autonomy

- 19. (a) The Liberal Federation objects strongly to the extensive special powers proposed to be conferred upon Governors in all the spheres of finance, legislation and administration, as they are calculated to render "provincial autonomy" a shadow of the reality.
- (b) This Federation urges that there should be no departure from the policy of transference to the Provincial Governments of all departments of the administration.

New Provinces

20. The Federation is strongly opposed to the constitution of new Provinces except where they can support themselves.

Conclusion

21. In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, further aggravate the present

unhappy conditions, alienate Indian opinion and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the lines of the Dominions Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will alone meet India's requirements and will satisfy the national self-respect of India.

16. Exchange and Currency Policy

The Federation condemns the present currency and exchange policy of Government which in its opinion has largely accentuated the economic distress in the country and accords its fullest support to the countrywide demand for an immediate review of the rupee-sterling ratio and the adoption of prompt measures to meet the present situation entirely in the interest of India. †

17. Reduction of British Troops and Report of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal

- (a) The Liberal Federation enters its emphatic protest against the decision of the British Government not to reduce the number of British troops in India, and strongly urges that immediate steps should be taken to nationalize the army in India within a fixed period of time.
- (b) The Federation while recognizing that the recommendations of the Indian Defence Expenditure Tribunal will lead to some reduction in the capitulation charges, regards these charges as utterly unjust and objects on principle to their continuance.
- (c) The Federation is strongly of opinion that relief should be given to Indian revenues not by means of Imperial subventions but in the following ways :
 1. The size of the Indian army should be strictly determined by Indian needs.
 2. The number of British soldiers should be progressively reduced with a view to their speedy elimination.
 3. Capitulation charges, which India should never have been required to pay, should be abolished.

18. General Secretaries for 1934

The following will be Joint Secretaries of the Federation:—Messrs. S. M. Bose, Nibaran Chandra Roy, T. R. Venkatarama Sastry and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

16TH SESSION (POONA)

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 great service to the country and to their party.

2. 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 gives rise to separatist feeling 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.

3. 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.

4. Office-Bearers

This Federation elects the hon. Mr. P. N. Sapro, Mr. S. M. Bose and Mr. Surendra Nath Varma to be the Honorary General Secretaries of the National Liberal Federation of India until the next session.

17TH SESSION (NAGPUR)

1. Losses of the year

The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of deep sorrow at the death, during the year, of Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, one of its former Presidents, Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari, Dewan Bahadur V. M. Kelkar and Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, a former General Secretary of the Federation, all of them staunch Liberals and earnest public workers. Their death is a great loss to the country and the National Liberal Federation offers its sympathy and condolence to the bereaved families and to the institutions with which they were prominently connected.

2. The New Constitution

- (1) The National Liberal Federation of India, while reaffirming its resolution of last year, regrets that in utter disregard of almost unanimous Indian opinion, the British Parliament not only did not accept a single suggestion for improvement from India's point of view but

imposed the Government of India Act, 1935, on the country with further objectionable provisions added.

- (b) Yet, the National Liberal Federation considers that, in the circumstances of India, anything like a boycott of the New Constitution is futile and impossible, and is therefore of opinion that all nationalists of all parties and groups in the country should, in the supreme interest of India, act together in the general elections which are to be held under the new Act so as to secure their return to the legislatures in the largest number, and to utilize the constitution so as to extract from it the greatest good it can yield, and, what is more important, so as to accelerate the reform of the constitution on lines demanded by and acceptable to Indian opinion.
- (c) The Liberal Federation reiterates that no constitution can satisfy Indian opinion which does not approximate, as nearly as may be, to the constitutions of the Dominions and concede to the people of India the full rights of national self-government with the irreducible minimum of reservations for a short period fixed by Statute., and which, further, does not make for national solidarity.

3. Indian States Subjects

The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the aspirations of the subjects of Indian states for civic and political liberties and regrets that in the large majority of states there is not as yet even the semblance of constitutional or representative government. It deplores the absence of any provision for the election of the states' representatives in the future Federal Legislature and of any recognition of the rights of citizenship for the people of the states. The Federation again urges the ruling princes to concede without delay the right of their subjects to security of person and property, to freedom of the press and of association, and an independent judiciary as well as representative government as a preliminary to full responsible government within the All-India Federation.

4. Indians Overseas

This Federation, while reiterating its condemnation of the anti-Indian Decrees passed by the Zanzibar Government in June, 1934, which Decrees have resulted in squeezing out Indians from lawful pursuits in the Zanzibar Protectorate, expresses its apprehension at the extension of the Moratorium to July, 1936, in clear violation of the Zanzibar Government's promise to settle the debt problem within a year.

This Federation records with satisfaction the unanimous report of the Agriculture Indebtedness Commission appointed by the Zanzibar Government which supports the conclusions of the report submitted by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., to the Government of India, which exposes the one-sided nature of the Bartlett-Last Report on which the said anti-Indian Decrees were based and deplores the attitude of the Zanzibar Government in not accepting the Commission's Report, as well as the views expressed in the memorandum of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar, submitted to the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India. In the opinion of the Federation the basis of the said Decrees having been shattered by the said Commission of the Zanzibar Government, presided over by the Chief Justice with an official majority, the Government of India should press for a repeal of the said Decrees.

While the Federation appreciates the sympathetic attitude and action of the Government of India, it urges on them the advisability of promptly pressing for acceptance the following demands for relief of the urgent needs of the Indian community, namely,

(1) Amendment of Section 19 of the Land Alienation Decree of 1934, with retrospective effect so as not to allow period of limitation to run against creditors during the moratorium.

(2) Immediate adoption of the recommendations of the Agricultural Indebtedness Commission by the Government of Zanzibar.

(3) Abolition of license fee for export of cloves.

(4) Abolition of one-sided levy on export of cloves.

(5) Stoppage of purchase and export of cloves by the Clove Growers' Association and modification of its other activities.

Failing agreement of the Colonial Office to give effect to these minimum demands this Federation recommends to the Government of India imposition of an embargo on imports of cloves into India, if such imports originate from the Zanzibar Protectorate.

The Federation urges that action should be taken in the matter of the marketing legislation of the Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika Governments on the lines indicated in the reports of Mr. K. P. S. Menon, I. C. S., who was deputed to investigate the situation on the spot.

The Federation is strongly opposed to the extension of the Highlands in the manner suggested in the Carter Report, the exclusion of Indians from the Highlands of Kenya, and declares that any attempt to give statutory effect to this undesirable practice will arouse the keenest resentment in this country.

The Federation is opposed to the principle of the residential and commercial segregation of Indians on which the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of the Union of South Africa is based, and urges the Government of India to consult the opinion of the Indian community in South Africa about the recommendations of the Feetham Commission and represent their point of view to the Union Government.

5. Criminal Law Amendment Act

The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the several provincial Special Powers Acts passed in the present year. They perpetuate or prolong the extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, virtually free of judicial control first in the form of Ordinances and next of temporary legislation. The legitimate liberty of the press and the public is seriously menaced by these Acts, and the Federation, therefore, urges their immediate repeal.

6. The Army and Military Expenditure

(a) The National Liberal Federation is acutely dissatisfied at the complete lack of response by the Government to the repeated demand of India for the rapid nationalization of the army and at their obstinate adherence to ideas and methods which will not bring it about even in three centuries.

The Federation cannot but condemn the policy of refusal to take steps for speedy Indianization and opposition at the same time to self-government on the plea that India cannot defend herself.

(b) The Federation reaffirms the demand for a speedy reduction of the British army of occupation and its replacement by Indian troops drawn from all classes and provinces.

(c) The Federation is gravely concerned at the maintenance of military expenditure at a level which is beyond the capacity of India to bear without detriment to social services and economic development. And it urges on the Government of India the adoption of measures which will bring down military expenditure to a reasonable figure.

7. Unemployment

The National Liberal Federation is gravely concerned by the acuteness of the problem of unemployment which is on the increase among the middle classes. While it is glad that certain aspects of it have formed the subject of investigation in some provinces, notably in the United Provinces by a committee under the chairmanship of the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Federation urges that measures calculated to reduce it should be adopted without delay in the shape of planned economic development and the reorganization of the system of education (without prejudice to the wider diffusion of higher education) so as to train young men for wealth-producing pursuits.

8. Rural Uplift and Village Industries

While the Liberal Federation notices with satisfaction the practical interest which Government are at last evincing in rural uplift, it regrets that they are working with inadequate funds and mainly through official agency and are spending an excessive part of the available money on salaries of staffs and establishments. In the opinion of the Federation the work can be done economically, yet efficiently, through trained unofficial agencies as far as possible.

9. Agricultural Indebtedness

While approving of the object of the laws passed in some provinces for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, the Federation is firmly of opinion that they will fail to produce a beneficial effect unless the Government (1) take suitable steps to provide adequate finance at a cheap rate of interest, (2) advance money for the repayment to creditors as Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General in 1906 and (3) supplement the legislation for the better organization of rural credit including the establishment of land mortgage banks and the extension of the co-operative movement.

10. Swadeshi

The National Liberal Federation once again accords its whole-hearted support to the Swadeshi movement and urges that every effort should be made for its complete success in all the branches of production, distribution and consumption.

The Federation urges Governments in British India as well as the Indian states to utilize to the greatest possible extent the products of Indian industry. In meeting the requirements of consuming departments, and further to give every possible help to manufacturers with a view to increase production, improve quality and reduce prices, so that they may be able to compete with importers of foreign goods.

11. Untouchability

The National Liberal Federation feels the profoundest sympathy for the depressed classes and is utterly opposed to any person being regarded or treated as an "untouchable". The Federation wishes every success to the nationwide movement for the removal of this blot upon India and for the elevation of those classes.

12. Office-bearers

Resolved that Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C. I. E., Nagpur, Mr. S. M. Bose, Calcutta, Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Madras, and Mr. Suryanarayan Rao, Madras, be the General Secretaries of the Federation.

APPENDIX G.

Constitution of the National Liberal Federation of India

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX H.

Presidents and Chairmen of Annual Sessions.

No. of Session.	Place and dates of session.	President.	Chairman of the Reception Committee.
1	Bombay (Nov. 1 & 2, 1918.)	Mr. (later Sir) Surendra-nath Banerjea.	Sir D. E. Wacha.
2	Calcutta (Dec. 30, 31, 1919 and Jan. 1, 1920).	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer	Sir Binod Chandra Mitter.
3	Madras (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1920).	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.
4	Allahabad (Dec. 28, 29, and 30, 1921).	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindavaghava Iyar.	Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.
5	Nagpur (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1922).	The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.	Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy.
6	Poona (Dec. 27 and 28, 1923).	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	Dewan Bahadur K. R. Godbole.
7	Lucknow (Dec. 26, 27 and 28, 1924).	Dr. R. P. Paranjpye	Mr. A. P. Sen.
8	Calcutta (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1925).	Sir Moropant Joshi	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra.
9	Akola (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1926).	Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.	Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle.
10	Bombay (Dec. 27, 28 and 29, 1927).	Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru	Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
11	Allahabad (Dec. 30 and 31, 1928).	Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani
12	Madras (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1929).	The Hon. Sir Phiroze Sethna.	Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.
13	Bombay (July 31 and Aug. 2, 1931).	Mr. C. Y. Chintamani	Sir Cowasjee Jehangir.
14	Calcutta (April 15, 16 and 17, 1933).	Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao.	Mr. J. N. Basu.
15	Madras (Dec. 26, 27 and 28, 1933).	Mr. J. N. Basu	The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivas Sastri.
16	Poona (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1934).	Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.	Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale.
17	Nagpur (Dec. 28, 29 and 30, 1935).	Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.	Sir M. V. Joshi.
18	Lucknow (Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1936.)	Sir Cowasjee Jehangir	Raja Sir Rampal Singh.