

REPORT
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-SECOND SESSION
OF THE
National Liberal Federation of India
HELD AT CALCUTTA
On December 28, 29 & 30, 1940.



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Printed by Rangalal Dutt, at the New Indian Press, 6, Duff Street, Calcutta
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Sitting from the left—DR. R. P. PARANJPYE, MR. V. N. CHANDAVARKAR, LORD SINHA OF RAIPUR, SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, MR. J. N. BASU
Standing from the left—MR. M. D. ALTEKAR, MR. J. CHAUDHURI, HON. DR. H. N. KUNZRU

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NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1940

RESOLUTIONS.

I. Obituary.

- (a) The Federation records with sorrow the death of Mr. Viswanath Prasad, Allahabad, who was an active member of the Liberal Party and rendered valuable services to the Federation as its General Secretary and the Federation offers its deep sympathy to the bereaved family.
- (b) The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Rao Saheb P. S. Vaidya, Secretary of the Deccan Sabha, Poona, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya and Kazi Kabiruddin of Bombay, Mr. Venkata Subbaiya, Madras, Member, Servants of India Society, Raja Sir Vasudeva, Raja of Kollengode and Pandit Harish Chandra Goswami, Calcutta, who were staunch supporters of the Liberal cause. The Federation offers its sincere sympathy to the members of the bereaved families.

Put from the Chair.

II. The Constitution.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India while desirous to satisfy the reasonable claims of minorities, is of opinion that the Viceroy's declaration of August last virtually gives them a veto on constitutional progress and protests strongly against the distinction drawn by Mr. Amery between the status and functions of a Dominion which has created a grave apprehension in the minds of the people that what he called British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other Dominions enjoy.
- (b) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly dissents from the recent statement of H. E. the Viceroy that the British Government can do nothing more than they have already done to enable India to enjoy Dominion Status and urges that it should be immediately announced that India will be accorded the status and functions of a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.
- (c) The National Liberal Federation of India is further of the view that in the meanwhile the Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have by convention a fully national

character. The Viceroy should be its constitutional head and that British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive and the Central Legislature. The portfolios of Defence and Finance should be entrusted to non-official Indians enjoying the confidence of the country.

Proposed by—Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú.

Seconded by—Prof. R. H. Kelkar.

Supported by—Mr. C. R. Somayajulu.

III. Separate Electorates.

The Federation, while fully ready to safeguard the interests of all sections of the people, considers that the aim of India's political evolution should be a democracy not qualified by considerations of race or creed, and therefore the Federation is definitely opposed to the permanent existence of communal electorates and the present communal award; at the same time as it would not be practicable to effect this reform immediately owing to existing conditions, it considers that gradual steps should be taken to eliminate separate communal electorates by having joint electorates with reserved seats for a definite period.

The Federation is emphatically opposed to the suggested division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan as being against the best interests of the country which in its opinion should be one single unit of government for purposes of administration and defence though it will have necessarily to be of a federal character.

Proposed by—Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

Seconded by—Mr. J. N. Basu.

Supported by—Mr. S. N. Varma.

IV. The War.

The Federation reaffirms its deep sympathy with the victims of totalitarian aggression and is fully confident that they will soon be able to regain their lost independence.

It deeply appreciates the heroic efforts made by Britain and the countries associated with her, and by Greece and China, in resisting aggression and trusts that their enormous sacrifices will be crowned with success.

The Federation feels that India should offer its wholehearted support in the prosecution of the war as it is convinced that the future of democracy and the cause of India's freedom is bound up with the defeat of totalitarianism. At the same time it feels that the requisite effort will not be forthcoming from the people of India unless sufficient enthusiasm

is created among the people by a change in the policy of Government towards India.

Proposed by—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

Seconded by—Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru.

Supported by—Mr. N. C. Bharucha.

„ „ —Mr. Parameswar Nath Sapru.

V. Civil Disobedience.

The Federation deplors the resort to Civil Disobedience by the Congress as it will still further complicate the difficult situation in the country.

The Federation also deplors the severity of sentences passed in certain cases and advocates enlightened treatment of political prisoners throughout the country.

Proposed by—Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

Seconded by—Rai Bahadur F. L. De.

VI. Defence.

The National Liberal Federation while always demanding a radical change in the defence policy of the Government is strongly of opinion that the war has shown that, for making adequate preparations for the security of India it is essential that (i) the defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people and that (ii) the defence forces of India should be organised on a fully national basis. It recognises the progress that has been made with regard to the manufacture of war materials but is thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy in other respects. It urges in particular (a) that the policy of Indianisation of the army, navy and air force should be immediately adopted, (b) that the distinction between martial and non-martial races should be done away with and the army recruited from all provinces and classes.

Proposed by—Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru.

Seconded by—Mr. B. B. Roy.

Supported by—Mr. K. V. Venkataraman.

„ „ —Mr. B. N. Ray Chaudhuri.

VII. War and Industrial Development.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the virtual exclusion of Indians from higher positions in the Supply Department in connection with its recent reorganisation and urges its Indianisation in order to win the confidence of Indians.

- (b) The Federation presses on the Government of India and the Provincial Governments the importance of taking advantage of the present conditions to foster the industrial development of the country. It is necessary, in its opinion, for this purpose that the fiscal policy of the Government should be suitably changed and that special efforts should be made to secure the establishment or expansion of the basic chemical and other industries and the establishment of new industries under Indian control and management.
- (c) The Federation is of opinion that national interests require that special attention should be paid to the establishment of small-scale industries.
- (d) The Federation urges the taking of all possible steps to develop ship-building, aircraft and automobile manufacturing and industries in the country.
- (e) The Federation appreciates the decision of the Government of India to appoint more Trade Commissioners with a view to finding new markets for Indian products but in view of the magnitude of the interests involved, is of the opinion that vigorous efforts should be made to find new outlets for such commodities the marketing of which has been adversely affected by the war.

Proposed by—Dr. P. Neogi.

Seconded by—Prof. M. D. Altekar.

Supported by—Mr. Satinath Roy.

„ „ —Mr. S. P. Basu.

„ „ —Mr. B. J. Shroff.

VIII. Indians Overseas.

The Federation reaffirms its resolutions about the injustice to Indians overseas and calls upon the Government not to relax its efforts to remove the causes of their just complaints. The Federation welcomes the firm attitude adopted by the Government of India in the Indo-Ceylon negotiations and urges them to take such further steps as may be necessary to protect the interests of Indians.

The Federation welcomes the raising of the status of the representative of the Government of India in South Africa from that of an Agent to the High Commissioner and urges the Government of India to appoint High Commissioners in other Dominions. The Federation disapproves the appointment of officials to such posts and is of the emphatic opinion that all such offices should be held by Indians selected from the public life of the country.

Put from the Chair.

IX. Reforms in Indian States.

- (a) The National Liberal Federation expresses its full sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civil and political liberties.
- (b) The Federation urges 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 press, freedom of association as well as representative Government as a prelude to responsible Government.

Put from the Chair.

X. The Census.

This Federation calls upon the people to help in having a correct record made by the enumerators and to offer full co-operation to the Census Authorities and to see that there are no fictitious entries or inflation.

This Federation further urges the Government of India to ensure the correct enumeration of the different communities by providing for joint enumeration by enumerators chosen from different communities and also to check the correctness of the final enumeration by sample or test Census later.

This Federation urges the Government of India to amend the Indian Census Act immediately specially as regards prosecution for Census offences and for allowing inspection to persons intending to initiate census prosecutions.

This Federation points out that those that ordinarily call and regard themselves as Hindus are not allowed to be registered as Hindus, but are classified by the Census authorities as Animists and the like.

This Federation is further of opinion that the differentiation made between Hindus and Muhammedans in the matter of the recording of castes is not only mischievous but also pernicious in its effect.

Proposed by—Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen.

Seconded by—Mr. Jatindra Mohan Dutt.

XI. Changes in the Constitution.

That the Constitution be amended as follows:—

1. The object of the National Liberal Federation of India is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status for India) at the earliest possible date.

The Federation 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.

- (b) The Federation presses on the Government of India and the Provincial Governments the importance of taking advantage of the present conditions to foster the industrial development of the country. It is necessary, in its opinion, for this purpose that the fiscal policy of the Government should be suitably changed and that special efforts should be made to secure the establishment or expansion of the basic chemical and other industries and the establishment of new industries under Indian control and management.
- (c) The Federation is of opinion that national interests require that special attention should be paid to the establishment of small-scale industries.
- (d) The Federation urges the taking of all possible steps to develop ship-building, aircraft and automobile manufacturing and industries in the country.
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The Federation 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 National Liberal Federation will be composed of (i) component organisations which adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and are recognised by the Indian National Liberal Council as component organisations and (ii) of individual members who subscribe to the creed of the Federation and are approved by the Council and pay the prescribed annual subscription.

The component organisations at present recognised are:—The Indian Association and the Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta; the Western India National Liberal Association of 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; and the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

The minimum annual fee prescribed for individual members is Rs. 2/-.

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.

4. The Indian National Liberal Council will consist of

(a) Office-bearers.

(i) The president of the previous annual session who shall be its Chairman.

(ii) The ex-presidents who shall be Vice-chairmen.

(iii) One or more General Secretaries.

(b) Members elected at the annual session to represent the various provinces on the recommendation of the component organisations in their provinces, provided that there shall not be more than 25 from any one province.

(c) Not more than 10 members out of individual members elected at the annual session.

(d) Five members nominated by the President.

5. Each member of the Council will have to pay a fee of Rs. 25/- per annum.

6. The members of the Associations which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their committees and individual members 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, Liberal as well as other persons, who approve of the general policy of the Federation, but do not belong to any Liberal organization or are not individual members of the Federation. 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 half the amount of the surplus for financing the work of the Federation.

Put from the Chair.

XII. Office-bearers and Council.

That the following gentlemen be appointed office-bearers and members of the Council :—

President :

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar.

Secretaries :

Mr. M. D. Altekar.

Mr. R. R. Bakhale.

Mr. N. C. Bharucha.

Other names are printed in Appendix D.

Put from the Chair.

XIII. Venue of the next session.

That the next session of the Federation be held at a place to be decided upon by the Council.

Put from the Chair.

XIV. Vote of thanks.

Proposed by—Mr. J. N. Basu.

Seconded by—Mr. N. C. Ray.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE
NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA
HELD IN CALCUTTA
ON DECEMBER, 28, 29 AND 30, 1940

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The Twenty-second Session of the National Liberal Federation of India commenced at 2-15 p.m. on December 28, 1940 at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar. About 83 delegates from all over India and a large number of distinguished visitors including ladies were present.

The President elect was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Lord Sinha and others and conducted to his seat. Lord Sinha of Raipur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, was garlanded by Mr. J. N. Basu.

After Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, President-elect, Lord Sinha of Raipur and other delegates and visitors took their seats, the proceedings commenced with the singing of the national anthem "Vande Mataram" by the pupils of the Bharati Vidyalaya.

After the singing of the national anthem Lord Sinha of Raipur said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am quite sure you will all join me in thanking the girls of the Bharati Vidyalaya for the song which they have rendered to us just now.

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my privilege and pleasure to welcome you all most heartily to the historic city of Calcutta where you have met to hold the Twenty-second Session of the National Liberal Federation of India. I am sure you will hold a most successful session.

As I am not allowed by my doctor to read much just now owing to eye strain, I trust you will excuse me if the rest of my speech is read by Mr. N. C. Ray.

Mr. N. C. Ray then read out the following address of Lord Sinha :

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I welcome you heartily to this historic city of Calcutta where you have met to hold the XXII Session of the National Liberal Federation of India. I am sure you will have a successful session.

Address of
Lord Sinha of
Raipur : the
Chairman of the
Reception
Committee.

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Lord Sinha of
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There are many important problems relating to the building up of our life as a people, which are waiting for solution. While we cannot but feel the urgency of many of those problems, it must be admitted that the question, which for the time being over-shadows all other public questions in India and outside, is the question of the war now raging in the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, with serious naval incidents occurring occasionally in the seas surrounding Britain, in the Mediterranean, the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and even in the Indian Ocean. Having regard to the rapidity with which the war has spread and to the intensity with which it has been carried on, we cannot but feel that sooner or later our smiling plains may be devastated by a relentless enemy, and widespread destruction and misery may come to our homes.

There has been no mistake or uncertainty about the attitude of our people towards the war. We intensely abhor aggression upon weak and unoffending peoples. Our sympathy goes out to the sufferers. But should there be only an emotional pose on our part and nothing active? Situated as we are, if we are not active, we may be over-whelmed by the forces of destruction and spoliation.

It is surprising that at this juncture controversies have been raised in some quarters in this country calculated to stand in the way of whole-hearted support being rendered to those, that are standing up against the aggressive powers.

The Congress is standing aloof on the ground that the people were not consulted in the matter of the war. The Moslem League as an organisation is standing aloof, as there has not been sufficient clarification by the Viceroy to the satisfaction of Mr. Jinnah regarding the claims put forward by him in the matter of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the proposed War Council.

While the leaders of certain political parties in this country are engaged in such discussions, the war has been going on. Let us all hope, that the war will soon end with victory for the democracies. But success requires tremendous efforts and sacrifices. To those that do not wish Nazism and Fascism to dominate the world, there is no doubt about the path they should follow.

The Congress and the Muslim League may have grievances. But is it in the best interests of the people to allow a domestic grievance to sway us when the enemy after crushing Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Rumania and France is going forward in his mad career and straining every nerve to destroy those that stand up against him? The joy of freedom, the hum of spontaneous and peaceful industry have disappeared from the devastated lands. Their people have become strangers in their own lands, and prisoners in their own homes.

Do we want such misfortune to spread and to come to us? If not, what are we doing to counter this menace to human society and civilisation? The British commonwealth of nations has stood up and is making tremendous sacrifices. We cannot at this moment rake up domestic quarrels. We

must for the time being keep back those quarrels, and contribute our endeavours to the fullest extent in fighting the world menace, that is facing us.

Address of
Lord Sinha of
Raipur : the
Chairman of the
Reception
Committee.

The Satyagraha launched by the Congress and the abstention from War endeavours advocated by the Muslim League, are in effect an encouragement to the forces, which are out to destroy what the democracies and India hold as cherished ideals for a peaceful and progressive world.

In spite of what some prominent political personalities in this country have done to mislead the people, it is gratifying that with the exception of a few, the people in general have kept to the right path, and their support in the fight against totalitarianism may always be availed of.

So long as the form of government in India remains what it is, acts of the Executive Government cannot help being liable to be misunderstood. It is therefore necessary, that so long as there is no change in the system of government, important affairs of State, specially those which concern defence, are so conducted as to evoke the support of the people.

The Government of India has put forth strenuous efforts in support of the fight against totalitarianism. We are grateful to those responsible for what has been and is being done. But India's efforts might have been more widespread and effective, if the people had a voice in the organisation and control of defence arrangements. It is one thing to help in the framing of a scheme and the carrying out of it. It is another thing to have a set scheme, in the framing of which you have had no hand, placed before you as one which must be carried out.

Suggestions have been made from time to time for a solution of the difficulty. Some have suggested the setting up of a national Government within the framework of the present constitution. Others have suggested an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the setting up of a consultative body for defence purposes. But nothing has been done.

We look for the creation of an atmosphere that will attract all possible support for a successful prosecution of the war. The support should be drawn from all sections and groups, and the support should have life and momentum at the back of it. There should be no hesitation on the part of those in charge of affairs in coming forward with measures that will evoke the spirit of sacrifice in support of the cause Britain is fighting for.

I shall now say a few words about some of the other problems confronting us.

The Industrial and economic ideas and movements that are likely to be of help in the prosecution of the war should receive special and immediate encouragement. It has been stated, that India is producing a considerable portion of the equipments required for the prosecution of the war, but more efforts are needed in the field of industry.

Address of
Lord Sinha of
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Committee.

Attempts have been and are being made to ensure the economic strength and stability of this country, specially by attempts to find new markets abroad for the products of India. More vigorous action is necessary in that behalf as also for fostering demands for local products in the country itself. The help of experts is no doubt necessary for these lines of work, but the association of the people of the country is probably more necessary.

A few important posts here and there for Indians, nay, even general Indianisation alone, will not give India either stability or the power to help Great Britain at this juncture to her fullest capacity. It is necessary that India should be industrialised to a much larger extent and should not be made a dumping ground for the products of other countries, not even for British goods. Side by side with Industry, Agriculture should be raised to a higher level of efficiency and productiveness. His Excellency the Viceroy is deeply interested in the improvement of agriculture in this country. We trust that this policy will not be overlooked. There has been some research done, but no effective steps have been taken for bringing the results of research to the doors of the cultivators. Unless this is done the research work will be of no use and will serve only to encumber the shelves of the department concerned.

In the midst of all matters that press themselves upon our attention, we must ask for quicker Indianization of the Army. A national militia properly trained would be the greatest asset to the Empire. We can then not only defend ourselves against aggression but also send unlimited numbers overseas to crush the forces of evil that are abroad in the world and fight on until, in the words of the prime Minister "the curse of Hitler is lifted from the brow of Man".

In the field of politics, a declaration that Dominion Status of the variety contemplated by the Statute of Westminster will be established in India at the earliest moment after the conclusion of the war should not be delayed. Such Status will make India free to develop in her own way, just as Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand are doing. The British Commonwealth which unites all these countries is probably the best insurance for their safety from spoliation, and for their peaceful progress. There is at times much controversy over the expression, Independence and Dominion Status. I have failed to notice the distinction between the two, except that Dominion Status gives, besides freedom, the security which comes from partnership with powerful States, specially in matters of defence.

Measures during the pendency of the War about changes in the constitution should be so regulated as to accustom the people to shoulder the responsibilities that Dominion Status will bring, so that the change when it comes, may not be of a character to which the people are not used. Constitutional changes, sudden or revolutionary, bring some evils in their train. It will require time and effort to eliminate those evils. The manner in which advance in the constitution of legislative bodies and local bodies in this country has been regulated has given rise to certain undesirable results. With courage and foresight like what Lord Durham displayed in the case of Canada and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the case of South Africa, the mischief of undesirable results might be avoided. The manner in which the solution of constitutional problems has been sought to be effected in India has led to undesirable results and to something like vendettas. Recent legislation in some of the Provinces, both Congress

and non-Congress amounts in effect to expropriation and spoliation, and to attempts at crushing political or other minorities. The width of vision which makes majorities feel that they are the custodians of the rights and interests of the minorities has been lacking. The narrowness has been encouraged by statutory and administrative measures allocating power and the responsibilities of administration not on the basis of capabilities and character, but on the basis of differences in castes, classes and creeds. We have thus been forced to retrace our steps, and there is likelihood of the country going back to the days of the Inquisition. I earnestly trust that in any constitutional advance that may be thought of for our future, special care will be taken that the cleavages and antipathies that are a blot on our body politic will not be accentuated or perpetuated, but will be so dealt with that the general and essential interests of the people, which are common to all classes and creeds may predominate. The twentieth century is not the era and modern India is not the place for retrograde measures like the Communal Awards or for laying down communal proportions in the State services.

Address of
Lord Sinha of
Raipur : the
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I also draw attention to the policy of introducing legislative and other measures of a highly controversial character during the pendency of the War. The prosecution of these measures gives rise to strong antagonisms. They stand in the way of whole-hearted financial and other sacrifices, and are likely to keep back support which may otherwise be forthcoming. In Bengal, measures for amendment of the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation, the establishment of a Board controlling secondary education, the upsetting of the law of land tenures and of mutual monetary dealings are measures calculated to benefit some communities at the expense of others. There is intense dissatisfaction amongst important minorities at those measures. Their enforcement is not urgent. But those measures are being persisted in, resulting in alienation of feelings, which are not likely to be helpful in establishing the solidarity so necessary in times of trouble. On such occasions, other countries break the barriers of mutual internal antagonisms by standing shoulder to shoulder, instead of, against one another, and by establishing devices like National Government. But in this country, there is a surprising amount of indifference in the matter of establishing for the time being bonds of united action. The time has come when policies which lead to cleavages and dissensions should be kept back, if not abandoned.

I do not refer for want of time to many other important matters, such as the condition of Indians overseas. South Africa, East Africa and Fiji have been sore points with us. But the anti-Indian attitude has been manifesting itself in Malaya, Ceylon and Burma. We do not desire to possess any special or exclusive rights or privileges elsewhere. But we want our rights duly considered and recognised so that they may not clash with other rights. It should not be forgotten that it was Indian Industry and Indian organisation that brought prosperity to many of those lands. Indians have not ousted the indigenous inhabitants, but have helped them. We must see that our brethren overseas are not treated with harshness and injustice.

A country-wide economic survey and planned measures to improve our economic condition have become urgent. Economic centres of gravity often shift their position. Commodities which have vitally helped the people's

Address of
Lord Sinha of
Raipur : the
Chairman of the
Reception
Committee.

prosperity may lose their vogue. It is necessary that there should be an organisation, keeping a keen and constant watch, over the movements of economic forces in this country and the world, so that we may maintain our stand in the economic field, and may not be a ragged and half-starved people.

I cannot close my remarks without reverting once more to the question of defence. It is often stated that there are warlike races, and races that are not warlike. Heredity is undoubtedly a great factor. But a stronger factor is the impulse of protecting all that one cherishes and holds dear. With suitable training and opportunities, unwarlike peoples become warlike. Asoka built up an Empire extending from Central Asia and Afghanistan to Orissa and Mysore with the help of troops from Bihar. The Greeks who were crumpled up by the Turks only a few years ago are fighting the Italians successfully and aggressively. Modern war is likely to be won more by resourcefulness, readiness and brains than by mere physical strength. Courage is not always a congenital attribute, but in most cases is acquired. I trust the recruitment to the defence forces will be such that the distinction between martial and non-martial races will not be too much emphasised. No distinction is now made in Great Britain, as in the eighteenth century, between Hanoverians or Highlanders and the others.

I shall conclude by appealing to our people to forget their internal grievances for the time being and to concentrate on the winning of the War. There has been and still is too much loose thinking, and the real end is lost sight of in the maze of shibboleths and communal antipathies. Our existence is now bound up with that of Great Britain. We stand or fall with her. We cannot allow the forces of evil to triumph. I am confident that when victory crowns the efforts and sacrifices of the Democracies, a new Era will dawn on this country, and our people will breathe the breath of freedom and contentment, and will be of substantial help in establishing a new world order which the suffering peoples are all looking up to. It will not be the first time that the East has sought to work for the rescue of the World. I am sure, as has been remarked by the Prime Minister, that the old World will come to the rescue of the new.

Mr. N. C. Ray, Secretary and Treasurer of the Reception Committee announced :

We have received messages of sympathy from Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu of Allahabad, Mr. Mundle of Lahore and others. Sir Cowasji Jehangir has written a letter from Jamshedpur. He was coming to Calcutta but he fell ill at Jamshedpur. He has written to Lord Sinha the following letter: "Although I fully intended to come to Calcutta and would, in ordinary circumstances have been there by now, to attend the annual session of the National Liberal Federation, I regret to say that I caught a chill which resulted in a slight attack of Influenza. I have therefore had most reluctantly to give up my visit to Calcutta. I write to apologise to you and the President-elect for my unavoidable absence." He wishes the Federation every success. Mr. Kamath of Poona is unable to come and he has wished every success. Mr. Venkatram Sastri of Madras is unable to come and he wishes the session all success. Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is also so ill that he cannot come and he wishes us

Messages of
Sympathy.

success. The Raja of Gouripur is unable to come. The Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan is engaged otherwise and he wishes us success. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi is also unable to come. The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur is unfortunately unable to come. Mr. Bhagwati Saran Singh is also unable to come and he wishes us success. Sir C. Y. Chintamani also regrets his absence, but wishes the session every success. Mr. Bakhle and Mr. Gadgil have also written wishing us all success.

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Sympathy.

Lord Sinha of Raipur: Hon. Pandit H. N. Kunzru will now propose the election of the President of the session.

Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is my pleasure and privilege to propose the election this afternoon, of Mr. Chandavarkar as the President of the Twenty-second session of the National Liberal Federation of India. Mr. Chandavarkar is well-known to public life, particularly in his own province. He is one of those who are impelled by their nature to take interest in public affairs. He has inherited his love for the study of public problems and for taking part in public affairs from his father, great father, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who was President of the Congress in 1900.

Election of the
President:
Hon. Dr. H. N.
Kunzru.

Mr. Chandavarkar has distinguished himself in many fields of activity. To give only a few illustrations he was Mayor of Bombay for a year. He conducted the affairs of the Bombay Corporation with such impartiality and calmness of disposition that his administration was recognised as a success on all hands. It was the manner in which he acquitted himself with his responsibilities as Mayor of Bombay that led Government to appoint him as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. He was its Vice-Chancellor for no less than six years. It is difficult for anybody to continue to give satisfaction, even to his own friends, over so long a period of time, and yet, be it said to the credit of Mr. Chandavarkar, that during his term of Vice-Chancellorship he showed himself so solicitous of the interests of the University that he won praise both from the teachers and the students. I am sure that he rendered the task of his successor somewhat difficult by the assiduity, patience and impartiality which he brought to bear on the solution of the many difficult problems that he had to face.

Later he has President of the Provincial Liberal Conference which was held at Satara. He is at present President of the Mill-owners Association of Bombay.

You will thus see how varied Mr. Chandavarkar's activities have been and how well he has discharged the duties that have fallen to his lot in connection with every task that has been assigned to him.

The Liberal Federation is fortunate in having a tried and trusted Liberal like him to guide its deliberations this year. I am sure that I need say no more to commend his election to you all.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose once more that Mr. Chandavarkar be elected President of the session of the Federation, and I have no doubt that you will carry the proposal with acclamation. (Cheers).

Lord Sinha: Dr. Paranjpye will second the proposal.

Election of the
President :
Dr. R. P.
Paranjpye.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye : Ladies and Gentlemen, It is with very great pleasure that I rise to second the proposal of my esteemed friend Dr. Kunzru that Mr. Chandavarkar be elected President of this session. I say it is a peculiar pleasure, because I have had the great privilege of friendship with his father, who was a prominent Liberal, and I am very happy to see that the son is following in the footsteps of his distinguished father.

Mr. Chandavarkar's various activities have been mentioned by Dr. Kunzru and I need not go over that again. In every field in which he has worked Mr. Chandavarkar has earned praise from everybody.

In the Bombay University, although he was not formerly an Educationist, he earned the good opinion of everybody, and his administration was marked by the saying 'Fortiter in re, Suaviter in modo'. He solved many of the very pressing problems which were setting Government and the University in opposite camps. The easy working of the University of Bombay in recent years is in no small measure due to Mr. Chandavarkar's energy.

I am particularly happy to see Mr. Chandavarkar as President of this conference, because he is a distinguished Capitalist. He is President of the Mill-owners Association and agent of one of the mills in Bangalore. We have found in recent years that not all capitalists have been particularly keen to identify themselves whole-heartedly with any one party. With their eye on business they often try to keep their feet in both camps, but Mr. Chandavarkar has never fallen a victim to this temptation (cheers). He is always willing to profess whatever opinion he has, and I think the staunch liberalism which he holds will be a credit to anybody in this country. I am sure the Liberal Federation and the Liberals of India will have a very sane and energetic guide in our friend Mr. Chandavarkar. I have, therefore, very great pleasure in seconding this proposal. (Cheers).

Lord Sinha : Mr. J. N. Basu will support the resolution.

Election of the
President :
Mr. J. N. Basu.

Mr. J. N. Basu : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, The fate of India at the present moment may be compared to a bark in a stormtossed sea. We do not know as to when it is going to a safe harbour and how long the storm will continue. It is therefore, necessary for our organisation which has been assiduously thinking over the best way that the bark can be guided, to have a leader to preside over our deliberations so that with the calmness necessary for a pilot in a stormtossed sea he may help us in arriving at decisions which will lead us soon to a safe harbour.

The proposer and the seconder have already told you of the qualifications of our President-designate. He has had to do not only with ideas and knowledge as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, but he has had at the same time to do with important economic problems as an industrialist. He combines the vision of an idealist with the realism of a businessman. It is such a man who has been proposed as President of this session of the Federation. I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposal.

Lord Sinha : Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú will further support the resolution.

Mr. P. N. Saprú : Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposal that Mr. Chandavarkar should be invited to take the chair of this session of the Liberal Federation. Mr. Chandavarkar needs no introduction to a Liberal audience. He is a Liberal by inheritance. His father, the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, was one of the founders of the Congress. He presided over the session of the Congress in 1900.

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Hon. Mr. P. N.
Saprú.

Mr. Chandavarkar has taken for many years an active part in the public life of Bombay and India. He greatly distinguished himself as Mayor of Bombay. For six years he was Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and those of us who are connected with education know that the Vice-Chancellorship of a University in these days is not a bed of roses. Mr. Chandavarkar distinguished himself greatly as Vice-Chancellor. He is President of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association, and I am quite sure that though he is a capitalist he is equally fair to labour. At this moment we need a man of experience, of wisdom, of knowledge, of courage, and a foresight to guide our deliberations. We are passing through a very critical time, not only in the history of our country, but in the history of humanity, and we need a man of broad vision and outlook to guide our deliberations. I am sure that our choice could not have fallen on a worthier person. With these words I support whole-heartedly the resolution which has been moved by my distinguished and respected friend Dr. Kunzru.

Lord Sinha : Mr. Kodanda Rao will further support the resolution.

Mr. Kodanda Rao : I see that the President-elect is already blushing and I will spare him any more blushes. After all that has been said, it is hardly necessary for me to say anything. Most cordially I support the proposition.

Election of the
President :
Mr. Kodanda R

Lord Sinha : The proposal has been duly moved and supported. I put it now to vote. Those in favour : (All, all).

Lord Sinha : The proposal is carried unanimously.

Mr. Chandavarkar thereafter was garlanded and formally took the Chair.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar : Lord Sinha, Ladies and Gentlemen, In the first place I shall be failing in my duty if I did not express my gratitude to my friends, Dr. Kunzru, Dr. Paranjpye and others who followed them for the very kind way in which they put the proposal before you and the cordial manner in which you accepted the proposal. For these and other obvious reasons I esteem it a great honour to preside over this session of the Federation.

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FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

I esteem it an honour, while I regard it as a heavy responsibility cast upon a junior like myself by that honour, to be called upon by your suffrage to preside over this session of the All-India Liberal Federation at Calcutta. I look upon it as a call of duty for duty it is to confer in the very difficult times through which we are passing and to arrive at decisions which we think should give a right lead to the country as a whole. While one can talk what one likes when he is sure that the majority in the country is behind him, and sure also that it will applaud and endorse whatever he says, a critical intellectual minority like ours makes it imperative upon one who addresses it and through it,

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addresses the country at large, to weigh his words carefully and to say and utter nothing that will not appeal as from reason to reason, and that does not express the convictions of a life-time.

To such a task we are invited to-day— a task that involves plain-speaking and plain-dealing with the Government of the country on the one hand, and with the majority parties in the country on the other. For we occupy a central position to-day among these rival forces. We are, as the first President of our Federation described us, the centre group of the nationalist party. As such we are not apt either to mislead, or to be misled by the circumstances of the hour.

My task, arduous as it is, is rendered cheerful by the fact that I feel myself to be among my friends while I am addressing you here in Calcutta. For my spiritual home is here. The great Bramho leaders of this Presidency have been familiar figures to me from my boyhood. While on their perégrination to Bombay to deliver some message on matters either educational, political, social or religious, I saw them in my house perfectly at home in our family circle and with my father as the presiding genius of our family. I have had the privilege of listening to their conversation, of watching them at prayer, of hearing their sermons and noting their habits and temper during their sojourn with us in Bombay. And the influence that they shed around us then, has been an abiding inspiration for me. I can recall to you certain names in this connection—those of Ananda Mohun Bose, Pandit Shivnath Shastri and Pratap Chunder Muzumdar, of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra and Prof. Heramba chandra Maitra, of Sir Jagadisha Chunder Bose and Dr. P. K. Ray, among others. Hallowed is their memory to me and, therefore, when I am in Calcutta I always feel that I am not a stranger here.

This will make my task easier no doubt. But I have also with me my friends from Bombay, if friends I may call those who are looked up to as elder-statesmen, with all the experience and wisdom and insight and foresight which age brings to men who always keep their eyes open, their mind fresh and young, and who never let their grip on facts slacken. I mean, of course, my friends like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. They will no doubt make my task easier. They will help me where I seem to fail, they will correct me if I am led to say anything which may not square with their experience and judgment of things. Heartened by these considerations, I wish, during the brief hour that I shall speak to you, to tell you without mincing matters what I think of the present political situation in India, and what those in power ought to do at the present moment to win the complete confidence of the Indian people that they may go ahead with the war which, I must frankly say, is as much our war as it is theirs, so that lasting victory shall, in the end, crown the British arms,—a victory that will preserve our liberties for us in India as they will be preserved for those in Great Britain as well. We must not let ourselves forget in this connection that the political quarrel between Britain and India is a domestic quarrel, which should not be allowed to interfere with and queer the pitch for action against the common enemy of mankind. I may not quote but I must recall to your mind the great words that Sir Pherozshah Mehta uttered at a public meeting in Bombay in a similar situation at the beginning of the last War. When I say that it is as much our war as it is Britain's war, I mean that it is a war in

vindication of democracy and national self-government for all; that it is a war of freedom, political as well as social, for individual man in society, as also for every nation in the Commonwealth of Nations. It is to such a fight that England has dedicated itself today and it is fighting with heroism and strength of character which must extort admiration of all of us. Whatever our differences in India itself and the differences between Great Britain and India on political grounds, every one of us must feel and cannot but recognise that it is British democracy, British character, British unity and heroism that are stemming the tide of Hitlerism in Europe to-day and will save the world for democracy at long last. Before we meet next year together, let us all hope that Great Britain will come out triumphant from the struggle and through that triumph the world will be saved for democracy and for the rule of law based on principles of righteousness and justice on which alone in the changing world of tomorrow the success of democracy will inevitably depend.

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As a Liberal Party we are not accustomed to shouting slogans, issuing flats or carrying on whirlwind campaigns. We believe in politics of a different type altogether. And we are obviously today a microscopic minority. The word 'constitutional' is to hackneyed a name for the kind of politics that we, as a party, have pursued since the inauguration of the Congress in Bombay fifty-five years ago. We had to secede from that body in 1918 on a matter of vital principle. It was from that time onwards that we are being called "Liberals". But the creed of liberalism is as old as the Congress in India, if not older still. And as the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri spoke of it once, though the Liberals or the Liberal Party may dwindle into insignificance, Liberalism abides and whenever a great step forward is made in the political fulfilment of India, we shall find that it is Liberalism that has triumphed all along the road.

What is this Liberalism and what it means as an inspiring force and a shaping influence in Indian politics, is a subject on which we may well spend a part of our allotted time, so that we may clearly envisage the situation as it is to-day and perhaps, find a way out of the present *impasse*. Those of the Congress Movement in India, who may be rightly described as its founders, understood Liberalism somewhat as follows:— They never made caste, community, sect, clique or party ever come before the interest of the country as a whole. Only the other day Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India gave us the slogan, as he put it, of "India first". But long, long ago before it, the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta had declared from the Congress platform that he was not only a robust optimist like his friend the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade but that he was "an Indian first," and everything else, if at all, afterwards. This was the sheet-anchor of his faith in India as a nation. And this is the sheet anchor of Liberalism as well. It was in that faith that he strenuously opposed special, separate, communal electorates for Mohomedans in India, even on grounds of expediency, in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. And although to indulge in the might-have-beens of history is always a thankless task, I cannot help saying that he, as an individual, and as a far sighted statesman, would never have been a party to the Lucknow pact of 1916

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out of which, as we know today, as from Pandora's box, so many evils have flown to us—evils much greater than those sought to be averted by the now notorious Lucknow pact! The pact was no luck then; and it is less luck now than ever to—us the inheritors of that precious legacy from the past. The pact, as we know, tightened the hands of the late Mr. Montagu, who would have fain set us free, otherwise, from what the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 had imposed upon us as a bondage and burden. The pact is now being blazoned forth as a charter of separate nationality, and of Muslim Kingdom in India. It has made politics in India more communal than it ever was before. What was meant as a saving grace and emancipation has proved, in the event, a veritable apple of discord and has turned our country into a house divided against itself!

The words of Sir Pherozshah Mehta in a famous Memorandum on the Reforms submitted by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association of which he was then the President, have proved almost prophetic, and we now think that it was an evil day for India when Lord Morley surrendered his better judgment to Lord Minto's policy of expediency. Lord Morley's plea of rallying the Moderates has gone by the board since his exit from the India Office. Lord Minto's success in rallying the Muslims has cost India much more, as we know so much to our pain and discomfiture today. The Government favoured the Mohamedans as an important political minority in 1909, with the result of introducing communal virus in the body-politic of India. The Congress went over to them and embraced the Khilafat movement in 1921 with the result today that they are demanding their pound of flesh with a vengeance from the whole of India in the shape of Pakisthan. All these results have followed because at the start there was a lapse from principle, the principle enunciated by the greatest of Indian liberal statesmen, to which I have referred above. That principle finds its best expression in the Memorandum on the Reforms of 1909 submitted to the Central Government of the day by the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association. I may be permitted to quote the following words from that document which are as true today as they were at the time when they were penned. The words are: "To single out 62 millions from a population of 300 millions for exclusive and exceptional treatment on account of their religion would be an attempt impolitic enough to be perilous. If the Mohamedans under special and exceptional circumstances require their proper rights to be safeguarded by special measures, the same consideration and the same protection should be afforded to the Hindus under similar circumstances. To leave the Mohamedan majority where it exists unfettered and to seek to provide checks against the Hindu majority alone, must to the latter appear an act of intolerance on the part of the Government which they are entitled to resent." And again, "That the great and important Mohamedan community should have adequate representation in the Legislative Council and in all public affairs, is what the Council are prepared to advocate and recommend without reserve. They have every sympathy with Mohamedan aspirations and they feel bound to point out that these aspirations have never been ignored but always been promoted by the political activities of the Hindu and other communities. Every movement for securing greater rights for the population at large has benefited the Mohamedans no less than other communities; and if the Mohamedans have failed to

avail of it at all to the extent that they desire, the result is due to their unfortunate backwardness in taking advantage of the educational facilities provided by Government and not to the selfishness and opposition of other communities." As between Hindus and Mohamedans, listen to what is said in the same Memorandum: "There is no injustice in the fact that the Hindu representatives are found in a majority when on any and every secular test they prove themselves entitled to it. To encourage any idea of injustice on that account can serve no honest purpose. It is not honest or fair to the Hindus to attribute their advantage to anything unworthy when the legitimate and solid claims of number, property and education are demonstrably on their side. It is not honest and fair to the Mohamedans to encourage delusive hopes and keep them in darkness as to the true causes of backwardness of which they are becoming conscious and for which the remedy is largely in their own hands". The measures proposed by Lord Minto's government for giving additional facilities, special privileges to the Mohamedans by creating a special Mohamedan electorate to elect Mohamedan members exclusively, came in for strong objection in that Memorandum. And the evils predicted in it have come upon us today so patently that I cannot refrain myself from quoting the exact words in the Memorandum. The words are these :—"These measures are bound to create in the public body feelings of race and religious animosities dangerous to peace and contentment; and in the legislature itself a spirit of faction which will mar the utility and lower in public esteem the character of the Legislative Councils". By the way, I may be allowed to say here that when these words were penned as their embodied conclusion on Communal electorates in 1908, Mr. Jinnah was a member of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association !

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✓ The next article of faith in the creed of Liberalism is to work always and inevitably for Indian unity and Indian Nationalism. Whatever mars that unity has, therefore, to be regarded in the light of Liberalism, not only as a step that is retrograde but as a step definitely meant to divide us in order to keep us in permanent bondage. Hindus and Mohamedans have lived long enough—for centuries by now—in this country, not to regard themselves as separate political entities. Nationality and Nationalism are terms that can never mean either Hindu Nationality and Nationalism or Mohamedan Nationality and Nationalism. They can only mean, rightly understood, Indian Nationality and Indian Nationalism. In public life, there can be only Indian Nationality based on Indian unity. If this has not been so in India even today, the reason is not far to seek. It is to be found in the introduction of communal electorates in Indian body-politic by way of the Minto-Morley Reforms. Though Mr. Montagu was later on forced to yield on this ground against his better sense, he has apt remarks on the matter which no true Nationalist can afford to ignore. Here are his words taken from the Montagu—Chelmsford Report :—"Indian lovers of their country would be the first to admit that India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really to lead her to self-government, we must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. *Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partizans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this to National representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to*

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govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted." And yet they behaved short-sightedly then and we fumble to-day as to how we can ever effect the change from Communal representation to National representation. What Mr. Montagu saw in 1918, was already foreseen by wise leaders of India ten years earlier. As witness these words "All attempts to base political institutions on considerations of class interests or caste prejudices or racial and religious differences were extremely dangerous and can only promote discord and disunion. If racial and religious idiosyncracies have not together ceased to exist, they should not be utilised for marking the ultimate direction or shaping the final aim of the policy that Government should pursue. Rather the aim should be to bring the differing races and creeds into harmony with each other and to induce the best minds in all communities to apply themselves to what is necessary and practicable for promoting the common good. That should be the only aim of British policy and the great task [to which Government should apply themselves."

These words written in February 1908 on the whole policy of Indian Reforms as adumbrated by Lord Minto, serve as a beacon-light to us even to-day, when we find Indian unity yet far away and Indian Nationality and Nationalism threatened by a project like that of Pakisthan in India. The introduction of the elective element into the Government of India overshadows, at the present moment, everything else. As Gladstone put it speaking on the question in 1892. "It is a question of vital importance what we want is to get at the real heart and mind, the most upright sentiments and the most enlightened thoughts of the people of India. There are, of course, dangers in the way. There is the danger of subserviency. There is another danger and that is the danger of having persons who represent cliques or interests and who may claim the honour of representing India."

Liberals and Liberalism cannot be charged with subserviency, for their creed has always been "co-operate where we can, and criticise where we must." They are no sycophants and no demagogues; and they cannot be branded as representing cliques and interests and yet posing that "they alone can claim the honour of representing India."

Liberalism is the enemy of reaction as it is the enemy of all wild-cat schemes of revolution and reform. Its watch-words have ever been regulated liberty, progress and reform. Wisdom, sobriety and right direction have always been its guiding tenets. This is expressed in other words by Mr. A. O. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress, as "a genuine parliamentary frame of mind." It is a method and frame of mind by means of which we are enabled in public life to throw our minds into the common stock, to educate and focuss public opinion on the immediate question in hand and seek to solve it by discussion and argument and by an open mind that does not shut out honest and fair-minded criticism from any quarter. The Opposition plays as vital a part in that method as the Government or the party in power. While concession is made to government by majority, that rule is constantly restrained from degenerating

into tyranny by the majority. These are, briefly, the implications of parliamentary method of work and of parliamentary mentality in public life. When the Congress movement was inaugurated in India, it was with the express object of training educated India and, through it, the public mind at large to appreciate that method and follow it. Mr. A. O. Hume wrote at the time:—"The movement was meant to educate all who took part in it into what has been described as a genuine parliamentary frame of mind, and not to indulge in the cry of unreasoning negation." So we, with our liberalism as defined above, can claim to be in the direct line of the Congress, more than those who claim today to speak in its behalf and yet "indulge in the cry of unreasoning negation." ✓

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How that is so, we may consider very briefly here. From the end of 1920 onwards the trend of thought in Congress circles and of action, following the thought, has consistently been "to indulge in the cry of unreasoning negation," and away from "the genuine parliamentary frame of mind," with the result that is so well-known to us all. While Liberalism is keen on "avoiding the dangers of cataclysm," it is definitely opposed also ✓ to the equally serious "menace of stagnation." That is, stagnation on the part of the powers-that-be and cataclysm into which the country is rushed, at periodic intervals, by the Congress rulers of the country. I wish to say nothing more on the present or past mood of Congressmen. Suffice it to say here that the passion for creating a succession of deadlocks has done us no better service than landing the whole country into a *cul-de-sac*. It has spelt disaster and confusion all round. It has sown disunion and discord throughout the country. It has driven the country round and round the same programme without any benefit to the body that sponsored it and with infinite loss to the country driven by it. One is reminded here of the strictures passed by Burke on the pugnacity of the commons in his day, and his comments are equally applicable to the Congress politics in India from 1921 to this day. Mr. Gandhi, in the middle of 1933, had proclaimed on behalf of the Congress that, at long last, parliamentary mentality had come to stay. We believed then that the Congress had left behind its non-co-operation baggage for all time to come. But we find the Congress to-day ploughing its lonely furrow once again in the barren sands of non-co-operation!

The Congress boycotted the Montagu Reforms in 1921 and it reverted to work them from 1924 onwards. It boycotted the first Round Table Conference in 1930 and it went to the second Round Table Conference, in the person of Mr. Gandhi, the following year. It restarted Civil Disobedience in 1932, and affirmed that it shall have nothing to do with the constitution brought into being as the result of the Round Table deliberations. Yet it shelved non-co-operation at the end of 1934 and fought the new elections under the Reform Act of 1935 soon after. It refused to take office though it had won the elections and yet accepted office soon after. It had pledged itself to wreck the new constitution from within, though it found itself working that constitution for a good long period of twentyseven months, not in opposition but as His Majesty's Government in eight provinces. And now it has gone into wilderness once more, unfurling the banner of complete independence as against Dominion Status

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and of "National" Government as against the proposed scheme of an expanded Executive Council. And the funniest part of it all is, that while affirming that it does not desire to embarrass Britain in its present plight, it has launched a form of Satyagraha, which is tantamount to fomenting unrest all over the country, for the so-called vindication of the right of free speech.

That is where the Congress stands today, miles away from the effort to educate the people of India into "a genuine parliamentary frame of mind". Instead it has fostered all round slave mentality in its worse form. In the name of discipline it has crushed freedom, in the name of the majority, it has done away with democracy and brought in virtual dictatorship. It has stifled discussion and practised the art of Government by fiat and mandate. It has left the constituted electorates of the Assembly to take care of themselves. Professing to be responsible to them, it has really defied them, and compelled the Ministries in office to do what its self-styled Parliamentary Committee and the Working Committee bids them do. And these take their orders from the sole dictator at the top, who is not even a four-anna member of the Congress itself! Twenty years of Congress activity has not brought the country either peace or self-government. Nor has the ground been prepared for the government of a people, for the people and by the people. It does not recognise public opinion much less consults it. On the other hand, it holds forth its own opinion as the voice of the country as a whole. By this kind of pugnacity on its part, it has created another rival,—the Muslim League, who is as clamorous as itself in claiming that it shall be equally pugnacious and that it shall be heard. And between the two the country suffers from stagnation on the one hand and the danger of cataclysm on the other.

What characterises the present political situation in India may be aptly described as the negation of Liberalism. For another vital characteristic of that faith is compromise which is, today, conspicuous by its absence between the Government and the parties that confront it. It is also absent between the parties themselves that should work together for common good. "I am the State," says the Government. "I am the State to be and the people combined", says the Congress. "I am going to be the State—not even within the larger State...but separate and distinct from the whole,—and yet I demand that the greater will move as I direct or shall not move at all", says the rival, threatening war if it is not heard. All this has come about because there is the absence of larger vision and the denial of rational compromise as the only key to the solution of any political problem. The Government will not compromise, the Congress will not compromise and the Muslim League will not compromise. The Government will do nothing without the Congress and the Muslim League. It will listen to none else for, as the slogan goes, none else can deliver the goods. They seem to have forgotten, all of them, that this has never been and can never be the successful method of political reform and advancement. What has been achieved so far, has been achieved only on the basis of rational compromise, on the basis of mutual adjustment of claims and concessions with common-weal as the only end in view. What that compromise is, in the field of politics, and in the practical affairs of life, has never been better put than in the following passage penned by a philosophical radical of the 19th century. The passage runs as follows:—"Compromise and barter do not mean the

undisputable triumph of one set of principles. Nor, on the other hand, do they mean the mutilation of both sets of principles with a view to producing a *tertium quid* that shall involve the disadvantages of both, without securing the advantage of either. In politics we have an art. Success in politics, as an every other art, before all else implies both knowledge of the material with which we have to deal, and also such concession as is necessary to the qualities of the material. Above all, in politics we have an art in which development depends upon small modifications. To hurry on after logical perfection is to show oneself ignorant of the material of that social structure with which we have to deal. To disdain anything short of organic change in thought or institution is infatuation. To be willing to make such changes too frequently is foolhardiness. That fatal French saying about small reforms being the worst enemies of great reforms, is, *in the sense in which it is commonly used*, a formula of social ruin."

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So much for those who would have nothing short of complete independence, which means isolation and may ultimately involve, as the forces of the world play upon us today, a short shrift to all hopes of freedom, autonomy and dominion status in the future governance of India. So much also for the Pakistan school of Muslim politics, which, if conceded or extorted, may lead us back to the days when endless feuds, jealousies, rivalries for power, and civil wars were the order of the day in this disunited India of the past. The solution of the Irish question by dividing Ireland into two separate Kingdoms—one of them styled the Irish Free State, has, as we know it today, proved a path fraught with danger from external enemy both to Ireland and England. And it has brought no end to the feud between the North and the South in Ireland, as the framers of constitution had expected it. Today we find the south of Ireland as much a thorn in the side of England as it was before the new Constitution, at least so far as the conduct of the present war is concerned. The Irish neutrality in the present war exposes both Ireland and England to a possible invasion from the South. And with the best of intentions in the world, England because of that neutrality, cannot give such protection to Ireland, as would save both England and Ireland. On the other hand, the grant of Dominion Status to South Africa and the welding together there of two races, who, only five years before that, were at war with each other, into the Union of South-Africa, had not only proved a pillar of strength to England during the last war, but have proved so all the more today in England's fight with Italy along the African Continent. The South-African Constitution was framed by a liberal British Cabinet presided over by an honest and high-minded liberal British statesman in the person of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. In it you see the correct as well as the most generous application of the principles of liberalism to the solution of a political dispute between two countries and of the dispute between the two races that formed the population of one of them. The lesson of it all is clear to those who are open to know and assimilate it.

And what shall we say about the Government in the light of this almost universal law of practical politics? Leaving alone reactionaries—the apostles of stagnation—on the one hand, and extreme hot-gospellers on the other, compromise warns Government face to face with the awakened political conscience of a people, that it will not do for them to introduce any "small and temporary improvement", unless "it is made on the lines and in the direction of a great and permanent change", envisaged by the people

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and offered to them as a distinct pledge by the rulers. In any circumstance, it should be no such reform as will make it "all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction" in fulfilment of "some large and progressive principle which is the crux of the expected change". And lastly, a wise Government must always beware not to seek "to palm off upon a society the small one as actually being the great one and to represent the small reform as settling the whole questions". A right conception of political method, based on a rightly interpreted experience of the conditions on which societies combine order with freedom, and progress with order, "must lead the wise conservative to accept the small change lest the worst befall," and should lead the wise innovator to seize the chance of a small improvement, while incessantly working in the direction of great ones". And what has to be laid most to heart by both is the important fact that "throughout the process neither of them should lose sight of the ultimate ideal; nor fail to look at the detail from the point of view of the whole; nor allow the near particular to bulk so unduly large as to obscure the general and the distant." This is the essence of rational compromise and this is the only political method that benefits society, as also the parties who prefer to work in the best interests of the Great Society that a nation is or ought to be.

Now the Government have promised to India the grant of full Dominion Status after the conclusion of the present war. It has added that the promise shall be implemented within the shortest period of time after the war. What is imperative in this matter in order to convince people of the absolute sincerity of their intentions is that a definite time-limit should be announced forth-with at the end of which the definite promise shall be definitely carried out. A warning note has here to be sounded that in this task none of us in India will be satisfied or silenced by the production of a *tertium quid* to which I have already alluded above. I must frankly say in this connection that I am far from satisfied with the recent observations of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, on the subject of constitution-making for India. We do not want any experiment here, either on the American or any other model. Our historical and political evolution under the British rule has set us definitely on the path of what is clearly envisaged by Dominion Status and democratic, parliamentary self-government. We have passed through four successive stages of reform from 1892 to 1935. And we demand the fulfilment of responsible self-government for India in a manner outlined in the concluding paragraphs of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the Reforms of 1919. That responsible self-government has been put in a clearer form still by the Belfour declaration of 1926. And the Westminster Statute gives us under it full and complete freedom of initiative and action. This is to what the British Government is now definitely pledged. And we shall accept nothing that takes us in a line and direction different from the path clearly marked out for us in that promise.

But are we to be satisfied, in the meanwhile, with things as they are, on the excuse that nothing can be done or need be done while the war is going on? The least that we expect from the Government of the day is, that they will go ahead with their scheme of the expansion of

the Viceroy's Executive Council and of adding on to it a War Council, also composed of non-officials drawn from all parties in the country. But it has to be emphatically said in this connection that the two Councils so formed should not be in the nature of an eye-wash. The members chosen or nominated to work upon them should be of the wisest and the best, and though technically responsible to the Viceroy alone, the convention should be established that their advice shall normally operate without let or hindrance from any quarter. Above all things the portfolios of Defence and Finance must be in charge of non-officials who are not drawn from permanent services. The policies shall be framed by the non-official members concerned, who will be allowed to see to it that they are carried out in letter and spirit by the administration under them. And the responsibility of these members shall be a joint-responsibility, and not only for the particular department which may be put in their charge. Thus will be initiated from now a cabinet system in the Central Government which may not be responsible, but must certainly be made responsive, to public opinion in the country. Without this material change of outlook and policy in the immediate governance of India, none will be convinced to-day that the country is *not* meant "only to supply men, materials and money, as if it were a conquered country", and that a sincere and whole-hearted attempt is being made "to win the goodwill of the Indian people on the side of war, a factor of such immense importance in the difficult days that lie ahead of us all."

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I need not go here into the details of Defence and Finance. But I shall permit myself to say something by way of general observations on Defence. We are here on stronger ground than any other political party in India. Finance and Defence have been subjects studied in detail and spoken on with authority by some prominent members of our Party. Not to refer to venerable names like those of Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Mr. G. K. Gokhale in the past, we have in our midst today persons of the eminence of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru who have made the subject of Indian Defence all their own. Only in the recent session of the Council of State, Mr. Kunzru made a speech which has made our attitude on this matter as clear and emphatic as it could be. The address that Mr. Kunzru delivered as President of the Session of All India Federation held at Poona, six years ago, handles the subject of Army and Defence in a manner that makes it impossible for any successor in that position to improve upon it. Therefore, my observations on the subject will be only of a general character, and such as suggest themselves to a layman and nothing more. These may be summarised somewhat as follows:—

- (1) That it is only foolish but criminal, if not suicidal, to say that we can drive back an enemy, who attacks us with weapons of violence, by following the policy of non-violence. And it is no act of violence to defend our country and our hearths and homes against such an enemy by recourse to arms. The cult of non-violence has no application whatever in such a case. Therefore, to pursue an anti-war propaganda on this ground has no sanction in history, religion and ethics of any country in the world, not excluding India.

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- (2) That even more than any subject of constitutional reform the question of the reorganisation and Indianisation of the military system of the country is vitally connected with the growth of our nation-hood in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and, therefore, it cannot be either shelved, postponed or lightly set aside.
- (3) That as modern wars have become more and more scientific, a country, which does not employ its best brains and talents in its army, is bound to go to the wall in any conflict with modern powers. Hence it is up to the Government to push on vigorously with its policy of Indianisation. The University Training Corps should be expanded and utilised fully for manning the army with officers. Military training of Indians in all arms like artillery, navy and air-force should be speedily undertaken, and pursued with zest, vigour and drive suitable to the occasion. My friend, Dr. Mahajani of Poona and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, has already got passed by that Council a resolution on the U. T. C. the nature of which was to make military training compulsory in the colleges of the Bombay Presidency. As a fellow-liberal, I heartily commend that resolution for acceptance and action by the Central Government as an item of national policy for the whole of India.
- (4) All so-called distinction for recruitment to the army as between the martial and non-martial races should be done away with. Provincial discrimination and favouritism should be a thing of the past. Every province should be encouraged by all means to contribute its full share in man-power for the Defence of India.
- (5) The Government must shed off its distrust of Indians completely, and thus help to turn the present system into what may be rightly called the National Army of India. What Sir Sivaswami Aiyer said about this question years back is more applicable to the situation in India as we find it today. He said, "The war (last war, of course) has painfully brought home to the mind of every Indian his military helplessness and inutility, and has quickened the desire for self-reliance for all purposes of national life. The defence of India against foreign aggression is not only a matter of pride and interest but a duty that no patriot dares renounce. It is not the mere grant of commissions that will satisfy us. We desire that Indians shall be freely admitted to employment in all arms of the defensive organisation of the country, that no time should be lost in taking steps for the organisation of a territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force of the Indian army. This cannot be accomplished until provision is made in India itself to give the highest standard of instruction in military and naval engineering, in the construction and management of aircraft, in the knowledge of tactics, and in all technical and administrative subjects required for members of the General Staff."

- (6) That the needs of the present war and the perils of neglect are much greater than those of the last war. Hitlerism and War, if they succeed in overwhelming Great Britain and conquering India, will work havoc with all our hopes and aspirations for the future of India. Hence, both in the political and the military sense, the situation has to be handled not only wisely and with foresight, but with implicit faith in the people of India.

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- (7) That this military reorganisation and the wareffort consequent upon it, should be efficiently undertaken, and undertaken with the fullest confidence that the whole country is behind that effort, demands that the defence portfolio shall be placed in competent and trustworthy Indian hands. In a debate on Indian autonomy in the Imperial Legislative Assembly in 1921, Sir William Vincent, a distinguished member of the I. C. S., and the then Home Member in the Government of India, said to non-official members who pressed that question "If I had been a non-official member of the Assembly, the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government, would have been the development of the Indian Army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the political progress of India." These words have a greater significance to-day for the simple reason that we have been promised Dominion Status, which, without the Dominion Army to accompany it, can be so only in name. Every one recalls in this connection the speech of the late Lord Sinha as President of the Indian National Congress, and how he had coupled his plea for a definite declaration of British policy in India with a demand for the full and all round Indianisation of the Army and the kind of military training for Indians that must precede it. For he maintained that responsible self-government for India can never come until Indians are made fit to defend themselves. And this, I affirm once more, will not be done until Government shakes off for good the distrust in the people which yet marks the military policy of the Government of India. This is all that I have to say, and only as a layman, on the question of Defence.

✓ Another subject that cannot be overlooked in this discussion is that of industrialisation. The Roger Mission and the Eastern Group Conference that met at Delhi only recently will, I trust, do all that is needful for purposes of war-time-industry and for correlation on that account between countries and interests with kindred aim. But this is only a temporary phase. What we ought to press upon the attention of the Government as also upon the attention of all businessmen in India is, that a temporary alignment and co-ordination of effort are not enough. What India needs most today and the day-after-tomorrow, is a definite and large-scale planning which will unmistakably provide for clear-sighted industrial prosperity of India after the war. And the task should be a joint

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consultation and effort between officials directly concerned and businessmen in the country as well. In all fields of industry, India is pushing ahead since the last war and there is no dearth of non-official talent and capital in this country, provided you know how to harness it to this planning of industry and to the successful orientation and carrying out of the plan. Here again, politics and economics impinge one upon the other. And confidence and trust in the one field beget trust and confidence in the other field also, to the advantage of politics and economics both.

I have said by now all that I felt I need say to make clear the general situation in India as we find it today. Of course, in this survey, politics dominates the scene as it is bound to do. For, as Gokhale put it in his paper on the "East and West in India" read before the First Universal Races Congress in 1911, "Is British Rule to remain a rigidly Foreign Rule, as long as it lasts, or will it conform more and more to standards which alone may be accepted in these days as compatible with the self respect of civilised people? What is the objective of England's policy in India? How is the conflict of interests between the two communities (of course British and Indian, and not Hindu and Muslim) to be reconciled, and what sacrifices may be reasonably expected from either side to render such reconciliation a living and potent reality?—these and other allied questions, which really go to the root of England's connection with India, have to be answered before any prediction about the probable future of relations between Englishmen and Indians in India can be hazarded." The passage shows clearly how and why in India politics dominates the scene. And the pre-requisite of such reconciliation and good relationship was stated by Mr. Gokhale in the same paper as follows:—"It was that Indians should be enabled to feel that the Government under which they live is largely and in an ever-increasing measure, *national* in spirit and sentiment and in its devotion to the moral and material interests of the country. "Wrong in the one thing rare" what mattered it to Indians what Englishmen did, and how they conducted themselves in other respects?" And, therefore, I touch for a few moments the question of what may be called the reconciliation of India.

I have already referred to the present political dead-lock. Suggestions are being made for a peace-effort to put an end to this undesirable state of things. The letter of Sir Jagadish Prasad to the press, followed by a long explanation and elucidation upon it by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru the other day, is one indication of the general feeling in the country over this matter. The Prime-minister of Bengal has come out with the proposal that Muslim League should take a lead in the matter. But Mr. Jinnah's subsequent speeches on the subject make one fact clear more than all others and it is this that no pourparlers shall even be begun until certain previous conditions laid down by the Muslim League are accepted by the other party in question. In these circumstances, I am led to believe that these efforts, if at all they get a start, have but a slender chance of success and of success in a manner that we all desire for the political good of India as a whole.

We want Indian unity, and no party domination. We want India to be one nation and not cut asunder into Hindu India and Muslim India.

We want in India the reign of true democracy on the model of British democracy and as it has worked in England. Our trust, in the first instance, is in that democracy and only under it, in the Government that represents that democracy in Great Britain and India for the time being. We do not want here the domination of one race over another, or such a rule by majority or a clamouring minority as will virtually take us back to autocracy or one-man-rule. We want no true interests in India to suffer but all legitimate interests to come together co-operant to one end, namely the prosperity and uplift of our motherland, that is India, and *not* this or that part, or province or frontier of India. We do not swear by complete independence of India, for we do not desire to go back to pre-British rule in India, much less to fall an easy prey to any conqueror from the East and the West, the North and the South. We honestly think and firmly believe that Dominion Status of the Westminster Statute variety will give us the *kind* of independence we need in India today and tomorrow, to weld her into a self-determining and self-sufficing nation. I do not look far into the future. One step is enough for me.

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If a reconciliation and friendship resulting in a united effort sufficient to cope with the present situation are to be brought about based on these fundamentals, then it will not do to depend merely on peace-missions of the kind I noted above. In this connection I welcome the suggestion made recently by my friend the Honourable Mr. P. N. Saprú that England should send out for that purpose a good-will mission to India composed of its first-class statesmen whose presence in England is not so indispensable for direct war-effort. The principal aim of such a mission should be to travel over the whole country and know the situation for itself; then, to interview representative men of all parties in the country; and, lastly, as the result of the dispassionate and entirely unofficial view that it gets of things in India, to frame what I may call a Treaty of Friendship between England and India, somewhat on the lines of, if not similar to, the treaty arrived at between England and Ireland after the conclusion of the last war.

It has to be borne in mind that the treaty should have for its aim *not* the re-opening of the constitutional question between India and England, for that has been settled in essentials, namely, Dominion Status and such Status, at that, as will make India an equal partner with England in the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations. The purpose of the mission and of the treaty to follow it, should be to restore good-will, to remove possible misapprehensions about the intentions, now and remote, of England towards India and to prepare the ground for the specific task of constitution-making, that can only follow after the successful conclusion of the present war. It should also be understood that the decisions of this Mission should not be made to wait upon the previous assent to them by the parties most vocal in the world of India as it is today. These noises and bickerings are bound to continue till a definite solution and a decisive step is determined upon by the Government in power. We know that this has been done by Great Britain and the British Parliament in 1909, in 1919, as well as in 1935. The solution of our internal differences, communal or otherwise, should not be laid down as a condition precedent to the solving of this political tangle. We know that it was not done in the case of Ireland as between the party led by Mr. De Valera and the party led by Mr. Collins and others. And

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we cannot accept the *raison d'être* of a different attitude to the political struggle between England and India. There is a very large number of politically minded and patriotic men in India outside the Congress and the Muslim League, who will agree to such a course and smoothen the path of reconciliation between England and India, on lines honorable to either side. My submission to the British Government, in their own interest as well as in the interest of India is, therefore, this:—It should make a clear declaration to the Indian people that, say within two years after the war, they will definitely establish Dominion Status in India, and then the people of India shall have to work out their own salvation in their own way, without either interference or domination from Great Britain, or by any party that may be in power in Great Britain thereafter. In the meanwhile they are sending a Good-Will-Mission to India, fair, impartially minded, of undoubted integrity and honour, whose sole aim in going to India and seeing things for themselves, shall be to clear up misunderstanding, restore friendship, and do all in their power to smoothen the path of progress all round. It is my firm, considered and emphatic opinion that until the Indo-British problem is solved first all other differences in India will not end.

And now I have done. I began with Liberalism as a faith and principle. I have deliberately refrained from any academic exposition in defence of that faith, and have confined myself only to such broad principles as were outlined and acted upon by our own leaders in India. They may say that that faith is now a thing of the past and because we are so few, it is foolish to expatiate upon it. Be that so. But you and I do not think so. For them, we would not be here to-day. Our critics, in this respect, had better be left to look after themselves. But I may tell them something about our view-point in the following words of a recent writer on Liberalism, and there let the matter rest for the time being:—

“Liberalism comes of a great tradition and can appeal to a splendid past. You can no more dissociate it, at any moment, from the stream of tendency which at this moment it represents, than you can dissociate some particular generation in the history of a Church or a Nation. Great political parties, embodying undying principles and set on realising them in action, have something of the life in them which is revealed amid transitory generations, with the power of evoking passionate devotion only comparable to that directed to a lover or to God. The Liberal Party, said one clever journalist, can only mumble the memories of a dead past and raise the faded banners and tattered flags of Peace, Retrenchment and Reform. Faded Banners! Tattered Flags! You may go to the Emporium round the corner and buy such pleasant, new-polished, bright-coloured standards to lead before your armies in battle. Only there is something lacking in them which no paint or polish can give. The faded banners are those for which men have not been ashamed to live; the tattered flags are those for which men have not been afraid to sacrifice their all.” (Cheers.)

After the Presidential address was over Mr. Chandavarkar announced :

The Subjects Committee will meet here tomorrow at 12 noon. All the delegates who have come here will form the Subjects Committee.

It has often happened in the past that members have refrained from moving any propositions or amendments in the Subjects Committee, but at

the last moment they have come forward with resolutions or other motions and Presidents have been compelled to rule such motions and amendments out of order. Those who want to move motions or amendments, should exercise their right at the first instance at the Subjects Committee before they can acquire the right to complain in the open session.

Mr. J. N. Basu : The Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation has invited the delegates to this Conference to view the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation and go round the Health and Commercial Show exhibits organised by the Corporation. They have also invited the delegates to have tea.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar : I am asked to announce that there is an opening of the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation in College Street this afternoon at 5-15 p.m. and the delegates have been invited to visit it. The authorities of the Museum will be at home to the delegates.

The session was adjourned for the day at 4 p.m.

SECOND DAY (DEC. 29, 1940).

Subjects Committee's Sitting

The Subjects Committee of the National Liberal Federation, consisting of all the delegates, met at 12 noon on December 29 in the Indian Association Hall with the President, Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, in the chair and discussed the draft resolutions. The Subjects Committee after a prolonged sitting lasting nearly eight hours, agreed upon the various resolutions to be discussed at the open session of the Federation next day.

OPEN SESSION—THIRD DAY—(DEC. 30, 1940)

The Twenty-second Session of the National Liberal Federation of India re-assembled at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta, at 12-15 P.M. with Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar in the chair.

The proceedings commenced with Poet Rabindranath Tagore's song "Jana-gana Mana, etc." sung in chorus by the girls of the Bharati Vidyalaya.

I. Obituary.

Resolution I :
The President.

Mr. Chandavarkar : Fellow Delegates, Before I put the first resolution on the agenda regarding Obituary, I am sorry to inform you that news has just been received of the very sad death of the revered mother of our Ex-President Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. On your behalf I would like to convey our deepest condolences and sympathy to Dr. Paranjpye.

I will put the first resolution now on Obituary. It reads:—

"(a) The Federation records with sorrow the death of Mr. Viswanath Prasad, Allahabad, who was an active member of the Liberal Party and rendered valuable services to the Federation as its General Secretary and the Federation offers its deep sympathy to the bereaved family.

"(b) The Federation also records with sorrow the deaths of Rao Sahib P. S. Vaidya, Secretary of the Deccan Sabha, Poona, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya and Kazi Kabiruddin of Bombay Mr. Venkata Subbaiya, Madras, Member, Servants of India Society, Raja Sir Vasudeva, Raja of Kollengode and Pandit Harish Chandra Goswami, Calcutta, who were staunch supporters of the Liberal cause. The Federation offers its sincere sympathy to the members of the bereaved families".

I shall now request you all to pass the resolution in solemn silence by standing.

The resolution was unanimously passed, the whole audience standing.

II. The Constitution.

Mr. Chandavarkar : Dr. Kunzru is engaged on some important business. I am keeping resolutions IV and VI relating to War and Defence for being taken up after he comes. I am now taking up resolution II on the Constitution, and I call upon Pandit Sapru to move it.

Resolution II :
Hon. Mr. P. N.
Sapru.

Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen : The resolution which has been entrusted to my care reads as follows :

(a) "The National Liberal Federation of India, while desirous to satisfy the reasonable claims of minorities, is of opinion that the Viceroy's declaration of August last virtually gives them a veto on constitutional progress and protests strongly against the

distinction drawn by Mr. Amery between the status and functions of a Dominion which has created a grave apprehension in the minds of the people that what he called British obligations in India may permanently stand in the way of India achieving the same freedom as the other Dominions enjoy.

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- (b) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly dissents from the recent statement of H. E. the Viceroy that the British Government can do nothing more than they have already done to enable India to enjoy Dominion Status and urges that it should be immediately announced that India will be accorded the status and functions of a Dominion within the meaning of the Statute of Westminster within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.
- (c) "The National Liberal Federation of India is further of the view that meanwhile the Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have by convention a fully national character. The Viceroy should be its constitutional head and that British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of such an Executive and the Central Legislature. The portfolios of defence and finance should be entrusted to non-official Indians, enjoying the confidence of the country."

In this resolution, Mr. President, we express our views on the political situation as it has developed during the last 18 months in this country. Also in this resolution we have formulated what our basic demands are. We have subjected to criticism the declaration which was made by His Excellency the Viceroy and the speech of Mr. Amery which followed the Viceroy's declaration. I will not go into the history of the constitutional question. I think, Sir, one of the wisest things that our President, Dr. Paranjpye, last year said was that the history of India might have been different, if at the beginning of the War before any demand had been made by any political party, the British Government had come forward with a clear and unequivocal declaration of Dominion Status for India.

It is no use His Excellency the Viceroy's saying to-day 'we have done all that we could do.' Our answer is: You have made blunders all these years. And therefore I would like to subject for a moment the declaration which has been made by Mr. Amery in August last, to criticism. I think it is necessary for us to subject that declaration, to examination carefully because of the appeal—well-meant appeal, that has been made by some respected Members of the British House of Commons. I do not think they know conditions here or our view point very well. Censorship, as you know, is very strict now-a-days and it is very difficult for news to reach the English public to-day.

Now what is that declaration? The declaration is that the British Government sympathise with India's desire to frame her own Constitution and that they will allow India the fullest freedom to frame her own Constitution, consistent with certain historic and other obligations that they have towards this country. Now the freedom that you will get is conditioned by this obligation business. If His Majesty's Government interpret their obligations in a liberal way, you may have real transfer of power,

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but if His Majesty's Government interpret their obligations in the way they they have been interpreted in the Government of India Act, you will have a shadow of responsibility and no reality of power.

Therefore, the one great criticism that I have, is that this question of obligation should be settled by direct negotiations between representatives of India and of Great Britain. These obligations ought not to be allowed to stand permanently in the way of our future progress. Mr. Amery has made a distinction between the Status and functions of a Dominion. I am not going into the constitutional controversy regarding the exact meaning of the Statute of Westminster and the Balfour Declaration.

I would like to say that I do not care for status. Status follows function. I care for power. I care for freedom, I care for—if you would like to call it so—*independence*. If I get reality of political power first, status will follow next. And it is no use their telling us: "Oh, we will treat you as a Dominion. But so far as the higher functions of Government are concerned, so far as control of Defence is concerned, so far as control of Foreign Affairs is concerned—(and I attach a great deal of importance to Foreign Affairs, because Foreign Affairs touch the life of a people very much)—so far as these higher functions of Government are concerned, they must always remain with us.

I have always been of the view that the attitude of no compromise with Imperialism will lead us nowhere. It is for that reason that we have accepted the creed of Dominion Status. It is virtual *independence*. But let there be no mistake about it. What is fundamental with us is Indian freedom, and if we are not going to have real freedom, if we are not going to have the reality of freedom, we are not going to bother about this Dominion Status or that Dominion Status. What we are after is reality of power, full control over own destinies, control such as the dominions of Canada, Australia or South Africa have. That is what we are after. Nothing less will satisfy the aspirations of the people of the country. Nothing less will be worth looking at. What we are offered is not Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety—there are many snags in the declarations—but what we are being offered is controlled self-government within the Imperialistic structure. After all, if the truth has to be told, there is this political deadlock in the country now, because—and I say with a full sense of responsibility—England is not clear in her mind as to what she intends to do with India after the War. That is the feeling that Britain has generated in the country. That feeling will not be dispelled by equivocal declarations with mental reservations, declarations of the kind of Mr. Amery and the Viceroy made in recent months.

Then I will go to the question of framing the Constitution. It is said, "we have been conceded the right of self-determination. First of all, you must agree among yourselves as to the body that will frame the Constitution. If you do not agree as to the character of the body that will frame the constitution, nothing doing". Well, to-day we are confronted in this country with this great difficulty that the principal Muslim Party of India stands for the partition of India. How can we negotiate in a reasonable atmosphere with people who want to divide this country, with

people who talk not of Indian nationalism, but of two nations. How can we negotiate with people of that type? There is this initial difficulty in our way, and for this initial difficulty responsibility mainly rests with the British Government. They always say: "Oh, you Indians have not been able to settle your domestic problems". When they introduced separate electorates for India in 1905, the problem was created by them. I think, Sir, one of the wisest things you said in your Presidential speech was that the Pact of 1916 was a great mistake. What is happening to-day is that we are getting Self-Government in doses and instalments. British Imperialism thinks that diarchic arrangements can help her to perpetuate her existence in India. This instalment system helps to keep the communal ferment alive. Every fifth or tenth year there is a demand for revision of the Constitution. Constitutional revision is undertaken every fifth or tenth year, and every time the demands of the minorities go up. You make one concession to-day when there is a revision of the Constitution. Three, four or five years hence, there will be a further revision of the Constitution and the minorities will again come forward with something more. Today the minorities are saying: "we want one-fourth of India to be specially reserved for us." If you agree to this reservation, you will not get reality of political power. And when ten years later, further transfer of political power becomes inevitable, the minorities will demand half of India and thereafter the minorities will ask for three-fourths of India and finally they will say: "We want whole of India." It is a vicious circle that has been created by this politico of instalment. Therefore, it is essential that Great Britain should make it clear that she is going to give up this instalment system altogether, that the constitution of India is going to be placed on a permanent basis and that there is going to be final transfer of power from British to Indian hands within a definite period of time. That is why I attach so much importance to this question of time limit.

There are certain things worth fighting for. Liberals, I think, live in a very dynamic world, and you must think in a dynamic manner. Liberalism is a dynamic creed. It can adjust itself to changing circumstances, and the Indian Liberal Federation, if it is to survive, must change with the times. It must, therefore, take a clear and unequivocal stand on this question that there will be no further stages in India's evolution towards Dominion Status. The Viceregal declaration still talks of Dominion Status as the goal, the aim of the Crown and the British Government. Well, 'goal', 'aim', 'ideal', all these are very very fine words, but the words which I would like them to use is 'immediate objective'. I ask why cannot Mr. Amery or the Viceroy declare that Dominion' status is the immediate objective of the British Government. I think it is possible for Mr. Amery and the Viceroy—His excellency interviewed no less than fifty-two Indian leaders—to answer that question in a straight-forward manner. Is their declaration intended for consumption in foreign lands for propaganda purposes or is it intended to settle the Indian issue in a very statesmanlike manner. I think, we are entitled to ask that question. I have regretfully come to the conclusion, for I can see no evidence either in actual administration or in the attitude of Britain to India to suggest otherwise,—it is a very painful conclusion for one who has believed in the old, old Liberal doctrine that

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the destinies of India and England are bound together, it is a very unfortunate conclusion which I have arrived at—that for the deadlock in this country the British Government is more responsible than either the Congress or the Muslim League. If the British Government had shown imagination, if the British Government had shown greater respect for the opinions of leaders like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad who had been to the Round Table Conference, if they had not brushed aside the Joint Memorandum, submitted by the Indian Members of the Round Table Delegation on the Joint Select Committee, we would have a different India to-day. They have to thank themselves for the stalemate in India to-day. His Excellency the Viceroy was Chairman of the Joint Select Committee. Is it the War which has changed His Excellency's attitude towards India to-day? What has made India more fit for Dominion Status during the last five or six years that have elapsed since the Round Table Conference? Even a Minor recommendation such as direct election was rejected by the joint Select Committee.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, Therefore, we say that we cannot fix responsibility for this political deadlock upon any particular political party in India. You may say this is not the proper time for raising this question. I think, it is the proper time for raising this question. Things are moving with such rapidity in all directions that anything might happen. We hear much talk of Anglo-American Union and other kinds of Union. Franco-British Union was almost within the range of possibility. There might be a European Federation to which all the countries, fighting against Nazism, might be a party. Therefore, you have to be particularly watchful and you must protect your interests, you must see that you get your power. It is said, you must satisfy the minorities. We want to be fair to them. If the minorities have rights, the majorities have also rights. You must balance the rights of the minorities and the rights of the majorities. Therefore, I would respectfully say that His Excellency is not right in saying that His Excellency and the British Government have done all that they could do and that the initiative must now come from the Indian side. I think, the initiative is in their hands, it will remain in their hands. For the initial mistakes they are responsible and they must, therefore, take the initiative in solving the political tangle.

I will, with your permission, Ladies and Gentlemen, Now comment on the last part of the resolution. In the last part of the resolution we have suggested what we think should be done immediately, namely, the reconstruction of the Central Government into a National Government. Now, Sir, His Excellency the Viceroy has invited Indian political leaders to join his Executive Council. Of course, that offer was not accepted by the Congress and the Muslim League. I would like to ask some questions. Does this Council work as a Cabinet to-day? Are Members of the Executive Council only heads of Departments, or are they working a cabinet system with collective responsibility? The responsibility may be to the Crown or to the Legislature; that is a different proposition. But the question is, has it ever been made clear by Mr. Amery that there will be collective responsibility so far as this Executive Council is concerned? Further, why is it not possible to go a little further and say that though technically the Executive Council will remain responsible

to the Crown, yet the Executive Council will, in fact, be responsible to the Legislature? You remember, the Viceroy made a statement which was instrumental in solving the political tangle that had arisen and which enabled the Congress Ministries to function in the Provinces, namely, that ordinarily the Governors would not interfere with the day to day administration of the provinces. Why cannot His Excellency and Mr. Amery say: "we invite you to join, you Gentlemen, our Government. We give you this solemn assurance that ordinarily there will be no interference with the policies that you evolve, with the manner in which you execute your policies. You will be left free to hold your policies and to execute your policies. Ordinarily there will be no interference. You know how we have interpreted this word 'ordinarily.' You have experienced this in the provinces where there has been no interference with the Ministries in the Provincial administration. And we pass on collective responsibility and give this understanding that there will be no interference by us with your normal working as Executive Council. We invite you to join this Executive Council and form a National Government."

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You will say that it cannot be done under the Government of India Act. I will say it can be done. You know what the Fiscal Convention is. The Fiscal Convention is that where the Government of India and the Legislature are in agreement, the Secretary of State will not interfere with the fiscal policies of India. He will interfere, if only the Imperial interests are affected. If you will read the minute of dissent of Professor Berreidale Keith in the Crewe Committee report you will find that he pointed out that much more power could be devolved on the Government of India than was contemplated by other members of the Committee. Why cannot they, therefore, speak to us in that language and give us a National Government in that sense? Fundamental changes in the Act may not be possible during the War. I am not quite sure, if fundamental changes cannot be effected in the war time. (If you can think of a Franco-British Union, why can you not think of an Indo-British Union?) I will assume for the sake of argument that fundamental changes are not possible. But then in terms of the Act of 1919 there are certain things that the British Government can do and those things have not been done. Would I be wrong in suggesting that there is no serious desire to associate India with the formulation and execution of War policy? The Congress and the Muslim League exhaust, in the opinion of Government, the entire country. No doubt the Congress represents a major and powerful section of Indian opinion. So far as Non-Congress opinion is concerned, it has been ignored, and since the Congress and the Muslim League would not join the Executive Council, it would not be expanded.

In my opinion, it is essential that the two major portfolios that really matter, namely, Defence and Finance, should be entrusted to the care of Indians. They should be entrusted to Indians who enjoy the confidence of the country. There is a certain type of Indians and of whom we have had experience in the Legislature, who come as nominated members. There have been, of course, some exceptional members among them, but generally you know what kind of men we get as nominated members. We do not want men of that type. I think, an Englishman is better than an Indian of that type. We want Indians who enjoy the confidence of the country, we want Indians with character, with

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calibre—Indians such as my esteemed friend Dr. Kunzru—to run the portfolios of Defence and Finance.

I think, in the interest of India and England, this political deadlock should end, because it is essential for the safety and integrity of India as also for the future progress of the human race that Nazism and Fascism should fail in this War. I think, Sir, the requisite effort will not be forthcoming from Indians, until the political deadlock is solved in a satisfactory manner. I will repeat what I said on another occasion. I wish to give my support to the War efforts, but I wish to give my support as a self-respecting Indian, (cheers).

The President : Prof. R. H. Kelkar will second the resolution.

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Prof. R. H. Kelkar : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In supporting the proposal so ably moved by the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru, I am not going to add very many remarks of mine. As regards the first part of the proposal, what I have to say is this: Mr. Amery in his latest speech has talked of "India first"; but in our Constitution of 1935 there are a number of safeguards. In fact, there are so many of them that one leader actually defined it not as a self-government constitution, but a safeguards constitution. If these safeguards were given to our own countrymen, to our minorities, or even to our own princes, we would have treated them generously, provided they too remember the slogan "Country first", or "India first". But some of these safeguards were for European Industries, British Industries; it means that India is to be exploited in an economic way by the domination of the British capital. There would be no safeguards against British capital. If there were to be any kind of slogan, it should be "India first" and not "England first". England is so rich, so powerful that it can afford to do without safeguards under the British Government. Any safeguard granted to her would amount to a safeguard given to the majority or to a powerful minority.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru has already said that great changes could be made even during the wartime, for they thought of Franco-British union. As for practical experience in this country, even during the last War in 1917 when Russia was, in fact, out of War, American help was not coming in such quantities as it came later on, and Italy had suffered a disaster. It was then that Mr. Montagu came here to investigate the whole Indian problem. If such a serious problem could then be investigated even during the time of War, why can it not be done just now? There has been, as there is, no real will to part with power. If there had been the will, something could have been done.

For instance, Government wanted cooperation in its War effort; now there are several groups, several parties, several sections in India, that are prepared to make this War effort as successful as if it is our own war. At the same time there are a few groups, no doubt, who want to support the War effort on certain conditions. But look at what the Government of India has done. They are prepared not to accept the co-operation of these co-operators, unless some non-co-operating groups are prepared to co-operate. That means that non-co-operating groups are to have a veto upon the transfer of power to co-operating groups. I do not wish that the non-co-operating groups should not get power at all; but meanwhile power

should be transferred to those who are co-operating. I am sure that the co-operating groups will not object later on to sharing power with groups who are non-co-operating now.

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The third part of the resolution is, in fact, mere details. If the War had not come, it was just possible that there would have been a majority of Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council. I would like, however, to say that the two major portfolios of Defence and Finance should go to Indian members, members trusted by Indians. If the War had not come, these changes would have come.

Britain has repeated its promise year after year that they are going to give us Dominion Status as early as possible. I do not think that if there was a real will to part with power, a way for that could not have been found. What is wanting is the will to transfer power to India, to trust India so that India should rule her own home.

I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposal, moved by Mr. Sapru, and, I hope, you will all support it.

President : I call upon Mr. C. R. Somayajulu to support the resolution.

Mr. C. R. Somayajulu supporting the resolution on the Constitution said :

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Mr. President, and Fellow Delegates, I am fortunate enough to support the main resolution of this Federation on the Future Constitution of India, on behalf of Andhra Desa, which was proposed by my leader the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru the worthy son of a worthy father, Rt. Hon'ble Sir T. B. Sapru. I want to express the following words *extempore*, but due to short time at my disposal, I have decided to read this speech to you. I am no expert on constitutional problems, but I am a mere student of politics of the country. How fortunate am I to address this Federation for the first time under the presidentship of Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, another equally worthy son of a worthy father, the late Sir Ganesh Narayana Chandavarkar of Congress fame, and specially I am still more proud that my uncle, Dr. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, an ex-President of this Federation, had delivered his maiden speech under the presidentship of our President's father in the Lahore Congress of 1900.

In my humble opinion, the future constitution of our country must be of Federal type at the Centre, on population basis, and the future provinces must be divided on linguistic basis, provided they are financially self-supporting like Andhra Province, unlike that of Sindh and Orissa, who depend for annual contribution from the Central Government, within the equal and free British Commonwealth of Nations, of course, according to the Statute of Westminster of 1931 after the conclusion of the War. All the parties in this country, including the Congress and its Dictator, Mahatma Gandhi, have agreed that the future Constitution must be of Federal type, and according to the Statute of Westminster variety, full Dominion Status or as the substance of independence, but all the parties in India have opposed the Federal Constitution adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935, for it is a negation of full responsible Government.

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Federation ideal is the solution for the unification of all political parties and the State. To frame the future Federal Constitution, I suggest, a Committee, representing all the major political parties, both of noncommunal and communal parties, of course with the co-operation of the British representatives. India needs no Constitution based on Pakistan or Hindustan, or an independent Constitution, to be framed by the Constituent Assembly on adult franchise, for, in my humble opinion, all these are unpracticable in the present state of our country.

As a War measure, I appeal to His Majesty's Government to constitute Advisory or Consultative Committees, both at the centre and in the provinces, of the leaders of non-communal and non-party leaders like Sir T. B. Sapru, Sir N. N. Sircar, and Sir Jagdish Prasad, to carry on the administration of the country, in case, the communal organisations still refuse to co-operate to solve the constitutional deadlock, in shouldering the responsibility of office, in carrying out the administration of the country, and for the successful prosecution of the War effort against the aggressive and brutal force of Nazism, which is against the ideals and principles of India, politically, socially and economically.

Let every Indian remember that united we stand and divided we fall.

I am once more thankful to you, Mr. President, and the delegates of this Federation, for giving a patient hearing to my short speech.

Mr. Chandvarkar : Ladies and Gentlemen, The resolution has been proposed, duly seconded and supported. I now put it to vote. Those who are in favour will kindly signify their assent by raising their hands. (All, all) The resolution is carried.

III. Separate Electorates

I now take up the third resolution on Separate Electorates which will be moved by Dr. Paranjpye.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye was loudly cheered as he rose to move the resolution.

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Dr. Paranjpye : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, In the first place, let me thank you all for your kind sympathy. The resolution that I have the honour to move for your acceptance reads as follows:—

“The Federation, while fully ready to safeguard the interests of all sections of the people, considers that the aim of India's political evolution should be a democracy, not qualified by considerations of race or creed, and, therefore, the Federation is definitely opposed to the permanent existence of communal electorates and the present communal award; at the same time as it would not be practicable to effect this reform immediately owing to existing conditions, it considers that gradual steps should be taken to eliminate separate communal electorates by having joint electorates with reserved seats for a definite period.

“The Federation is emphatically opposed to the suggested division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan as being against the best interests of the country which, in its opinion, should be one single unit of government for purposes of administration and defence, though it will have necessarily to be of a federal character.”

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Ladies and Gentlemen, On this question of communal division in the country the Liberal Party has absolutely a clean record, cleaner than any other Party in the country. And we have, therefore, perfect right to suggest a radical solution of this problem and to denounce this evil in our country in the most emphatic manner. This virus of communal division owes its origin to the early years of this century. There was a deputation of leading Mahomedans to the Viceroy, asking for separate electorates, and the Viceroy practically agreed to grant their wish. Those of you who have read Morley's "Reminiscences" will remember that Morley himself was opposed to this grant of separate electorates. But he yielded against his better judgment to the so-called practical considerations, urged by the Viceroy. Since then this communal division has grown more and more. In the Morley-Minto Reforms a certain number of seats were reserved for the Muslims. This division became more and more acute and our leaders of those days, in order, as they thought, to settle this difference once for all, came to a settlement with the Muslims, called the Lucknow Pact. At the time of the Lucknow Congress in 1916 a certain settlement was arrived at, which, it was fondly hoped, would be the final settlement. In that Lucknow Pact Muslims were given separate electorates in all the provinces and weightage was given to them in several of the provinces, while in Bengal, and the Punjab the number of seats reserved was slightly less than their population warranted. For a few years everybody appeared satisfied with it. When Montagu came to visit India, although he was against these separate electorates as being opposed to all true principles of democracy, he thought he could not go back on the agreed settlement, and he incorporated the Lucknow Pact in his report, and thus separate electorates became one of the principle features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Then there came the Khilafat agitation in 1920-21 and for a time Hindus and Muslims appeared to work together. I thought even then that it was a very great mistake to introduce the element of religion into the political sphere, and, I am sure you are all seeing the dire results of such introduction of religious considerations into politics. I have always held the view that politics and religion should be kept absolutely separate and they should have nothing to do with each other.

But this compact of Hindus and Mahomedans, as the Khilafat question itself, did not last long. *L'appetit vient en mangeant* (Appetite grows with eating). Having got certain special considerations, the claims for further special considerations began to be voiced by the Muslims. Intimate relations and friendly feelings disappeared and Muslim leaders of those days who were for a time leaders of the Congress also practically severed their connection with the Congress and began to put forward further claims.

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Then came the discussions on the appointment of the Simon Commission and consideration of the changes in the Constitution at the Round Table Conference. Those discussions, both in India and in London, reflected no credit upon the Indian public life, and we were almost made a laughing-stock by our internal quarrels in London. Ultimately, the two sides, the Muslims and others were not able to agree among themselves and the Communal Award was given by Mr. Macdonald, the then Prime Minister, and it has now become a standing part of our Indian politics.

In this Communal Award there is no doubt that the Muslims have got far more than they are entitled to under any reasonable system of democracy, and this Communal Award, I think, has become a great standing obstacle in the path of India's progress as a real democracy. I think, that we should now see what has been the result of trying to pacify this communal virus by means of concessions, one after another. I think it was a great mistake to have introduced communal virus in the early days. It has continually gone on increasing and our whole Indian politics has been made absolutely intolerable to any reasonable political-minded person. I think, therefore, that it is time that we should put our foot down and enunciate our emphatic opposition to separate communal electorates.

We do not desire to treat the minorities harshly. We do not wish to treat them unjustly. We would treat them as indulgently as possible and even occasionally give them better treatment than they deserve on their numerical strength. But dividing India into two water-tight compartments cuts out all possibilities of making India in future one united whole. I aspire to a time when India will be one whole united nation and not made up of separate nations, as is now being proposed. Now this communal virus has grown to such an extent that during the last year proposals have been made for dividing India into two separate parts, one Pakistan and the other Hindustan. I think the scheme of Pakistan, a separate Muslim part of India, has been riddled with objections from all sides. In matters that require a permanent solution there ought to be a more rational consideration, there ought to be one fixed belief, one fundamental principle to stand by, and there ought to be no yielding to temporary circumstances.

You, Sir, in your address, have aptly quoted Morley from his book when you said that small reforms are great enemies of great reforms. The Lucknow Pact was a temporary method which caused greater dissension between the Hindus and Muslims. It was not on right lines. It changed the whole path of our Indian progress and it gradually took us further and further away from our democratic ideals. A small settlement when it is against the final ideal we aim at, is worse than useless. I would rather wait for a few years for the settlement of the communal question than settle it on a line which will take us further away from our objective. The Liberals should express in unequivocal terms their strong dissent from communal electorates.

What is the evil of this communal electorates? When you have candidates, seeking votes on the communal ticket, they lose sight of

all considerations of a real national character. They appeal to the sectarian considerations, and the man who is a more extreme communalist always gets the better of the man with national ideals. We need not go very far to have an example of this result of communal electorates. I ask you to consider the history of Mr. Jinnah himself. Mr. Jinnah was a great nationalist leader, but, according to our political arrangements, he had no place in the public life of the country. He could not enter the Legislature, unless he appealed to the Muslim Constituency alone. And, secondly, in order to establish his position in the public life he got more and more away from national considerations and he went in for more and more sectarian considerations. You see the result of this communal electorate in the life-history of Mr. Jinnah himself.

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Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, We must put a stop, as far as we can, to this growing evil. Pakistan is the natural culminating point of this evil. The evil has been gradually spreading more and more and we do not know where it is going to stop. In the provinces where there has been representative government for twenty-seven months in congress provinces and four years in other provinces—we find practically every political question is given a communal turn. In certain provinces we are told that the Hindu Ministries have been tyrannising over Muslim minorities. In U. P. there was a report of the Raja of Pirpur Committee on the so-called oppression of Muslims. I think in Bengal and Punjab and other places you have been hearing of the oppression of Hindus by mainly Muslim Ministries. I do not desire to go into the rights or wrongs of these alleged grievances. You know them in Bengal better than I can hope to do. We are told that in Bengal attempts are being made to show that the number of one community is bigger than the number of another community. Even census is apparently being tampered with in order to buttress the position of a particular community. I do not know whether there is any truth in it or not. But the fact that these charges are made, demonstrates that communal electorates are a besetting evil in the body-politic of India.

We, however, as practical politicians, know that we cannot do away with the existing arrangements in one day. We suggest that as a start we should do away with separate electorates and have joint electorates with reserved seats. So far as the Communal Award is concerned, there are two aspects, separate electorates and weightage. Both these are vicious in my opinion. But, in any case, joint electorates with reserved seats will get rid of one part of the evil. I do not wish to stop there. After seeing the results of joint electorates I will go further and gradually do away with reserved seats. I would myself like the gradual introduction of multi-member constituencies with proportional representation. I have been an advocate of proportional representation for many long years. I think, proportional representation with the single transferable vote will to a very great extent remedy all the fears, held by any community whatsoever. They will get their numerical representation in any election whatsoever. I hope,

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our political leaders will think of the possibility of introducing proportional representation with multi-member constituencies where the communal question is so very bitter.

There are various claims, made by the minorities, and now we are being asked to introduce communal electorates everywhere, even in Panchayats. We have the same thing in services also. Everywhere, even if you are honest and impartial, you are always charged as being partial to your own community. In administration it is not enough to be honest, but everybody must be convinced that you are honest. Under the present administration nobody is given credit for honesty. You may make the best appointment, but people will always say that because the man belonged to a particular community, he was appointed. I hope that by doing away with communal electorates, we will, to a very great extent, do away with this evil. In administration and politics community should have no place. In services, if you desire to give appointments to a certain community, you might do so, but then men should be selected through open competition and afterwards the requisite number should be obtained by means of competition among themselves.

With regard to language also, we hear of claims of minorities. We are told we should have one language, because it is the language of Muslims and another language, because it is the language of Hindus. I think in regard to culture, things should be allowed to adjust themselves. No adventitious help should be given to any language. Let them have fair field and no favour. That language which is considered useful should be allowed to expand and the other language should die a natural death. I think, these things should not be made means of increasing our communal dissensions.

Services, language, script, all these things are made vital problems of our political life. Politics should deal with larger problems of economics, education and welfare of the people, but we all, forgetting these important things, are quarrelling about minor things. I hope that once for all we, Liberals, will put our foot down that we shall not parley with this evil, and, therefore, I am proposing this resolution. This resolution is absolutely necessary, because during this year we have been hearing this demand for Pakistan. If Pakistan becomes the main feature of Indian politics, then good-bye to all Indian progress. A separate Hindu and a separate Muslim India will mean the downfall of both. Defence of the country cannot be separated for Hindus and Muslims. Both have to live together, for we cannot transplant millions and crores of people from one place to another. Therefore you will, always have this minority problem, whatever you may do. Therefore you must adopt a reasonable attitude. Any temporary settlement will not solve the question. Therefore, I hope, you will agree that the proposition I have made cuts at the root of the problem and does away with all communal considerations from public life. I hope, you will pass this resolution. (cheers).

The President: I call upon Mr. J. N. Basu to second the resolution.

Mr. J. N. Basu : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, In considering the question now before you, you should remember that India is not the only country which is a meeting place of different classes, creeds and races. We have in other countries similar combinations as in India, races who fought each other, creeds opposed to each other and sections contended for power against each other. But no other civilised country has yet thought of the peculiar device that we find incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935.

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Dr. Paranjpye has pointed out that this device originated in 1905, was continued by the Montagu Act and has been formally placed on a solid foundation by the Government of India Act of 1935. I shall call your attention for one moment to some other countries of the British Commonwealth of nations. Look at Canada. The French and the British fought each other to the bitter end. The English won. Several important provinces of the Dominion of Canada were French in race and in language, professing a different religion. But when the constitution was established in Canada, did Great Britain think of introducing the kind of communal device that she has introduced in India? There was no separate electorate for French Canadians electing French Canadian representatives to the legislature nor were there separate electorates for English, Scotch or Welsh for electing English, Scotch or Welsh Canadians to the legislature. Presbyterian electorates were not returning Presbyterian representatives nor the High Church elements in the population made to elect representatives following their creed.

I shall call your attention to another State in the British Commonwealth of nations, that is, South Africa. Many of you know about the South African War. It was one of the bitterest wars, lasting nearly three years. It was fought between the South African Dutch and the English. It resulted in the victory of England. The Dutch countries, Transval, and the Orange Free State, had in consequence to come within the limits of the British Empire. But when only about five or six years after the conquest of those countries, Great Britain thought of establishing a constitution for South Africa, did she establish a constitution in which Britishers as such had separate votes and separate electorates and separate representatives and the Afrianders had the same? In the case of Canada and in the case of South Africa the British Parliament and the British people thought differently and very rightly too. For achieving progress and contentment for a people foundations must be laid on what is common to all classes, irrespective of section or creed. But these vital and elementary considerations were forgotten by those who framed the constitution for India and they took special care to introduce into the constitution of India elements which have resulted, in perpetual strife between the elements which compose the population.

Attention has been called to disputes that go on in actual elections where there are separate electorates; I had instances brought

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to my notice in which each community wanted to cry down the other community. The Muslims said that a particular candidate was friendly with the "Kafirs" and the Hindus said that a particular Hindu candidate was friendly with the Mussalmans and in this way a strife was perpetually kept alive dealing a death blow not only to the growth of a feeling of solidarity, but leading to retrogression instead of progress in national life.

We are a backward country. We are backward in education, only eight per cent of the people being literate. We are poor. Before our eyes we find men dying from preventable diseases and we have no organisation to properly look after the health of the people. Everyone is aware what the general standard of living of our people is. More than 60 per cent of them live in miserable hovels. But where is the attempt to pool efforts and resources, and to concentrate on these problems? The devices that have been introduced into the constitution only incite our half-educated or un-educated people into fanatic controversies given rise to by religious bigotry. While what is necessary for achieving real progress is concentration of energy and endeavour on measures that would benefit all.

Ladies and Gentlemen, This resolution refers to Pakistan and Dr. Paranjpye has very ably placed before you his arguments against the idea of Pakistan. We in India have a long history. Whenever in the course of that history there have been splitting up into different territorial divisions, there have always been mutual clashes with the result that India has been an easy prey to foreign aggression. Are we going to have that state of things perpetuated? It is only by standing shoulder to shoulder, by establishing in every possible way solidarity between the different component elements of the people that we can achieve strength to fight the spoliators. When you build a locomotive, you temper every bit of the steel by which it is made to a particular standard. But if you have different standards in the steel that compose the machine there are likely to be bursts. The locomotive will not be of much use. Is India going to be made a weak locomotive like that? I think, we should look behind to our past and also look forward to our future. If that future is to be bright, we must stand as one people and work as one people.

If you look to the actual work of the state, legislative or administrative, more than ninety per cent of the work is intended for all. But with the introduction of communalism and separate electorates it has so happened that in the Bengal Legislature nearly a half of its time is taken up by communal bickerings. Muslims and Hindus as such bitterly complain of their interest as such being jeopardised, and there are interminable controversies pushing real, live public problems out of view. People look on and are amused while this tragedy goes on.

While the question of Iraq being released from the direct mandatory administration of Britain was being discussed there was an article in the "Times" in which it was urged that in matters

communal the mischievous device introduced into India should not be adopted. In Iraq you have the Shias of Kerbala where in the old days the great battle between the Shias and Sunnis was fought. There is also a large part of the population there which consists of Sunnis. But in framing the constitution for Iraq no provision was made for separate electorates for the different communities having probably keener antagonism amongst themselves than the antagonism you find in India. The result has been that so far as the Muslim population of Iraq was concerned, they are not constantly fighting against each other and trying to obtain special privileges. If you want that our country should achieve progress, if you do not want to remain where you are for all time, then it is the duty of all of us to put forth our best efforts to eliminate from our midst and from our constitution all elements that may work for disruption. Separate communal electorates constitute one of the most mischievous elements clogging the normal movement of our life as a people. I, therefore, heartily support the resolution, so eloquently moved by the Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú.

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The President : Mr. S. N. Varma will support the resolution.

Mr. S. N. Varma : Mr. President and Fellow-delegates : It is really in the fitness of things that at this juncture the National Liberal Federation should have given lead to the country by this resolution in the matter of Communal Award. No doubt, the subject has almost been exhausted by the two distinguished predecessors of mine, but as repetition is the essence of agitation, I will ask your permission to address a few words.

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I take this opportunity of addressing myself to my Muslim brethren and ask them whether it is at all in consonance with a sense of self-respect that they should be demanding separate representation, separate election and separation of territory for themselves. The Muslims have been claiming that their religion is founded on the rock-bed of democracy and they have always claimed to have pinned their faith on the brotherhood of mankind. Is that the way that brothers in a country should live together? I think there can be nothing more undemocratic, there can be nothing more unpatriotic than to insist upon a separate political life. The Pakistan scheme will not solve their problem. They should remember that in the Muslim body itself there is greater and more bitter difference of opinion than what is existing between the Hindus and Mussalmans.

Those of Northern India know how the Shias and Sunnis are fighting among themselves. Are they going to have a Shia Pakistan and a Sunni Pakistan? I dare say the solution is not practical. Therefore they should not behave disgracefully, demanding the division of the country into Pakistan and Hindusthan.

The idea of separate electorate and communal representation was introduced as a measure of expediency in a moment of weakness. The history of it has been traced in detail by the distinguished

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mover; and if a tree is to be judged by the fruit it bears, no further comment is necessary and we have seen that the system has completely failed; but we know the amount of mischief that has been wrought by it.

Turning to the Government, I should say that they have not done what they should have done. If the policy of "divide and rule" is to be determined as the policy of Government of this country, hardly any army is necessary to keep the peace. It is possible to make the different communities keep themselves engaged in breaking one another's heads. But I dare say again, that this policy has got to be abandoned. Look at the recent utterances of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. Long-sighted statesmen have discarded this as a policy, as was pointed out by the learned President in his speech when he quoted the passage from the Montagu-Chelmsford report. "When it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted".

If really they mean to concede the demands of the people, they have got to be honest, otherwise if their past lives have created the present, I would say that extreme parties in the country who persist in that policy may bring them face to face with a worse situation. And, therefore, I say, in their own interests, in the fair name of just administration, the Government should and ought to do their best in solving this problem.

The Liberal Federation has given a lead. There are other parties who are vigorously opposing the idea of Pakistan, but Pakistan is only a symptom. The demand for Pakistan is only a symptom; the real disease lies much deeper. The sooner we get rid of the separate electorate and separate representation, the better it is for the country.

The President : The resolution on separate electorates has been proposed and duly seconded. I now put it for your acceptance. Those in favour of the resolution? (All, all). Anybody against? (None). The resolution is carried.

IV. The War.

The President : I now go to the fourth resolution on War and I call upon Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to move it.

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Sir Chimanlal
Setalvad.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad : Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen; The resolution I have been asked to propose is before you in print. The first paragraph of the resolution expresses deep sympathy with the victims of aggression in Europe and in the East, and we express the hope that those countries will soon be able to regain their lost independence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, You are aware how the totalitarian aggressors have deprived small countries like Holland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and others of their independence and how Japan has been fighting China

for the last three years. The first paragraph of the resolution expresses our deep sympathy with these victims of aggression and expresses our hope that they will soon regain their independence.

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The second paragraph expresses our appreciation of the heroic efforts, put up by Britain and the countries associated with her and by Greece and China, in resisting aggression. Ladies and Gentlemen, All of you who are keenly following the fortune of the war during the last few months could not but have been struck by the heroic efforts of Britain and her stern fight against German aggression. We have no idea, sitting here in comfort and comparative safety, of the sacrifices that those people in England and other countries are offering to maintain their liberty and independence. Therefore, it is only meet and proper that we express our deep appreciation of their heroic efforts and sacrifices and wish them all success in the end in regaining their liberty and independence.

The third paragraph, Ladies and Gentlemen, Expresses the feeling of this Federation that India should offer its whole-hearted support for the prosecution of the war, and it is convinced that the future of democracy and the cause of India's freedom are bound with the defeat of totalitarianism. The second part of that paragraph says that while we are ready and should be ready to offer support in the prosecution of the War psychological conditions should be created in order to evoke whole-hearted effort of India towards the prosecution of the War.

Taking the first part of the paragraph, Ladies and Gentlemen, It must be obvious to you that we should ask the country to give its whole-hearted support to Britain in the prosecution of the War. In doing that we are not asking the country to do so for obliging Britain, but to oblige ourselves, for the safety of our own hearths and homes, for the safety of our families and for the safety of our dear country, because it is very obvious to any thinking person that our fortunes for the moment are bound up with the fortunes of England. If England goes down in this War, Ladies and Gentlemen, There is no question that India will lose her independence, the present liberty even that she enjoys, and all her dreams of democratic Self-Government will certainly come to an end. Therefore, as I have said, sheer self-interest demands that India should put her best efforts in order to support England to carry this war to a successful conclusion. When I say this, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not unmindful of the way in which Britain has treated us in the past. As I have said on more than one occasion during this year the charge-sheet that India can legitimately frame against England is a long and grave one, that England during her rule of India for the last 150 years has failed to equip India for her defence in the manner she should have done. It is, therefore, in the second part of the last paragraph that we say that psychological conditions should be created in order to enable India whole-heartedly and more effectively to support England in her efforts in this War. Because, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is so obvious that anxious as we are all to support the war efforts of England, what could we do, circumstanced as we are, to give full support to bring the war to a successful issue. During the last 150 years of British rule India has not been made self-

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sufficient in the matter of defence at all. We have been crying for years and years that India's defence should be put on such a footing that in any emergency India could defend herself. All our cries have been in the wilderness, and the process of Indianisation of the army has been so slow that under the scheme put forward, it will take 150 years before the Indian Army is Indianised.

I remember that when Lord Rawlinson was Commander-in-Chief a small committee was appointed to work out a scheme for the Indianisation of the Army. In that report, as it ultimately saw the light of the day after many many years, Lord Rawlinson had put forward a scheme for carrying out Indianisation in a period of 29 years. Twenty years and more have elapsed since that scheme was drawn up, but that report has been pigeon-holed all these years and nothing has been done. Therefore we point out to the British Government that it is not only in the interests of India that they should take measures to fit India for dealing with internal anarchy and external aggression, but also in their own interest. Just consider this, Ladies and Gentlemen. If the British Government had not been tardy as they have been in equipping India for self-defence, what a tremendous support they would have got in this war. If there had been military training given to Indians all these years—why, when the War broke out it was not difficult for them to raise in India disciplined troops in millions—we could not only defend India, but also England and her Colonies in the best way possible. But England did not do that and we are helpless to effectively help England although we have the will and the desire. What can we do, circumstanced as we are, unarmed and undisciplined. That is why the second part of the last paragraph of the resolution reminds Government that they must create psychological conditions by changing their attitude and policy, so that India may be in a position to render the best help she can.

Although, Ladies and Gentlemen, By the past policy of the British Government we have not been put in a proper position to co-operate with England in the best manner in order to secure success, as I have said in the beginning, it is sheer self-interest that demands that we should render whole-heartedly all the help that we can render to Great Britain, circumstanced as we are, in order that she may come out victorious in the war. Let there be no mistake in your mind that if ever England goes down in this war, any hope of India attaining freedom and democracy will vanish for ever.

I was surprised, Ladies and Gentlemen, This morning to read that Mr. Savarkar is reported to have said at the Hindu Mahasabha Conference that India need not worry about the War, that danger to India is very remote and that there is no chance of England being defeated. If this is the view of Mr. Savarkar and those who follow him, they are living in a fool's paradise. The danger to India is real and as real as to any other country. It is all right to say that Britain, although France went down for the moment,

has been putting up a stern fight. But fortunes of war are very deceptive. You never know what may happen. Any strategy may turn the whole scale. If that happens, what will be the fate of India? If the Suez Canal is blocked or if Japan follows a policy of aggression against India, where shall we be? Have we any means to defend ourselves, to protect ourselves against that aggression? Therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, As I have said, it is our sheer self-interest that demands that we should render the best possible aid to Britain in the present struggle.

At this juncture, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, It is to my mind a matter of great pity that the various political parties in India are not at one on this matter. Our friends of the Congress have again gone into the wilderness of Civil Disobedience. Now just examine for a moment the attitude of the Congress in this matter. They first started by saying: We will give England support, if she declares independence for India. That to my mind is perfectly intelligible. I can understand that. Then they said: Let us have a National Government at the Centre. That is also intelligible. I can understand there taking this stand: Give us National Government at the Centre, otherwise we will fight you. But what they have done now? They have abandoned this position. They say: Give us freedom of speech to preach against the War. If you don't, we will start Civil Disobedience. They now put it on the high Gandhian moral plane that they are against all War and violence, and not against this or that war and they want freedom to preach their doctrine. Just consider what will happen, if they are really honest in their profession of non-violence. The Congress claims to speak for the whole of India. It must be granted that they have a large mass following, they represent a big part of India. They demand that transfer of power must be made to India, and since they speak for India, it must be made to them. Grant that. Supposing there is to-day complete transfer of power by Britain to the Congress, if they are honest in their profession of complete non-violence, they must hand it over to Hitler or any other power who invades India. They cannot defend India. Therefore, transfer of power is, in this sense, to be transfer of India to any aggressor. This is for you to judge how far you can rationally sympathise with it.

Therefore, I started by saying that we are not asking you to put forth your best efforts for the purpose of obliging England—you have a grave charge-sheet against her—, but for the safety of our independence, for the safety of our families, for the safety of our hearths and homes. At the same time we propose to Government that they should put us in a position to render active support, otherwise, circumstanced as we are, our efforts cannot be of any great avail.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not want to detain you any further. The proposition that I have moved is very obvious, and I trust you will carry it. (cheers).

The President : Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru will second the resolution.

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Kunzru.

Hon'ble Dr. H. N. Kunzru : Mr. President, Fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, There can be no doubt about our innermost feelings at this juncture. India is revolted by the unprincipled and heartless aggression which the totalitarian powers have been dealing. Its sympathies are, therefore, with those nations that have been deprived of their freedom and it would like to arrange itself with those who are trying to defend the cause of democracy and national freedom.

When the War began, it was obvious that the sympathies of the country as a whole were with England and France and with all other countries that were associated together to resist Germany and later on Italy. But, unfortunately, the Government have failed fully to mobilise the feeling that existed in their favour, when the War broke out. They have not succeeded in evoking whole-hearted enthusiasm in the country for their cause.

Now, what is this due to? That is not due to any lurking sympathy or lurking partiality in the minds of Indians for Germany or Italy or Japan, but it is due entirely to internal circumstances. The Government must understand the psychology of the people and make them feel that the War is their own war. It must enable us to feel that we are being prepared for self-defence and that the fight for freedom will soon enable us to enjoy the freedom ourselves. But, unfortunately, India has been, to no small extent, I am sorry to say, antagonised by the short-sighted policy pursued by the British Government.

Take the question of defence ; for that is the most important question that faces us at the present time. Are we, because of the war efforts that we are putting forth and being asked to put forth in greater measure, being enabled to defend our country without the British aid? I personally see no signs of the acceptance of such a policy by the Government. Here we are willing to offer the utmost help that we can. We wish to train the country as a whole to defend itself and to help the War. Give military training to the people of all provinces and all classes ; train our young men as officers. They are prepared not merely to join the Indian Defence force, but also the British forces in every responsibility. What greater proof could we give of the sincerity of our sympathy with England, with all those countries that are fighting for democracy and particularly with England?

But how is our offer being accepted? Has military training been compulsory? Has the policy of Indianising the army been accepted? Unfortunately the old short-sighted policy against which we have been protesting for nearly a quarter of a century is still being followed. Yet we are asked to help the British Government to the utmost extent of which we are capable in the present crisis. How are we, in view of the fact that our offer of whole-hearted help has been virtually rejected, to render help that we are asked to give? All that we can do according to our rulers apparently is to provide them with money and recruits for subordinate ranks in the army. That is all that the appeals to

maximise our efforts have produced. I fear that, notwithstanding the fact that the sympathies of India are entirely with democratic countries, so long as the attitude of the British authorities towards India is not changed, it will be impossible to create that enthusiasm which alone can enable us to put forward all the efforts that we can mobilise to the aid of the democratic powers.

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The situation can be effectively dealt with and the difficulties that face us can be surmounted only by a grasp of the psychological condition required to evoke enthusiasm from a self-respecting people. There is no doubt that the War that is going on is a source of potential danger to the whole of the world. India is probably more likely to suffer, if totalitarians be able to make headway, than other countries. I do not deny the reality of the danger or the need for preparing the country to defend its integrity. If such efforts were to be made, I have no doubt whatsoever that the entire country would be ranged on the side of England; but so long as the policy of the British Government remains what it is, we have a right to complain that we are being enabled neither to defend ourselves, nor to bring about the victory of the cause of democracy, peace and freedom.

I will give you just one short illustration to enable you to realise, to enable our English friends to realise what are our feelings in the present situation. There is no doubt whatsoever that Greece is whole-heartedly on the side of England and England is giving it all the help it can. But suppose in spite of the case of England and Greece being one at the present moment England were to say to Greece that Greek officers in the Greek army must make room for British officers or the Greek army must be led by British officers, do you think that, notwithstanding the danger of Greece from the totalitarian powers, it would, for a moment, fall in with the plan of England or give its support as a subordinate ally? There would immediately be a revolt in Greece against the unwise policy, should the British Government ever think adopting such a policy and convert the Greeks from a warm friend into bitter foes. I give you this illustration only in order to show that the common danger is not enough to weld together these countries although they ran the risk of being overwhelmed by the Fascist and Nazi powers. Something more positive than that is required to create that community of feeling which alone can bring about the full force.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I need not dilate upon this point any further. Your feelings are exactly the same as those of any other Indian. You can mirror the situation in the country yourselves in your own hearts. We are at present torn between two feelings; we would like to do all that we can to defend ourselves and to make things safe for those who are suffering from totalitarian tyranny and aggression. But at the same time we are antagonised by the short-sighted and racial policy that is being pursued. Our sympathies nevertheless, that is, in spite of the situation in the country, and as

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we say in this resolution, are still with England. But, unfortunately, we are not in a position to translate our sympathies into action and this is what the resolution tries, in my opinion, to bring about. In a few lines it portrays the psychological situation in India and it says that the Government must take account of these unchangeable forces which are more powerful than gun powder in securing help from a self-respecting nation, if it wishes to bring about a complete unity between India and England.

The President : Mr. N. C. Bharucha will support the resolution.

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Bharucha.

Mr. N. C. Bharucha : My friend, Dr. Kunzru, has spoken to you on one aspect of the problem, and I propose to tackle the question from a totally different angle, which I should like to emphasise. I trust that when you have heard one aspect of the question, you will give a patient hearing to the other side of the matter.

The minimum that is required to be done by us is mentioned in the resolution. If I could have my way, I would have tried to make it more appealing. Nevertheless, I agreed to support the resolution, because it agrees to give whole-hearted support to Great Britain in this War.

I cannot do better in dealing with the subject than concentrate attention on two things, first the enormous sacrifice of the British nation, and the huge efforts they are making in this War. Most of us have very faint idea of what modern warfare means. We, who even read news regarding the war and air-raids, only superficially glide our eyes on news-paper headlines that at particular places fifty or sixty or more bombs have been dropped or so many tanks have been sent to a particular place, and then we pass on to something else and practically forget that there is a devastating war going on. The thing that you call an incendiary bomb is a small thing, weighing two pounds. A bomber can carry about 2000 such bombs and when they are dropped, they continue to burn for a long time. Water cannot extinguish it. There is no chemical that can extinguish it. London and other places are attacked not by one such bomber, but by 300 or 400 of them. You can now imagine what the position must be.

Then you hear of high explosive bombs. I have pictures with me which show how by the blast of high explosive bombs when they burst houses are blown off to pieces. I have got a picture showing tram-tracks being up-rooted by the blast of high explosive bombs. I have got a picture, showing that, as a result of four high explosive bombs bursting, a ship has been bodily lifted from water ten feet high. Remember these bombs weigh 500 lbs. There are bombs which weigh 100 tons. You can imagine what is the position and what chaos there is. Buses are blown up by mere blasts of bombs. Buildings are crushed to pulps. It is under these conditions that the British and the Greeks are continuing the war. I and you are sitting here safe, six thousand miles away from the theatre of war. We do not know exactly what is happening. Thousands of houses have been demolished, tens of thousands of people are making their homes in tubes at night and

in the morning special trains are sent to feed these refugees. Millions of children have been separated from parents and they have been sent to places where there are fewer chances of bombing. In India we do not get correct news. In the second week of September 22,000 bombs were dropped on London alone. We talk of sympathising and appreciating their sacrifices. I am sure, you have got a correct idea of what these sacrifices are.

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The other part of the resolution says that India should give whole-hearted support to the War. My friend, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad has pointed out that you do not do that to oblige Britain. You have to do that for averting these consequences of War which are being experienced in London and Athens to-day. We feel secure to-day, because of the recent Egyptian victory. Do not allow that victory to cloud your judgment. It is a very small victory. The enemy can attack from various fronts. Remember Hitler has now got a vast sea-coast. He possesses 30,000 aircrafts. He can cross through Bulgaria, smash off Turkey and control the whole of Europe. If once the control of the Suez is taken, then the distance to India is very much shortened. And remember they have got very fast moving armies now-a-days. If you are going to give whole-hearted support, give it without any conditions. The resolution says that the British Government should create conditions which would evoke spontaneous enthusiasm. Can you not place before the public something higher? Can you not say that you are fighting for the safety and sanctity of your homes? Is there anything nobler than to preserve our own culture, home and hearth? I wish this resolution had gone a little further and placed a nobler ideal before the country. While I support this resolution, I appeal to you to place before the country this fact that in helping the British India is only helping herself.

The President : Mr. Parameswar Nath Sapru will further support the resolution.

Mr. Parameswar Nath Sapru : Mr. President, Fellow delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, So far as the first part of the resolution goes, I think, there is nobody in this House who would not sympathise with the victims of Totalitarian aggression. As regards the second part there is no doubt so far as Britain is concerned, the War efforts it has been putting forth are simply superhuman. If we are to consider the situation in all its aspects, then, I think, we should have nothing but very great praise for British courage and endurance.

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Now the third part is the most important ; In the first place it expresses our feeling about offering whole-hearted support in the prosecution of War. In the second place it is anxious that the requisite effort may not be forthcoming from the people of India unless sufficient enthusiasm is created. In my opinion, the first feeling is subordinate to the second feeling. Indians who at the present moment feel that they are foreigners in their own country cannot have the heart to do much to help the British whole-heartedly, unless they knew they were fighting for their own hearths

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and homes. They should be made to feel that they were serving a righteous cause, a good cause for the sake of their country. If it is necessary to obtain the whole-hearted support of the country, I think, it is essential that something should be done and done immediately to make the people think that they are fighting for their very existence.

We feel every sympathy with the Britishers in the hardship they are suffering and the sacrifices they are making in their efforts for victory and we are ready to offer our help, but it is our duty to point out to them that it is necessary that there should be enthusiasm among the people for the cause the British were fighting for. They must be put in a position to render all the help they can, by Indianisation of the army. The Government must come forward to admit the people of this country immediately in army, navy and air force as officers just as they are doing in England. I know the danger is increasing day by day and India would be more generous and more considerate in extending her help, if Britain, treats her as equal partners in the war.

The resolution when put to the House was declared to be carried.

V. Civil Disobedience.

The President :—I call upon Dr. R. P. Paranjpye to move the fifth resolution.

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Dr. R. P. Paranjpye :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, The resolution which I wish to move for your acceptance reads as follows :—

“The Federation deplors the resort to Civil Disobedience by the Congress as it will still further complicate the difficult situation in the country.

“The Federation also deplors the severity of sentences passed in certain cases and advocates enlightened treatment of political prisoners throughout the country”.

Mr. President, we have during our sessions to take account of important happenings in the country during past year. I have had the honour of speaking to you upon one of the happenings, that is, the aggravation of communal dissensions and the claim for Pakistan made by Muslims. The other resolution you have dealt with him in regard to the statements of Mr. Amery and the Viceroy. The third important thing that has happened in the country in recent days is the new campaign of Civil Disobedience.

I think, the Liberal Party is quite right in expressing its view upon this question. Civil Disobedience or passive resistance might be possible and reasonable in individual cases, but those cases have to be of an exceptional character. And the time in which this Civil Disobedience is resorted to has also got to be considered. Now in the present case resort to Civil Disobedience is being made in

increasing numbers, and as we see at present, we feel the whole country is being led to an abyss whose depths we cannot at present fathom. In the beginning we were told that this Civil Disobedience was to be of an exceptional character and people who were absolutely non-violent and swore by the extreme doctrines of non-violence were only to be allowed to offer it; it was thus that Mr. Vinoba Bhave had resorted to Civil Disobedience. One can understand that because his opinions apparently were of that extreme character, though one need not agree with them. But gradually the number of these men is increasing. And now I do not think anybody will agree that all the people who have now resorted to civil disobedience or given notice of offering civil disobedience are actuated by this pure milk of non-violence as was the case of Mr. Vinoba Bhave, because many of the people who resorted to civil disobedience, just a few months ago at Poona, were prepared to give every help to the War and by that they meant help in the prosecution of War, if the Government of India agreed to certain conditions. I can conceive of men who all their life and all the time swear by non-violence; but I cannot conceive of it being made a point of conscience when you believe in non-violence under certain circumstances and do not believe in it in certain other circumstances. I feel that this civil disobedience that is being resorted to is entirely out of place in the present situation.

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What is the present situation? We are having daily descriptions of the present War. India at present and for the moment is not actually a theatre of war, but may ere long become a theatre of war. The future of India is intimately bound up with the results of this War, and, therefore, anything that comes in the way of the successful prosecution of this war is to my mind entirely anti-national. Moreover I am not alone in this. When the War was declared, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru said, we must give full support to the War. Then apparently something happened and they began to lay down conditions and these conditions continually altered and now we are having Civil disobedience in larger and larger numbers.

To my mind, Civil Disobedience is a means and not an ideal in itself, with the object of getting something, but it is now being advocated as an ideal in itself. People are asked to go in for Civil Disobedience for certain objectives whose utility in times of war one cannot exactly see. We are told times without number by Gandhiji and other esteemable men who are resorting to Civil Disobedience that they do not want to embarrass the British Government, they do not wish to see the success of Fascism and Nazism. I really cannot see how this resort to civil disobedience will not come in the way of successful War efforts and embarrass the British Government, will not, at least, to a certain extent, encourage Nazism and Fascism. Therefore, I think all their professions that they do not wish to embarrass the British Government or encourage Nazism and Fascism are entirely inconsistent with their present resort to Civil Disobedience. Although

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theoretically in individual cases when a person fails to get redress and he feels so very strongly against something that he must oppose it tooth and nail, he may resort to civil disobedience or passive resistance. Still in the present case I do not think these conditions are satisfied. In a country like India where there are so many classes, the idea of Civil Disobedience is very anti-national in character. If Civil Disobedience is to be put before the people as an ideal, we cannot see easily where it will stop, even if you want it to stop. You may want to stop it at a certain point, but other people will have their own views and when they see they cannot get something that they want they also may as a weapon resort to it. This is not merely a fantastic expectation. It is actually happening. We see now-a-days in various places people resorting to fasting and civil disobedience on the least provocation. We see even if boys are not sent up for University examinations they take recourse to fasting and strike. It is an absolutely ridiculous absurdity. I do not think, it is an ideal which should be placed before the people, as, in my opinion, it will make Government or administration absolutely impossible.

At the present juncture in the country Civil Disobedience introduces an element of obstruction in the way of Government in using all its energies towards the effective prosecution of the war and it might also influence Government in taking measures which we do not desire it to take. For instance, we want Defence organisation to be more Indianised but is it any encouragement to Government to take all necessary measures in that direction when they see that a large section of the people are taking such steps as they can for opposing Government in this manner? I think, the present resort to Civil Disobedience is entirely untimely and is against the best interests of the people.

People who resort to Civil Disobedience expect that they will be treated properly. As a matter of fact they are being as a rule treated without undue severity. We see a Governor writing to the Police to treat his late Prime Minister with every consideration. Ministers and others are being given A class. I occasionally wonder to myself what would happen to people resorting to Civil Disobedience in other countries. If they had been in Italy or Germany, would Civil Disobedience have been successful, as they hope at this time in the country? Well, I will not go into matters like that. But I do hope that Liberals, at any rate, will strongly dissent from the ideal that is being placed before the country that it is in itself something good and everybody should be prepared to undertake Civil Disobedience. I think, everybody should be prepared to lead a peaceful, useful and industrious life and not prepare himself to go to jails. If that comes in your way, you should reconcile yourself to it as well as possible, but good life is the ideal to be aimed at and not the ideal of going to jail under each and every circumstance, reasonable or un-reasonable.

In the second part, the resolution wants to bring to your notice a few hard cases. We do not desire that civil resisters should in

any way be treated harshly. In the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the sentence of four years' imprisonment is for too severe. I hope, Government will see to it that this sentence is immediately reduced and he is treated in exactly the same manner as most of the other resisters. I may also point out here that in one of the Provinces the Act that was passed by the Congress Ministry regarding the treatment of political prisoners has been rescinded by the Governor. I hope, the Liberal Federation will express its opinion that such rescission of an Act by the head of Government without the Legislature's sanction is entirely unjustified. I do hope that the Liberal Federation, while putting its foot down against Civil Disobedience as an ideal to be placed before the country, specially at difficult times, will also see that no undue severity is used against civil resisters.

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What is the objective of the campaign of Civil Disobedience? Their object is to preach against War. Now I do not believe in any country that is in any way self-governing a propagandā against an actual War in which she is engaged would be allowed. You will remember that even the Congress Governments on much less serious occasions have themselves not given to their people the freedom or opportunity to express their opposition. In Bombay the Congress Government had its prohibition policy with the tax on property; and when demonstrations were projected against these measures, they ordered that no newspaper was to agitate against the Property Tax. I think, while one can see that propaganda against a war which a country is actually waging can reasonably be stopped by Government, any executive action taken to stop criticism of its policy or action is altogether legitimate under normal conditions. The Congress Government did not give freedom to its opponents to criticise its Prohibition policy, although they got a slap in the face in the High Court later. I therefore, think, it is unreasonable for them to ask for such absurd amount of freedom during the War. If these were peaceful times, then obviously everybody is entitled to fight for the freedom of speech, and I do not think, I should have been here before you for saying that they should not be allowed that freedom of speech. But in difficult times this freedom should not be allowed. In England we have conscientious objectors to the War, and they have been given certain freedom. The Viceroy was prepared to give the same freedom here. In Germany or Italy no such freedom is given. In India the Viceroy was not restricting this freedom to say that they would not help War and that, therefore, they were not subscribing to War loans. But going about the country preaching to the people not to allow recruitment of people for the army or subscription to War loans—is asking for too much during a War, No country has allowed it. I do not think, if we had self-government, we should have allowed it ourselves under similar circumstances. I hope, therefore, you will pass this resolution. (cheers).

The President : Rai Bahadur F. L. De will support the resolution.

Rai Bahadur F. L. De : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, The country was surprised when Mr. Gandhi launched his Satyagraha

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Movement on behalf of the Congress inspite of his assurances to the Government that he would not embarrass the Government in any way during the War. Mr. Gandhi's movements are not only likely to embarrass the Government in their War efforts, but might at the same time create an atmosphere unfavourable to war efforts. We do not know where the movement will lead us to. Chaos, disorder and suffering may come, while we are in the midst of our life and death struggle. But we regard with concern the manner in which some of the Satyagrahis have been dealt with under the Defence of India Act by the authorities. The terms of sentence varies from four years to a day's imprisonment, some with R. I. and some S. I.

I cannot but place a few instances before you. My esteemed friend Dr. Kunzru's province has earned a notoriety in this respect. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to four years; Mr. Pant, one of the ex-Ministers of U.P., was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for offering Satyagraha, whereas another ex-minister Dr. Katju has been sentenced to imprisonment for 18 months for only writing a letter that he will offer Satyagraha.

We are against Satyagraha movement, almost as much as the British Government; but the authorities should administer the Defence of India Act humanely and as far as possible uniformly. In this historic city of ours where we are assembled today some people have been offering Satyagraha day after day, but the local authorities have not taken any action against them. Many of the Satyagrahis who are our countrymen, are men of culture and education; they are not born criminals and they should in the ordinary course be treated much better than they are now.

The President : Mr. Shroff had given notice of an amendment. He is not here. Therefore, I am not taking it up. Those who are in favour of the resolution will, please raise their hands. (All, all). Anybody against? (None). The resolution is passed unanimously.

Now, Gentlemen, we adjourn for half an hour for tea and meet at 3-45 p.m. I have told you the resolution on Defence will be taken up immediately after we meet and will be moved by Dr. Kunzru, who, you will all admit, is the greatest authority on the subject.

The Federation then adjourned for half an hour and reassembled at 3-45 p.m.

VI. Defence.

The President : I shall call upon Dr. Kunzru to propose the resolution on Defence.

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Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to move the following resolution :

“The National Liberal Federation while always demanding a radical change in the defence policy of the Government is strongly of opinion that the War has shown that, for making adequate preparations for the security of

India it is essential that (i) the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people and that (ii) the Defence forces of India should be organised on a fully national basis. It recognises the progress that has been made with regard to the manufacture of War materials, but is thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy in other respects. It urges in particular (a) that the policy of Indianisation of the army, navy, and air force should be immediately adopted, (b) that the distinction between martial and non-martial races should be done away with and the army recruited from all provinces and classes.

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The subject of Defence, though always an important one, as stated in this resolution, has acquired an added importance on account of the war. Indeed, it is a matter of urgent importance that we should attend immediately to problems, relating to our national security.

For a long time, our Defence arrangements have been based on the assumption that in any major conflict England will come to our assistance. But the present War has shown that this dependence on England is a source of danger to India. The old theory was based on the assumption that England would always be able to retain command of the seas and be able to transport men and munitions to India. At the present time not only the communication between India and England had been seriously threatened, but for the safety of England itself it is necessary that all parts of the Empire should put forth their maximum war efforts in order to aid Great Britain in the different theatres of war.

The role of India is, I believe, a particularly responsible one in connection with the Middle Eastern theatre. Now the condition under which the old scheme of defence was outlined having radically changed, it has become more than ever necessary that the old Defence policy should be completely overhauled and further that Indians should be placed in charge of the Defence arrangements of their country. I have just stated, ladies and gentlemen, that the War has shown unmistakably to us the need for self-reliance in matters, relating to our security.

I should like to point out in this connection that the war which is going in the Middle Eastern theatre has a vital bearing on India. In fact, I venture to think that the totalitarian powers want to take Egypt and Suez, not because Egypt or Suez or Palestine would by itself be a source of great gain to them, but because they want to reach India. If this is true, as I think it is, it is obvious that we are incurring a serious risk, and that we have added to our difficulties, because of our unpreparedness. Had we been able to defend ourselves, obviously no nation would have thought of attacking

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England through us. No nation would have dreamt of taking possession of India in order to strike a mortal blow at England. It is necessary, therefore, from the point of view of England itself that India should be enabled to defend herself. The modern conditions imperatively require a radical revision of the present defence policy. It can be postponed only at the cost of the best interests of India and of England herself.

Now, what is it that we should do in order to make India as safe as humanly speaking it can be made? Some years ago when the Military Training College in Australia was established, the then Chief of the General Staff stated that their ideal in Australia was that Australia should have an army, consisting entirely of Australian soldiers, led by Australian Officers and supplied with munition manufactured in Australia. That is the ideal which we must place before us, rather than that is the objective that we must immediately aim at.

In order to put forth the effort that is required, in order to make the necessary sacrifices, it is obviously necessary that we must make them feel that the future Defence arrangements will be based completely on the protection of Indian interests. We have to make the people feel that the future Defence policy will be national in all its aspects. It is only then that we can expect them to be prepared to make the sacrifices, the heavy sacrifices, that will be required in order to make up the vital deficiencies in our arrangements at the present time.

The resolution, therefore, says that the first thing necessary in order to make adequate preparation for the security of India is that the Defence portfolio should be entrusted to an Indian member who commands the confidence of the people. This alone, such a step alone, will assure the people that the sacrifices that they make will be in the interest of Indian freedom. Such a step only will make them feel that they are being asked only to pay the price of national independence. Nothing, in my mind will so powerfully affect the imagination of the people in this country as the appointment of an Indian Defence member. For, if the British Government are prepared to part with power in the vital sphere of Defence, no one in future will have the slightest suspicion with regard to their sincerity in the matter of Indian self-government.

In Burma, I believe, sometime ago, a Burmese was appointed Defence member of that country. Well, if a step of the kind the Liberal Federation recommends has been taken in the case of Burma how is it that it has not been taken in India, the support of which is far more necessary to England than that of Burma? Why is it that an invidious distinction is being made between India and Burma? Burma was still yesterday a province of India. It was separated only about three years ago. It has been done in the case of Burma, yet we, who share the ideal of the firm determination of His Majesty's Government to enable us to achieve Dominion Status as soon as practicable after the War, are asked to carry on in accordance with

the old British policy. Surely the British Government ought to be able to see that the distinction they have made between Burma and India in this vital matter is not such as to convince the people of their good faith, if they want to set themselves in the right way, if they want to have a friendly India. If they want to have India to be able to defend itself and to help them in their hour of trial, they must radically change their angle of vision and see clearly that unless they are prepared to place Indian defence under Indian control, their declaration of policy would carry no weight with the country.

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The second recommendation made by the Liberal Federation is that the Defence force of India should be organised on a fully national basis. The change has been asked in that policy in two particular respects in connection with this Province. What does the national organisation of forces of India mean? It means, as I said earlier, that India should depend for her security entirely on Indian resources. This does not exclude alliances with such countries as may be friendly. It only means that we should be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices to defend our country without any aid from outside. If it comes to that, well and good, if it does not, we must be prepared to face the maximum danger that we can reasonably be expected to run. That means that the British forces should be removed from the country. So long as 50,000 British soldiers remain in this country (their number has been recently decreased; a number of battalions have been sent away in connection with the scheme of reorganisation), we cannot feel that this country is our own. We can only look upon the British army in this country as an army of occupation. There is no military reason for the maintenance of British soldiers in this country. What I mean is that there is no dearth of suitable fighting material in our land. The last Great War convinced even the greatest sceptics among us of the ability of the Indians to supply soldiers in almost unlimited numbers. Is it credible that India which was able to supply about a million soldiers for a war which had not directly concerned her would not be able to call forth much greater effort from her people for the cause for which she is fighting so hard.

I do not think that we should look at the facts subjectively. Our ability to supply all the soldiers that are needed for our army cannot be doubted for a moment. If our forces are to be organised on a national basis, it is obvious that the British policy must undergo a change in respect of maintenance of British forces in this country. The policy of replacing them by Indian soldiers must be unequivocally accepted. Apart from this, the army, the Indian army, must be so organised as to be a democratic army, as to be an army, representing the people of the country (Cheers). We want democratic government in this country. It is obvious that our defence force must be of such a character as to realise the importance of Indian unity. The army, based as the present army is on two or three provinces, cannot be regarded as a fit instrument for the defence and preservation of democracy.

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Apart from this, we hope that in free India her defence would be regarded as a privilege of every citizen. We must therefore, enable our people to discharge their duty to defend this country by giving them proper military training, by diffusing the idea of military services and by evoking enthusiasm among the youths of our country for a martial career.

At the present time, however, our army is largely recruited from the Punjab. According to the Simon Commission, nearly two-thirds of the army is recruited from the Punjab. This proportion was arrived at after excluding the Gurkhas. You can thus see what is the proportion given to the men of other provinces to acquire military training and to serve their country. You know our forces are being increased. The first step in the programme of the military authorities is the recruitment of one lakh of Indian soldiers. This task is nearly complete. I put a question in the Council of State the other day to find out the total number recruited from the 1st September, 1939 to the 30th September, 1940, by provinces. The reply given by the Government is very instructive. The total number of men so far recruited is about 94,000. Of this 48,000 come from the Punjab and about 5,500 from the North Western Frontier Province. Thus about 55,000 out of the total have been taken from the Punjab and the North Western Frontier Province and the other races of India are to be content with 40,000 men only.

But here again, there are some important facts that I must point out to you. The United Provinces which till 1857 were the most important recruiting ground for the Bengal Presidential army have been asked to supply only about 12,000 men. Bombay has supplied about 7,700. But even these provinces have done ever so much better than certain others. Bihar, for instance, has contributed only 710 soldiers; the C.P. has supplied only about 900. Now, Bihar was one of the important recruiting grounds of army in the old days. The districts of Arrah and Gaya supplied sturdy soldiers to the Indian army. But in connection with the War, however, the Government of India had thought fit to recruit only 700 men from Bihar. C.P. has fared no better. Now, can anybody looking at the population of C.P. believe that it could not supply more than 900 soldiers? But even these provinces, I think, occupy a privileged and fortunate position as compared with the province in which we are meeting. This province has supplied the magnificent total of 113.

Now, it is possible that a National Government whose aim was to have a national army, based on the ability of the people, to defend their country, would have left Bengal in the pitiable and ridiculous position in which it finds itself? For nearly a century the cruel joke that if the British army were withdrawn, not a rupee or a virgin would be left in Bengal has been indulged at the expense of the province. Now, what the British have done to rouse her martial spirit to enable her to fight for her own security and for the country of which she forms so important a part? The sarcasm which has been levelled

all these years against Bengal shows in lurid light the heartless and absolutely non-national character of the present administration.

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I need not give you more illustrations to show what the present policy is and how urgent is the need for a change in it has become. The present War has made us feel that future wars will be fought not between professional armies but between nations. If that is so, India will remain thoroughly weak, unless the people of all the provinces were put in a position to make their full contribution to the security of their country. Recently an attempt has been made to satisfy the Indian demand by recruiting men not belonging to the martial classes to the Indian territorial force; but unfortunately in connection with the recruitment of the new territorial battalions that policy has been preserved. About nine territorial battalions have been raised in connection with the War. Only three of them are going to be recruited from the people who are not clearly enlisted in the army. One of these battalions will be a Bengal battalion, another a Madras battalion and the other six battalions are being recruited from martial classes of Rajputs, Dogras and so on. We think it right to protest against this policy. We ask that the Indian territorial forces battalions should be recruited in accordance with the proportions that were laid down when it was established.

Sir, I have already taken that time that you very generously allotted to me, but I would request you to give me just five minutes more to deal with the questions of the Indianisation of the army.

I will not go into the old figures, for you well know how small is the number of Indian officers in the Indian army. I wish to deal only with very recent history. It is admitted by the authorities that very few Indians have been admitted into the army. They had not admitted the soundness of our criticism, but the facts are there to speak for themselves. Till about a year ago there were only about four hundred Indian officers in the Indian army and the majority, and a large majority of these officers, were serving only in places which were formerly occupied by Jemadars and Subedars; they were not replacing British officers at all. This shows that the policy of Indianisation was not followed even when the Indian Military Academy was established. That policy has, however, undergone a deep change under the stress of the War. Indian officers will now be appointed not in place of Jemadars and Subedars, but in the same way as British officers are appointed. Thus the British Government may claim that this is an important advance which they made months ago. It is true that this advance has been made. But the policy that Indian officers should be appointed initially in the same position in which British officers are appointed has not yet been accepted, and there is no guarantee that the old policy will not be reverted to after the War. A spokesman of the British Government may say that this is not the only forward step that the Government had taken: he might point out that arrangement had been made for training Indian officers in large numbers and a military college had been established at Mhow for training emergency officers.

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I should like to deal with this question with the help of figures that were supplied in the Council of State and the Assembly the other day. It is quite true that Indian officers are being trained not merely at the Military Academy, but at the special college, established at Mhow; but you will like to know what is the number of Indian Commissioned officers, appointed since the outbreak of the War. Well, according to the figures supplied to the Indian Legislature, it appears that 516 Indians have been granted commission. You may say that this shows a notable change in the British policy. I thought so too when I first read the reply given in the Assembly to the question put on this point. But it struck me subsequently that the I.M.S. officers may be included in this number. I, therefore, asked what was the number of Indian officers, granted commission in the I.M.S. I learnt that it was about 300. You will, thus, see that the total 516 is considerably reduced, if you take 300 outside. The number of Indian combatant officers is only 200. Are we to be satisfied with it? Is this such a step as to create the slightest enthusiasm in the minds of the Indians?

But our dissatisfaction becomes even more intense, when we compare it with the number of British officers, appointed since the 1st September, 1939. It was stated in the Assembly that about 500 Britishers had been given commission during this period. But nothing was stated about officers brought out from England. I put a question on this point too. It elicited the information that taking all the categories from which officers have been drawn, about 550 officers have been imported from England, 239 new officers and about 320 officers were practically, though not technically, incorporated in the year 1939. Taking all these figures, the total number of British officers appointed since the outbreak of the War, is 850. I know the training of officers takes time but did the British Government realise this? Had it really been sincere in its desire to take advantage of our co-operation, it would have thought of training Indian officers since the war broke out. Had it done so, there would have been no need for getting men from outside. Yet we see the humiliating and exasperating spectacle of British officers being appointed in large numbers in the Indian army even at the present time.

I have already taken a great deal of the time of the Federation: I will, therefore, bring my remarks to an end. The facts that I have pointed out show unmistakably the racial character of the policy pursued by the Government in respect of the Indian Defence. We have during the last few years devoted a great deal of attention to the constitutional question. But, unfortunately, we have failed to acquaint the country adequately with the state of things, prevailing in connection with the arrangement in the military system.

I personally feel that the resolution now before the House is as important as the one relating to its constitutional progress, which it passed earlier in the morning. I feel that our demands for freedom

would be meaningless, unless, when asking for our national rights, we also insist on the fullest opportunities being given to us to prepare ourselves for defending our country. Unfortunately, as I have stated, we have a big leeway to make up. If this is to be done, if vigorous steps are to be put forward, if the martial spirit of the country is to be roused, if our youngmen are to be made to listen to the call of service, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a fundamental change in the policy of the Government, as asked for in this resolution.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, I commend the resolution whole-heartedly to your acceptance.

The President : Mr. B. B. Roy will second the resolution.

Mr. B. B. Roy said : We have all listened to a very forceful and well-documented speech from Dr. Kunzru, who is an authority on the subject. I join with you in congratulating him on that speech. But I congratulate him more on his draftsmanship of this resolution. This resolution, in the fewest words possible, gives what I may call the demand not of the Liberal Party alone, but the national demand of the whole of India in regard to Defence of India. This resolution might have been put forward and spoken to from any platform and not merely from this platform in the Indian Association Hall in Calcutta.

We have asked in this resolution, in the first place, for a radical change in the Defence policy of the Government. Anyone who has studied the history of British policy in India knows that much as that policy may seem to change in one sphere or another, it remains constant, stagnant, unmoving, slow and tardy in one vital sphere, the sphere of Defence. Recently, there has been some indication of movement in the direction of a change, but that change, as Dr. Kunzru has made clear to you, does not yet amount to much. It is a kind of playing with one or two details of policy, but it is nowhere near a radical change. We want real changes in many directions. We all feel that no fundamental, no vital change is possible until India becomes responsible for defence, until, in other words, the responsibility for defence, instead of resting with the Viceroy or the British Government, rests with India herself. Ever since the beginning of the British rule, Defence has been the responsibility of the British Government. Hundreds of speeches have been made on the errors of the British policy in respect of Defence for over half a century. The first speech was made in Calcutta under the auspices of the British Indian Association, nearly a hundred years ago by a leading Bengalee patriot. Criticism of the British Policy has figured in resolutions year after year, but there has been no real change in their policy in respect of Defence. We put it forward as our genuine conviction that no radical change in the constitution is possible until the responsibility for defence shifts from British to Indian hands. It is for this reason that we have put forward our demand that the portfolio of defence should be held by a non-official

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Indian. Is there anything dangerous in that? Is it so catastrophic a change? Would the heavens fall, if the portfolio of defence be held by an Indian? Take the history of England for the last thirty years. England could not make as good a show as she did in the last War if her army had not been thoroughly re-organised, not by a General, but by a civilian. Our men recruited from public life might have done as well as anyone in England. Who was responsible for the large re-organisation of the British army before the last war? Not a General, not a Commander-in-chief, not a Lieutenant-Colonel, but a man whose greatest title to recognition was that he was recruited from public life. I am referring to Lord Haldane. In recent years Mr. Hore-Belisha has done great things. If in England fundamental changes and re-organisation in the army could have been effected by men recruited from public life, why can we not trust well-equipped men from public life in India? Have we not got such men in India? Cannot a non-official Indian like Dr. Kunzru ably hold the portfolio of defence and transmute, re-orientate and convert the present Defence policy into a national policy? The whole trouble is that although nominally the responsibility rests with the Viceroy, for all practical purposes it rests with the Commander-in-Chief and the Army Secretariat, and these people are very slow to move. The whole world might move round them, but they wont.

We also demand that the Defence forces of India should be organised on a full national basis. In the answer that the Government of India have very genially and very benevolently furnished in reply to Dr. Kunzru's questions in the Council of State, it is indicated that they are raising some more thousands of men from some of the provinces for the army, but we are not satisfied with the progress so indicated. We want that the policy that they have been pursuing since the days of Mutiny should be abandoned. The stigma of India being divided into martial and non-martial provinces must not be in force any longer. I trust, Lady and Gentlemen, you have read the Simon Commission's Report, particularly the first volume. If you read it again for the sake of curiosity, you will find inside the first volume a beautiful map of India in red and white, showing the so-called martial and non-martial provinces of India. That artificial, that stupid distinction, must go altogether. We must see that in the recruitment of men in the army a just, uniform and equitable policy is followed and no favouritism shown to any one province or community. The key-note of the whole resolution is that the Defence portfolio must be entrusted to an Indian member, who commands the confidence of the Indian people. I am sure, no matter what other changes take place, no matter whether Dominion Status is announced or not, no matter whether any choppings and changings take place in the Constitution, until this essential change is made, until this radical change takes place, there will not be any perceptible advance towards the political goal of India. With these words I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

The President : Mr. Venkataraman will support the resolution.

Mr. K. V. Venkataraman : In supporting the resolution which has been so ably moved by the Hon'ble Dr. H. N. Kunzru and seconded by Mr. B. B. Roy, I desire to make a few observations. In the first place, I want to place before you certain facts which will show how the progress that has been made in increasing the army of India is little or nothing. Within four months after outbreak of the War it was announced that the strength of the army of India had been increased by 53,000. This, it was subsequently stated, had been made up by increasing the strength of all units of the sanctioned strength and secondly by also getting all Indian State troops and auxiliary forces within that strength. Therefore, we find from that description that Indianisation proper has not, in any sense of the term, taken place. The rate of recruitment that is 8,000 per month is not very much encouraging for our country.

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On the other hand, we have got to reckon the fact that in the western countries mobilisation has been taking place on such an intensive scale that millions of men could be turned out in course of a month. It is absolutely necessary that we, members of the Liberal Federation, should be, whenever we can, not only impressing upon the Government the desirability of intensifying the campaign of increasing the army of India, but we have also got another duty to perform. We must see that our people take to the army more kindly. I myself had been in the University Training Corps for three years and also in the urban infantry for the same period. Our experience had, however, been a miserable one. After three years the unit had to be disbanded, because the sanctioned strength could not be reached.

But today the position is a bit better. Therefore, I am sure that we shall be able to do an intensive propaganda in order to make the people take to the army in a kindly spirit.

I may tell you one thing; it was only last week when I was returning from Delhi to Calcutta that at Delhi Station I found half a dozen of army men from Bihar. They have not been able to follow the instructions. If we want to do away with the distinction between martial and non-martial classes altogether, it is also the duty of the people to see that we help the Government in getting the proper type of men.

Secondly, I want to impress upon the delegates here the necessity of having a broad outlook on the question of future disarmament and rearmament. We have recruited more than one lakh of men. After the War ends or after a year or two, are these one lakh of men going to be disbanded? So far as the financial position of the Government of India is concerned, within the last twenty years the budget for the army rose about by forty or fortyfive per cent. It will not be possible, speaking from the past experience, to have the whole in tact, unless we can make suggestions for financial reconstruction.

The need for strengthening the army is such as cannot be over-emphasised. Because we have nothing at the present moment as an

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air or naval force. Our coastal line is about four thousand miles. We have not got a navy, not even a mercantile marine, not to speak of fighting a foreign power. We have not got any air force, although frantic attempts are being made by western powers for increasing their air force. In this connection I have got a suggestion to make. In Great Britain mill-owners and other big industrialists are giving what little they can for the purpose of buying bombers and Spitfires. Is it too much, if we ask the Government here to earmark a certain amount of money for construction of air and naval force in addition to the private efforts that are being made in this country?

The matter of the Indianisation of the army of India has been receiving attention of the Liberal Federation for the last twenty years. But unfortunately no progress has been made. Members of the National Liberal Federation should go to the public and do everything possible and necessary for the protection of India.

Resolution VI :
Mr. B. N. Roy
Chaudhuri.

The President : Mr. B. N. Ray Chaudhuri will support the resolution.

Mr. B. N. Roy Chaudhuri said : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not propose to inflict a long speech at this hour of the day, and particularly because my friend the Hon'ble Dr. Kunzru, has dealt with the question very elaborately, and there is very little left for me to say on the subject. As one who firmly believes that the ultimate solution of Indian problems depends on a very large measure on the Indianisation of the Army, or shall I say, greater military education on a wider scale for Indians, I thoroughly agree with the previous speakers that a change in the policy, in the Defence policy of the Government of India, is a categorical imperative at the moment, for the good of our nationhood. Mr. Chairman, with the beginning of hostilities in September last year, you remember perhaps that the India Government had promulgated an Ordinance for registering the names of European nationals in India for the purpose of conscription. So far as those nationals were concerned, elaborate arrangements were made and, of course, the conscription of European element in India was effected. Now, it cannot be said that this conscription of European elements in the country was made to serve any essential War needs in Europe. That conscription was not necessary for these Europeans to be sent out to fight the battles of England outside India. Undoubtedly, they were required to supply Defence forces in India. They were primarily conscripted and organised for service in India. Now, you will see, Gentlemen, that if there had been a strong National Government at the Centre, they would have certainly called upon the Indian elements first to serve this important purpose. This was not done. I, therefore, agree that it is time that the portfolio of Defence should be placed in the hands of an Indian, who commands respect from everybody in this country.

Now, Sir, the Government of India has appealed to us for supporting its various war efforts and the response of Indians has

hitherto been spontaneous and energetic. But there is one thing which needs greater clarification, and it is this. Why, when help is offered in the shape of men for the Army, the Government of India does not enthusiastically accept that help? This is something which we cannot understand. No doubt, there is a proposal for the increase of the army in India by some lakhs of men, but do you think that a country which has a population of over 350 millions would be satisfied, even if a lakh or two of Indians are added to the standing army?

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Now, Sir, I will confine myself to that most important question, namely, the discrimination that is made between so-called martial and non-martial races in this country, and as the previous speaker has told you, it is the Simon Commission, the report of Simon Commission, that has first brought to light or brought to being the artificial distinction between so-called martial and non-martial races, which did not exist at all. In the last war a large number of Indians were sent out, as you have heard, most of them were from the Punjab and other martial provinces, such as Frontier and U.P., and perhaps the Simon Commission based their judgment on the army that served the great War. But how could they make any such generalisation when the so-called non-martial races are not being given any opportunity to prove their mettle? You all know of the little experiment that was made in this province in the last War in the shape of organisation of the Bengal Regiment, composed of about 8,000 men. It was known as the 49th Bengali Regiment. They had been sent to Mesopotamia in the Turkish Campaign. Do you think they had not been able to impress their mettle? I can cite innumerable instances to prove that their quality was in no way inferior to that of any other regiment. What was the fate of this experiment? No compliment was given to them. On the other hand, a mendacious propaganda had cried them down for no reason whatsoever. The reason was obviously this that they did not want Bengalees in the Army. I say from personal experience that some of those men had been complimented by officers as fit to be members of the Crack Regiment in Great Britain or any where in the world. The fact is that some provinces have been marked as non-martial, because of other motives. From recent reports it is quite evident that Bengalees, serving in the Air Force, particularly, have been discharging their duties in a manner which is most praiseworthy. They have qualified themselves to be recognised as the best among men, recruited from all provinces. The method of warfare has considerably changed in modern days. Mechanisation has been introduced and it is no exaggeration to say that intelligent races like the Bengalees have to-day a greater chance of shining more in this particular sphere than many other races. I do not know why Bengalees have been left in the lurch.

I may tell you that we have been trying in our own humble way to get more sympathy for the Bengalee race, and the Bengal

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Ex-servicemen Association has been trying for more than a year to revive the Bengal Regiment on a permanent basis. Regiments which have been formed recently have not been put on a permanent basis. I consider it most important that they should be raised on a permanent basis. Commissions that have been given to Indians are known as emergency Commissions. They are to exist only during the period of the war and one year after. This is not the kind of military training that we demand. We want something which will be lasting and tangible and which will create a nationhood on proper lines, which will be something of which we will feel proud.

Sir, Dr. Kunzru has already told you of the ridiculous position of the Bengalees in the new recruitment. Bengalees have been taken only 113 in number in the Regiment, known as the Bengal Coastal Defence Battery. It is an artillery certainly, but it is a very insignificant unit. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that this Federation should emphatically protest against the present policy of Government, and particularly, urge upon them to be more reasonable to the so-called non-martial races.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as my time is up, I will not detain you any longer. I may once more tell you that not only should you urge for the attainment of the aim we have in view from a platform like this, but you should organise yourselves so that you may wrest this privilege from Government, which, I hold, is your birth-right.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar: I will now put the resolution to vote. Those who are in favour? (All all). Any body against? (None). The resolution is carried.

VII. War and Industrial Development.

Resolution VII:
Dr. P. Neogy.

The President : Dr. P. Neogy will move the Seventh resolution on War and Industrial Development.

Dr. P. Neogy moving the resolution on War and Industrial Development said: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour to move is as follows:—

- “(a) The National Liberal Federation of India strongly protests against the virtual exclusion of Indians from higher positions in the Supply Department in connection with its recent reorganisation and urges its Indianisation in order to win the confidence of the Indians.
- “(b) The Federation presses on the Government of India and the Provincial Governments the importance of taking advantage of the present conditions to foster the industrial development of the country. It is necessary, in its opinion, for this purpose that the fiscal policy of the Government should be suitably changed and that special efforts should be made to secure the establishment or expansion of the basic chemicals and other industries and the establishment of new industries under Indian control and management.

- “(c) The Federation is of opinion that national interests require that special attention should be paid to the establishment of small scale industries.
- “(d) The Federation urges the taking of all possible steps to develop ship-building, aircraft and automobile manufacturing industries in the country.
- “(e) The Federation appreciates the decision of the Government of India to appoint more Trade Commissioners with a view to finding new markets for Indian products, but in view of the magnitude of the interests involved, is of the opinion that vigorous efforts should be made to find new outlets for such commodities the marketing of which has been adversely affected by the war.”

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Dr. P. Neogy.

The resolution is very comprehensive in character and is almost self-explanatory. Very few words of mine will, therefore, be necessary in order to commend it to your acceptance. This resolution also is a natural corollary to the resolution you have accepted regarding the Defence policy of the country, because at the present moment defence is substantially dependent on industrial organisation of a country, modern war being dependent on armaments, equipments and munitions, which are the resultant products of the industrial organisation of a country. A country which is deficient in industrial organisation is therefore naturally lacking in essentials for pursuing either offensive or defensive operations of a modern war.

The scientist is gratified to find at all times his discoveries are used towards the increase of human comfort and civilisation, but he is naturally grieved to find that in wartime his discoveries are put to a purpose which is very much foreign to him. But as a citizen he has to take his share in times of war even against his conscience towards the elucidation of the industrial policy of the country so as to help the production of armaments and ammunition which are essential for functioning of a modern war. India, unfortunately has so long been entirely kept as an agricultural country and therefore has been dependent on so called home industries. Experience and statistics show that countries which are entirely dependent on agriculture and home industries are the poorest countries in the world, and countries which conduct agriculture on scientific lines and at the same time are highly industrialised, like the United States of America, are the richest and most powerful countries. India has been so long merely an agricultural country depending upon home industries and it is high time that opportunities of the war should be taken advantage of to convert India into a highly industrialised country.

So far as the first part of the resolution is concerned, namely, 'the National Liberal Federation strongly protests against the virtual exclusion of Indians from higher positions in the Supply Department' it requires a little elucidation. The reply of the Government of India on the 19th November in the Council of State on a question put by Dr. Kunzru has elucidated the information, that on the reorganisation

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of the Supply Department by the Government of India, out of 37 posts, carrying a salary of over Rs. 1,000/- to Rs. 5,000 there were only 8 Indians. In the main Secretariat Department out of 9 three were Indians. In the Director General of Supply Department out of 8 only one was Indian. In the Director General of Munitions Department, out of 12 again there was only 1. In the Provincial Organisations Department, out of 8, there were only three Indians. Thus out of the total number of officers drawing a salary of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 5,000, out of 37, there were eight Indians. We insist on a more rapid Indianisation of the Supply Department.

As regards the second paragraph about the fiscal policy, industry is now a transferred department in the provinces, but it is the fiscal policy of the Government of India that controls in a very large measure all industrial concerns. As for example, take the sugar industry. By the imposition of import duty on sugar, a national industry was created almost overnight. Ten years ago about twenty-five crores of rupees worth of sugar used to come to India. Now under the protection of the import duty India produces not only all the sugar she can consume, but there has been such an accumulation of sugar in the country that the question has arisen how to restrict the output of sugar. Similar is the position with other industries which have received protection in recent years owing to the changed fiscal policy.

As regards ship-building, automobile, aeroplane etc. and the basic chemical industries, these should be the primary concern of the Government of India. Provincial Governments with limited resources cannot tackle them successfully. We have already the Government of India's circular regarding ship-building and automobile industries. Government has been agreeable to give facilities for ship-building, but are reluctant to give facilities for automobile industry. You know, the automobile industry is a highly specialised industry in most countries. In one American factory a fully equipped car ready for the road comes out every three minutes so it is no wonder that America and other industrially advanced countries have captured the world's market in automobiles. The Finance Member of the Government of India the other day said that they had ordered last year for 6000 automobile tractors for the army and this year they have ordered about 60,000, costing 24 crores of rupees. Sir M. Visweswaraya has written recently that if orders for only 6000 motor vehicles could be given, they could carry on an automobile industry in Bombay. But as a matter of fact nothing has come out of recent negotiations with Government. So far as the basic industries are concerned, they should be the primary concern of the Government of India, while small scale industries may be developed by Provincial Governments. It is not necessary for me to dwell further on this question and I have all the confidence that this resolution be accepted by you with acclamation. (cheers).

Resolution VII :
Prof. M. D.
Altekar.

The President : Mr. M. D. Altekar will second the resolution.

Prof. M. D. Altekar said : Mr. President and Friends, I have very great pleasure in commending this resolution to your acceptance.

Dr. Neogy has supplied you with an amount of information that will convince you that things are not all right in this connection. I may, however, add one or two general observations.

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With regard to the first point about exclusion of Indians from the Supply Department and its re-organisation, I am constrained to say that the reorganisation appears to have been effected, as if British interest in the matter were to be safeguarded. That Department ought to be Indianised and it must be an Indian Department. Otherwise, this opportunity arising out of the War will be entirely lost.

I do not want to speak much about the third point regarding small scale industries and also with regard to ship-building, aircraft and automobile industries, etc. But with regard to ship-building, aircraft and automobile industries, I may make one or two observations. There are some silly people who begin to dig a well, when the house is on fire. We are proposing to build up these industries, when the house is already on fire. Still, God forbid, there may be another such war and if that war comes, these industries will prove useful then. It shows how careless Government has been with regard to creating conditions that will make India independent.

With regard to trade and commerce, I won't say much, as the resolution is self-explanatory, as my predecessor said. We ought to find out new markets by all possible means because we have lost many big markets owing to the War.

As regards the second point, the fiscal policy should be suitably changed. There also I would sound a note of caution. This should not be suitably changed merely to meet the necessity of the war situation. You should not develop the mentality of *Vairagya* and run away from this life, while you are at the burning ghat and feel that this world is un-real. Similarly because there is a war, we feel that we must have these industries, that we must do something about these. As a matter of fact, we have never done anything about these. If India wants to develop as a nation, all these things must be done, not because there is a war, but because they are absolutely necessary. Government should adopt a policy that will develop and help all these things. India is very rich by the gift of Nature. It is full of raw materials, and you know very well that the theory has been held particularly in Great Britain that India should continue to be an agricultural country, providing raw materials to industrial countries. We are an agricultural country, but we have mineral resources and we want to be an industrial country also. You know very well that we can produce almost all the articles that are required for our daily needs. We want our Government to develop these things in this country without delay, not merely because there is a war. Now that the war is actually on, we are in actual difficulty in getting all the things that we require. We want Government's attention to be drawn to this. As a matter of fact, the behaviour of Government in all these matters is very funny. On the question of defence and preparing of men, you have heard excellent speeches. Here is a question of preparing materials. In regard

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to both these vital matters, Government has shown negligence, which is surprising. Whether Dominion Status, whether independence is conferred tomorrow or a day after—I do not know whether independence is a thing which can be conferred by one country on another, but that is a separate matter—all that I want to say is while Dominion Status may come when it comes, but before it comes, all these preparations for Dominion Status must begin, and our Government must adopt an attitude in which this development will be possible. In all matters, beginning from fiscal policy to the starting of mill industry, things are done in a way as if Indian interests do not exist. One of the richest countries in the world has become the poorest country in the world. Thousands of men do not get enough to eat daily in India. If there is proper industrial development, all these problems will disappear. Another problem, namely, unemployment of the educated class, can be solved only by industrial development. A good deal of present day communal trouble is due to proportional posts for the communities in Government service. But there is a limit beyond which Government cannot go in providing jobs. The number of educated youths is daily increasing. How can you go on increasing the number of posts? You can increase them only by means of industrial development. This is a question of pre-eminent importance and I strongly commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Resolution VII :
Mr. Satinath Roy.

The President : Mr. Sati Nath Roy will support the resolution.

Mr. Sati Nath Roy : Mr. President, Ladies, Brother delegates and Friends, After what has been said by my previous speakers, I think, I too should be brief in view of the lateness of the hour. About the matters which the previous speakers have dealt with, India has been described as a wonder-land by Americans. And with regard to agriculture, horticulture, and minerals, as the seconder of this resolution has said, India has always been rich and India is not made poor, but the Indians have been poor. India cannot be poor, if proper steps are taken for actually getting the best out of the materials that are available.

India has been the apple of eyes of many nations and this is on account of the vast and various minerals and produce that are obtainable in India. With regard to the question as to what should be done now we would wish and we would insist that the Government should not stand in the way of getting all the produce available either on the face of the earth or underneath the earth which should be left for India itself. The question that arises now is the question that has been taxing us so much and so long.

From the Budgets of 1937-38 it appears that out of the 11 British Indian Provinces, the United Provinces, the North Western Frontier Provinces Bombay and Orissa have shown deficit. Kindly remember, you have in Bombay Presidency receipts amounting to 12 crores, yet there was a deficit. In the United Provinces you have an income of 12 crores and 50 lakhs ; but still there is deficit. Therefore, in order to balance your budget, you should explore all the avenues of

income and you should certainly have recourse to all the researches that are possible for getting the maximum of the produce, minerals and the materials that are available in every province. If this is done the position will be quite different.

With regard to chief industries, there are only three in which there can be called large scale industries, namely, chemicals, soap—toilet and washing. Besides that, I am sorry to say, there are no industries which in India could be considered to be carried on in a large scale. These figures are all obtainable from the reports furnished by the Government Statistical Department. The export of cotton, raw and waste amounts to 45 crores, 17 lakhs and 38 thousand. From the import figures, you will find that you get only 23 crores ; your produce of almost double the value is being taken away and you are getting in return only half in the shape of made up cotton materials. You must understand how much of your materials are taken away and kept outside for the use, benefit of and utilisation by persons outside India. How much of your country's produce are taken away by others, if you have to get back only one-fourth the same plus say another one-fourth of the price in the shape of taxes and duties, you will see what your position is. With regard to wool, the position is the same. With regard to some other articles, the figures exactly show the same thing.

My submission to you now with regard to this question, as the proposer has pointed out, is that Indians should be placed in the Supply Department, because Indians are expected to have far better knowledge and experience with regard to the produce and products of India than outsiders. Secondly, with regard to the development of the country, besides what the previous speakers have said, I have got to add one word, namely, unless you allow this development to be carried out without any further delay, you will be losing the opportunity of enriching the country which has sufficient produce materials in it, and particularly now when they are so much needed.

Thirdly, when people now are educated much more than what they were, if you do not allow the effect of education to have its full display—in the application of industries out of materials, you are not giving the legitimate facility and opportunity to the intellect of Indians in the carrying on of fruitful researches. The resources of the country remain unutilised ; they are wasted ; this is neither desirable nor wise and it should never be allowed. Indians should not be expected to tolerate this sort of thing any further. The present war has opened our eyes more than before in the necessity of development of various classes of industries, factories in India with its own materials.

With regard to the progress in automobile industry, India has resources and men to do it and she has sufficient capital to put this industry into effect and to the benefit of the Government. The materials that are not required for India might be sent to foreign countries for export. These are the points you have to consider also.

Resolution VII:
Mr. B. J. Shroff.

While the Viceroy fails to equip an army of more than one lakh of persons India requires at the time of actual emergency, at least, three millions to defend herself. If we are going to equip them at the rate in which we are doing at present, it will require thirty years to do so. Another point from the Viceroy's broadcast is with regard to the Supply Department. You know the Mesopotamian muddle during the last War. It was due to lack of supply of War materials to Mesopotamia that Major Markham went against the High Command. Later on, he was demoted; but later on when the matter came up before the Parliament he was promoted.

President : Mr. Shroff, please speak on the resolution.

Mr. Shroff: In the Mesopotamian campaign when Baghdad was in danger...

President : We all know this.

Mr. Shroff: We should say that we should not commit again a blunder of Mesopotamian magnitude...You are impatient to hear me; I come from a long distance of 1200 miles to express my ideas. But I shall take my seat.

Sir Chimanlal: Thank you very much.

The President : The resolution on War and Industrial Development has been duly moved, seconded and supported. Those who are in favour of the resolution? (All, all). Anybody against? (None). The resolution is carried. Now the next resolution is to be put from the Chair.

Mr. Chandavarkar then moved the following resolution from the chair which was carried unanimously :—

VIII. Indians Overseas

Resolution VIII:
The President.

“The Federation reaffirms its resolutions about the injustice to Indians overseas and calls upon the Government not to relax its efforts to remove the causes of their just complaints. The Federation welcomes the firm attitude adopted by the Government of India in the Indo-Ceylon negotiations and urges them to take such further steps as may be necessary to protect the interests of Indians.

“The Federation welcomes the raising of the status of the representative of the Government of India in South Africa, from that of an Agent to the High Commissioner and urges the Government of India to appoint High Commissioners in other Dominions. The Federation disapproves the appointment of officials to such posts and is of the emphatic opinion that all such offices should be held by Indians selected from the public life of the country.”

The President : The next resolution is about reforms in Indian States. All the three speakers for the resolution have sent word to me that they would like me to put it from the Chair.

IX. Reforms in Indian States

- (a) The National Liberal Federation expresses its full sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civil and political liberties.
- (b) The Federation urges 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 press, freedom of association as well as representative government as a prelude to responsible government."

Resolution IX:
The President.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

X. The Census

The President : The next resolution is about the Census. It is rather a local matter and I will call upon Mr. Manmathanath Sen to move it and request him to be brief.

Resolution X:
Mr. Manmatha-
nath Sen.

Mr. Manmathanath Sen: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen As the resolution is already before you in print, and as the time is short, I need not read it out. Why such a subject as census should be found necessary to be moved in the form of a resolution of this Federation, I will tell you. I have seen six censuses taken in this country. Only during the last census, thanks to the mandate, issued by the Saint of Sabarmati, Hindus were called upon to boycott the census, (some people: Congressmen) very well, Sir, Congress, but in Bengal congressmen are overwhelmingly Hindus. The result of that mandate is manifest to-day. The result is that the Mahommedan population was shown very much preponderatingly in larger numbers than Hindus. Their number was inflated and the number of Hindus kept depressed and that was a very vital point against us. In the present census everybody hopes that numbers will be correctly enumerated. But, as I said, the enemy is out. I will recommend you to read the Chief Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq's manifesto, published in the *Statesman*, of yesterday. He says that it has come to his notice that the Hindu Mahasabha is trying to inflate the number of Hindus at the enumeration. He does not say how this has reached his ears. You, I am sure, do not know of this sort of a movement, started by the Hindu Mahasabha. I have not come across any such symptom. Then he warns Mahommedans to protect Muslim interests against insidious propaganda. How is he to protect Mahommedan interests by merely giving correct enumeration? Nobody can think of any Mahommedan enrolling himself as a Hindu. How is this warning helpful to Mussalmans? There is a Bengali saying that one suspecting something wrong in the Thakur Ghar asks who is there, and the man in the Thakur Ghar, the guilty person answers: I am not eating plantain. The suggestion behind the statement of Mr. Fazlul Huq seems to be to inspire the Mahommedans to inflate their number. I call upon you all to enumerate your numbers correctly. I tell you with all sincerity that I possess that I do not ask you to inflate your numbers. Just now I am being told by a friend of mine that handbills are being issued to ignorant Bustee

Resolution X :
Mr. Manmatha-
Sen.

dweller saying that if the Hindus enumerate themselves as Hindus and their number goes up, they will all be taxed per capita, that is poll tax will be realised from them. That is a threat to Hindus to under-rate their number. I ask you, Friends, to be very careful to state your numbers carefully and disabuse the minds of poor Bustee dwellers of any such false propaganda.

The President : Mr. J. M. Dutt will second the resolution.

Resolution X :
Mr. J. M. Dutt.

Mr. J. M. Dutt : After what Mr. Sen has said there is very little for me to say and I shall be brief in my remarks. The other day the "Azad," a Muslim League organ, conducted by Maulana Akram Khan, stated that the Mahomedans in this province would form sixty per cent of the total population in the present census. If that be so, and if the Hindus have remained at the same figure as in the last census, it will require for the Moslems a rate of increase of at least fifty per cent to attain that proportion which would doubtless be an abnormal increase. In this way, they are insisting on increased figures for their population.

Hindu castes are being manufactured while that of the Moslems are being reduced. In 1921 there were 120 castes of Hindus; it increased to 144 in 1931, including the Kichaks, who numbered only two male persons. Brahmins have been divided into sixty-five classes and one class, consisted of two persons only. This is how the census statistics are being manipulated by the Government.

There were as many as fifty-five castes among the Muhammedans in 1901 which were reduced to ten or twelve in 1921 and in 1931 they were reduced to only three. Census reports go to show that there are even untouchable classes among the Moslems in Bengal. In the present census, the Government have refused to enumerate castes among the Muslims. There is, as you know, difference between Shias and Sunnis in regard to law of succession whereas among the Hindus, the same law prevails among all the classes. This is how census is being exploited for political purposes.

The resolution, when placed before the House, was declared carried.

XI. Changes in the Constitution.

Resolution XI :
The President.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar :—Now the next resolution is about changes in the Constitution. This resolution is to be put to vote from the Chair. The changes proposed have been found to be necessary. Our Constitution does not allow individual Liberals to join the Party. A provision is made in the changes to enable individual Liberals in Provinces where there are no Constituent Associations to subscribe to the Creed of the Federation to join the Federation by paying the prescribed fee. With your permission I shall take the Resolution as read and put it to vote.

That the Constitution be amended as follows:—

1. The object of the National Liberal Federation of India is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status for India) at the earliest possible date.

The Federation will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reform, 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.

Resolution XI:
The President.

2. The National Liberal Federation will be composed of (i) component organisations which adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and are recognised by the Indian National Liberal Council as component organisations and (ii) of individual members who subscribe to the creed of the Federation and are approved by the Council and pay the prescribed annual subscription.

The component organisations at present recognised are: The Indian Association and the Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta; the Western India National Liberal Association of 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; and the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

The minimum annual fee prescribed for individual members is Rs. 2/-

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.

4. The Indian National Liberal Council will consist of

(a) Office-bearers.

(i) The president of the previous annual session who shall be its Chairman.

(ii) The ex-presidents who shall be Vice-chairmen.

(iii) One or more General Secretaries.

(b) Members elected at the annual session to represent the various provinces on the recommendation of the component organisations in their provinces, provided that there shall not be more than 25 from any one province.

(c) Not more than 10 members out of individual members elected at the annual session.

(d) Five members nominated by the President.

5. Each member of the Council will have to pay a fee of Rs. 25/- per annum.

6. The members of the Associations which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their committees and individual members 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

Resolution XI:
The President.

and special committees may co-opt as members Liberal as well as other persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation, but do not belong to any Liberal organization or are not individual members of the Federation. 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 to the annual session half the amount of the surplus for financing the work of the Federation.

The Resolution was carried.

XII. Office-bearers and Council, 1941.

Resolution XII:
The President.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar:—The next item which I have to deal with is about the Office Bearers and Members of the council. Before I call upon the General Secretary to read out the names of the Members of the Council, I, as President of the Federation, appoint Mr. M. D. Altekar, Mr. R. R. Bakhale, and Mr. N. C. Bharucha as Secretaries of the Federation for the ensuing year. The retiring Secretaries are Mr. B. N. Gokhale and Mr. S. G. Gokhale. With your permission I should like to place on record our appreciation of the services rendered by the retiring Secretaries.

I wanted to call upon Mr. Altekar to read out the names of the Members of the Council, but as it will take a long time to do so, with your permission I shall take them as read. The names are printed in appendix D. I shall now announce the names of the Members whom I, as the President of the Federation, have nominated. My Nominees are:—Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Pandit Manoharlal Zutshi, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Prof. R. H. Kelkar and Prof. N. C. Ray.

XIII. The Next Session.

Resolution XIII:
The President.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar:—The next resolution is about the venue of the next session. The venue will be decided upon by the Council. I put this Resolution to vote from the Chair.

The Resolution was carried.

XIV. Vote of thanks.

Resolution XIV:
Mr. J. N. Basu.

Mr. J. N. Basu next proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the delegates assembled at this Conference and on behalf of the Reception Committee, we convey our heart-felt thanks to our President for the very able manner in which he has conducted the proceedings of the Conference.

From the very commencement, we felt that the questions that would come up for discussion before this Conference would be highly controversial. But with the tact, judgment, and patience displayed by Mr. Chandavarkar, we have succeeded in arriving at unanimous decisions on almost all controversial topics. By his patience and considerateness and by the way he has conducted the proceedings, he has led those proceedings to a successful issue. We are grateful to

him for taking over the office of the President at a very short notice. Having regard to the very short time that he was allowed, it is a wonder how he could place before us his lucid and illuminating opening address, which was not only full of facts but was a capable exposition of the policy of the party. The way he has conducted the proceedings has shown that he is animated by the true spirit of Liberalism.

Resolution XIV :
Mr. J. N. Basu.

We thank him again for the able manner in which he has conducted the business of the Conference and for the trouble he has taken to come to this city for presiding over on deliberations.

Mr. N. C. Ray : In seconding the resolution, I am bound to offer once again our thanks to our President who has come to Calcutta at great trouble to make this meeting a success.

Resolution XIV :
Mr. N. C. Ray.

We have not been able to provide all the comforts for the delegates to which they are accustomed. We know that we have short-comings, but I can just assure you that we have all the cordiality in our heart. On behalf of Bengal and on behalf of the Reception Committee I may say that we are very thankful to you for the trouble you have taken in coming here and participating in this Conference.

Mr. J. N. Basu : I am putting this resolution to vote. May I take it that you carry it? (cheers).

The resolution was carried.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the President : Friends, before I make a few observations in bringing the session to a close, I would like in the first place to convey our thanks—thanks of all the Delegates and mine—to Lord Sinha for associating himself with the session as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. I am sure you will also agree that we owe to a great extent the success of the Session to our revered friend and leader Mr. J. N. Basu (cheers). But for his inspiring presence and enthusiasm which will do credit to any young man, we would never have had the courage to come to Calcutta to hold the session this year. I should not also fail to mention the deep debt of gratitude which we owe to our Secretary, Prof. N. C. Ray. (Cheers). Personally I owe him an apology because last night at the meeting of the Subjects Committee he almost got lost, when at the last moment, I tried to make certain changes in the list of speakers because I wanted to give an opportunity to as many Members as possible to appear on the platform to give expression to their views. In spite of pinpricks, he was wonderfully patient and he has been here from morning till evening working hard to make the session a success. I would also like to convey our thanks to Mr. A. C. Dutt, Captain of the Volunteers and to the band of young men who worked under him, very hard indeed, to make the Delegates very comfortable. I should like particularly to mention the young men who attended me personally and who I found very friendly indeed during my stay here for the last 3 days. I should not also forget to thank the teachers and girls of the Bharati Vidyalaya

The President's
Concluding
remarks.

The President's
Concluding
remarks.

who gave us two most beautiful songs to which it was our privilege to listen yesterday and this morning.

Now, Gentlemen, we have come to the conclusion of our session. It is not necessary for me to detain you, for whatever I had to say I did say in my presidential speech. When I was here last year, I did a bit of canvassing to see that I was not elected the President of the Federation this year. I did this because I knew my revered leader Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had been anxious that I should take a little more active interest in politics. He dragged me into active politics by making me a Chairman of the Provincial Conference held at Satara. He then told me that I would have to place myself at the disposal of the Party for the chair of the Federation in the near future. Therefore when I was in Calcutta last X'mas I told my friends here that they should get a more experienced Liberal to preside over the Federation this year. I was very happy indeed when I received a private communication in November from a friend in Calcutta that the Reception Committee had selected another Member of the Party for the Presidential Chair. But suddenly to my great surprise on or about the first of December, I received a letter from Prof. N. C. Ray informing me that I had been unanimously elected Chairman of the Federation. On receipt of this communication I went to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and pointed out my difficulties and my personal disqualifications in the way of my accepting the Presidentship. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad however insisted that I should accept the invitation of the Reception Committee. I agreed to do so but on one condition, *i.e.* that he (Sir Chimanlal) should attend the session. In spite of great personal inconvenience—his health had not been particularly good, and in spite of the fact that he has been engaged in a very heavy case, Sir Chimanlal has been kind enough to come here to keep me company and to help me in the difficult task that was entrusted to me by the Reception Committee. For all these reasons I am sure you will join me in conveying our most grateful thanks to Sir Chimanlal.

Now a word about the future of the party. I know, we are very few in number. But I am not at all pessimistic, because every time the Congress comes back to the path of co-operation from the wilderness of non-co-operation, I feel that the triumph is ours and of none else. I am looking forward to the day when the Congress will come back again to take office. In spite of several mistakes committed by the Congress Government—and it is the privilege of all Governments to commit mistakes—when they were in office, we all felt that we had a Government of our own. Although we may not see eye to eye with them on several important matters, and we dislike their politics and their methods, there was an undercurrent of satisfaction among us that Ministries responsible to public opinion were functioning. It is no doubt true that our opinions do not coincide with the opinions of a great majority of the people, but that should not dishearten us. We may be in a minority today, but if we stick to our principles and carry on the mission of spreading our faith among the people, we shall be in a majority in the future though it may not be in the near future. We must take a long view of things.

In the long run it is the human effort that counts. When the Congress was first started in 1885, it was attended by a handful of people and the Meeting was held in a small building. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, I believe was present at the first session of the Congress. He will correct me if I am wrong. But if the people who started the Congress had then said: "Oh, we are so few in number, how are we going to shake up the British Lion?" Our people would not have achieved the power which they wielded when the Congress Governments were in office. It cannot be denied that there has been considerable progress in the country since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, who it is admitted, was the first Indian to arouse the political consciousness in the country since the commencement of British Rule in India. Whatever progress has been achieved is the result of the combined efforts of all political parties. I have never believed in the existence of only one political party in the country. I would like people to come forward and express their honest political views freely and frankly and take part in the great work that lies before the country. A Party, whatever its numerical strength may be, can never represent the whole country even if it knows how to carry on propoganda. The progress of the country ultimately depends upon the calibre of the man in the street who is as important for the future of the country as any political leader whether he be a Maulana or a Mahatma. That is the essence of democracy. The ideal of every leader should be that while his privilege is to give a lead, he should look upon himself not as a leader of men but as the servant of his fellow men. Simply because people on account of either his superior education or status in life or his abilities are willing to follow him, he should not give himself airs and tell people, "This is my order and you must carry it out". It is essential that every leader and worker in public life must have the outlook of a true sportsman in public life in the sense that he must not play the game of life merely for winning but for the game itself, and that he must never allow himself to be depressed by failure or defeat.

I see a tendency amongst several of our Liberals to think that we are a small dwindling minority. A large number of people want always to be in the lime-light with the people who are winning and are likely to wield power. They do not want to share the fortunes of a party which they think has no future. But such an outlook will never help the country in the long run. I would ask you to consider the position of the Servants of India Society. The Society is certainly not so flourishing as it was at one time. The band of young men who are now connected with the Society have in spite of great difficulties and discouragement, not given up their ideals and their work. They are facing the present situation in a heroic manner. The manner in which the present members of the Servants of India Society are working, unmindful of the difficulties they have to face, represents in my opinion the true spirit of Liberalism. It is this spirit which ought to dominate the members of the Liberal Party. I again appeal to all of you, especially to our young friends not to be disheartened because we are so few in number. Many an arm-chair critic who have never taken any risk in public life say to us: "Oh,

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remarks.

what are you doing, you Liberals? You do not court jail. You do not undergo any suffering." I would like to tell them, "You have no right to talk to us in that manner. So long as you yourself do not go to jail and undergo the rigours of jail life, you have no right to criticise us. You are worse than we are who at least have the courage to court unpopularity by calling ourselves Liberals." There are many malicious people who call us job-seekers and place-hunters although they know perfectly well that no Liberal has any chance of holding any ministerial office for a long time to come. If we are guided by our principles and if we have no ulterior motives, we will, at no distant future, win the confidence of the man in the street and become a majority party. Ours is like a religious faith. We believe in one country. We are the only party in the country that has a scrupulously clean record in the matter of separate electorates. I look upon this question as the most important one and we should have always the courage to condemn separate electorates in any shape or form. Do not be afraid if while doing so we are called pro-Hindus. We have always been a party of principles and not a party of expediency. Let us always continue to be a party of principles and not a party of expediency.

My final appeal to our friends is that we should work together and should not give up our effort to educate the public. After all, our effort is not meant to secure any advantage for ourselves, but it is meant to help the country in its struggle for freedom, a country which has never gone out to conquer and exploit other countries, a great and a glorious country, which has now come to such a pass that we all feel humiliated. We should work unitedly so that this country of ours may again become a great country, great not only in name and military strength, but great in principles and ideals, great in intellectual and moral effort, for the betterment of humanity. That had been the ideal of Ancient India and we should be true to this ideal. It is to achieve this ideal that I ask you to keep your faith in Liberal Party, a party which has not deviated from the faith advocated by Raja Ram Mohan Ray, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, G. K. Gokhale and other leaders from all parts of India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very much indeed for the cordial way in which you welcomed me and accepted the vote of thanks. I do realise that I have not got sufficient political experience to enable me to be a very effective and useful President of the party. But I am lucky in as much as I have in Bombay to help me at very close quarters my friends Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and not far away in Poona, Dr. Paranjpye. With the help of these and other leaders, I hope to discharge my duties to the best of my ability in the coming year. Gentlemen, I thank you once again and bid you good-bye.

There will be a Meeting of the new elected Council after the close of the session. The session is now dissolved. (Cheers).

APPENDIX A

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION OF

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA,

1940.

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

1. Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras.

SVAGATAM

Mylapore, Madras.
14-12-40.

My dear Mr. Basu,

I am so weak and liable to breakdowns that I shall be no good at the Federation but a source of anxiety to you all.

Please forgive me.

Yours very truly,
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,

2. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Lahore.

Lahore, Model Town,
C/o
Col. C. R. Bakhle, I.M.S. Retd.
24-12-40.

My dear Mr. Basu,

I am glad to receive with many thanks your kind invitation to the coming sessions of our National Liberal Federation at Calcutta in the last week of this month. No doubt it is generally agreed that the political condition of our mother-land is not only very unsatisfactory but is one giving our sober minded Indians a grave cause for anxiety. The Liberals have therefore a very difficult task before them. But I am sure they will get through it successfully. Action is now in the air more than ever before. But they have up till now followed without fear the course dictated by sound thought and clear comprehension of present and past events. As for my coming to attend the sessions I am extremely sorry my old age and consequent weakness prevent me from that honour and pleasure. I hope you will excuse me for it. I wish every success to the Federation work at Calcutta. Thanking you again.

J. N. Basu

Yours sincerely,
R. G. Mundle.

3. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Bangalore.

To
The Hon. General Secretary,
The National Liberal Federation of India.

Dear Sir,

I have received your notice for the meeting of the Council on the 27th instant. I regret that it is not possible for me to attend it.

Wishing the Conference every success.

I remain
Yours sincerely,
C. B. Ramarao.

4. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, Dumraon.

Dumraon Raj,
The 26th December, 1940.

Dear Mr. Basu,

Your very kind invitation to attend the 22nd Session of the National Liberal Federation of India has duly been received by me. I very much regret to say that owing to ill health I find myself unable to undertake journey to Calcutta owing to very cold weather. I wish every success to the Session.

Wishing you happy new year,

Mr. J. N. Basu,
62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Hanuman Singh,

5. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., Jamshedpur.

The Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.
Jamshedpur
The 25th December, 1940.

My dear Lord Sinha,

Although I fully intended to come to Calcutta and would under ordinary circumstances have been there by now, to attend the Annual Sessions of the National Liberal Federation, I regret to say that I caught a chill which resulted in a slight attack of 'Influenza'. I have, therefore, had most reluctantly to give up my visit to Calcutta. I write to apologise to you and the President-elect for my unavoidable absence. I have to express the sincere hope that you will have a most successful session. Although the Liberal Party may not have a huge following, it has many men with vast experience and a statesman-like outlook on political affairs. Our Western India Branch has, during the year, expressed its opinions in no uncertain terms. I am more than ever convinced that the future freedom, prosperity and happiness of India lies in the victory of the British arms. If, God forbid, the result of this terrible war is not what we all pray it should be, all that India has most dear to her heart, will be in complete jeopardy. Our liberty of speech, our civil liberties, the sanctity of property and our goal of a self-governing country in the British Common Wealth of Nations will be not only for ever-postponed but will be dashed to the ground. All our efforts, therefore, should be concentrated on winning the war and ensuring that India gets a fair deal when victory has been attained.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Cowasji Jahangir.

6. Mr. B. S. Kamat, Poona.

Regret inability attending liberal session. Wishing success-B. S. Kamat Poona.
26-12-40.

7. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Madras.

Mylapore,
16.12.40.

Dear Mr. Basu,

I have allowed a few days to pass without a reply, though I knew the Rt. Hon. Sastri replied to you that he was not able to come. I have been struggling between yes and no. My health has not been good for some time. Sir P. S. S's age and Sastriar's infirmities are justifications in a far greater degree. That was why I took time to consider. I am sorry that I shall not be able either to undertake the long Journey or to stand the climate of Calcutta. Please excuse me.

I am asking Mr. Vinayaka Row and Suryanarayana of the Servants of India to attend the Sessions.

I hope to write again,
Yours sincerely,
T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.

8. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Calcutta.

The 27th December 1940.

Dear Sir,

I am grateful to you for having invited me to attend the next session of the National Liberal Federation of India but I regret to have to state that I shall not be able to attend it as I have to be out of Calcutta at the time. I do however hope and expect that the Federation will give that lead for which the country is hankering.

Wishing the session every success.

Yours faithfully,
A. H. Ghuznavi.
Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M. L. A. (Central)

9. Raja Bahadur of Nashipur, Calcutta.

Your Lordship,

I am extremely sorry to say that owing to sudden indisposition I could not go to station yesterday, to receive cur worthy President. I am still in bed and—consequently will not be able to join the deliberation of the Federation today. I hope to be excused.

I wish every success under the leadership of the able president and under you guidance.

With kind regards,
28-12-40.

Yours sincerely,
B. N. Sinha.
Raja Bahadur of Nashipur.

10. Mr. Bhagwati Saran Singh, Anapur (Allahabad)

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your notice for attending the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India to be held at Calcutta on Friday the 27th instant. I am sorry on account of certain domestic reasons I shall not be able to attend your meeting. I do, however, hope that your considerations of the present Political situation in India will tend to improve the controversies and give a correct lead to the people of India in fighting present impasse.

Kindly excuse my absence.
25-12-40.

Yours sincerely,
Bhagwati Saran Singh
Rai Bhadur,
Rais and Taluqdar, Anapur.

11. Raja Maheswar Dayal Sethi, Kotra Estate.

Kotra
District Sitapur
December 19, 1940.

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your notice informing me that the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India will be held at Calcutta on December 27, 1940. I am sorry it will not be possible for me to attend either this meeting or the Liberal Federation to be held at Calcutta as I am going to Madura to attend the Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha. It is unfortunate that the dates of the Liberal Federation and the Hindu Mahasabha Session coincide. Care should have been taken to fix date. I hope this will be done in future.

Yours faithfully,
Raja Maheswar Dayal Sethi M.L.C.,
Rai Bahadur,
Taluqdar of Kotra Estate.

12. V. M. Apte, Dhulia (Bombay).

Dhulia
25th December 1940.

Dear Dr. Paranjpye

I regret I am unable to go to Calcutta this year, to attend the session of the National Liberal Federation, much as I would have liked to do so.

To my mind this year's session is particularly important in view of the attitude both of the Congress and the Muslim League and I am sure the National Liberal Federation will give the most correct lead to the Nation. Please convey to Mr. Chandavarkar my congratulation on his selection as the President this year and my best wishes.

Wishing all success to the Federation.

I am yours sincerely,
V. M. Apte.

13. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu.

Regret detained urgent work. Wishing Federation success.

Iqbal Narain Gurtu.
27-12-40.

14. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Allahabad.

Regret Absence. Wish success—Chintamani.

27-12-40.

15. R. R. Bakhale, Bombay.

Vaze's health prohibits my departure, Calcutta. Pray excuse. Wish Federation success—Bakhale.

27-12-40.

16. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Poona.

Regret inability attend. Wish Federation all success. Devise means early establishment Central and Provincial Ministers supporting War Effort—Gadgil, Barrister.

27-12-40.

17. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal (Berar).

Regret inability to attend owing illness. Wish sessions every success.

28-12-40.

V. T. Deshpande.

18. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, Bombay.

Regret inability attend. Wish sessions splendid success.

28-12-40.

B. N. Gokhale.

19. Mr. M. S. Sardar, Dharwar.

Regret cannot attend. Wish success.

M. S. Sardar.

20. Rai Saheb S. P. Sanyal, Benares.

Wishes every success to the Conference of the Indian Liberal Federation now sitting in Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the worthy son of a distinguished father whom the undersigned had the honour to know in the early Congress Days.

Benares
28-12-40.

S. P. Sanyal.

APPENDIX B

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1940.

MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

1. The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
 2. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha, M.L.C., Bahadur of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
 3. Mr. J. N. Basu, Solicitor, 33, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
 4. Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
 5. Dr. D. M. Bose, 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
 6. Maharajkumar Benoyendra Nath Roy Chaudhury of Santosh, 21, Raja Santosh Road, Calcutta.
 7. Maharaj Kumar Pritindra Nath Roy Chaudhury of Santosh, 21, Raja Santosh Road, Calcutta.
 8. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, 31/1B, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
 9. Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin), 14A, Baloram Ghose Street, Calcutta.
 10. Mr. K. C. Neogy, 13A, Southern Avenue, Calcutta.
 11. Dr. J. N. Ghosh, M.D., 40A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
 12. Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjee, B.Sc., M.B.E., M.L.A., "Rajendra Bhaban".
Uttarpara.
 13. Rai Bahadur Pannalal Mukherjee, 7, Raj Mohan Road, Uttarpara.
 14. Rai Bahadur Ram Deo Chokhany, 27, Baranoshi Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
 15. Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitter, 6, Ballygunge Place, Calcutta.
 16. Rai Bahadur Surendranarayan Sinha, Jiaganj, Murshidabad.
 17. Rai Bahadur Fanindralal De, 186, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara.
 18. Prof. N. C. Nag, 18/28, Dover Lane, Calcutta.
 19. Mr. Sati Nath Roy, 15, Panditia Place, Calcutta.
 20. Mr. S. N. Gupta, 91, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
 21. Mr. Prakas Chandra Bhowse, 17, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
 22. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 9/3, Romanath Mojumder Street, Calcutta.
 23. Mr. Amulyadhon Addy, 15A, Chetla Road, Alipore, Calcutta.
 24. Mr. Debendra Chandra Basu Mallik, 18, Radhanath Mallik Lane, Calcutta.
 25. Mr. Anil Chandra Dutt, 6, Brindaban Pal Bye Lane, Calcutta.
 26. Mr. Saurendra Nath Kar, Kar's House, Santragachhi, Howrah.
 27. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
 28. Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen, 44, Ram Kanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
 29. Mr. Ganendra Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, 106/2, Grey Street, Calcutta.
 30. Mr. Debendra Nath Dass, M.L.A., 4A, Raja Rajkissen Street, Calcutta.
 31. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, "Rajbati" Sheoraphuli, E.I.Ry.
 32. Mr. Jitendra Kumar Basu, P.149, Southern Avenue, Calcutta.
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APPENDIX C

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1940.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

1. Mr. Basanta Kumar Chaudhury, 99/1/C, Cornwallis St., Calcutta.
2. Mr. Prakash Chandra Bose, 17, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
3. Mr. Sachindra Prasad Basu, 9/3, Romanath Majumder St., Calcutta.
4. Mr. Jitendra Kumar Basu, P.149, Southern Avenue, Calcutta.
5. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha, M.L.C., Bahadur of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
6. Dr. D. M. Bose, 92/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
7. Mr. Amulyadhon Addy, 15A, Chetla Road, Alipore, Calcutta.
8. Maharaj Kumar Benoyendra Nath Roy Chowdhury of Santosh, 21, Raja Santosh Road, Calcutta.
9. Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
10. Mr. S. N. Gupta, 28, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
11. Mr. Sati Nath Roy, 15, Panditia Place, Calcutta.
12. Dr. J. N. Ghosh, M.D., 40A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.
13. Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea, B.Sc., M.B.E., M.L.A., "Rajendra Bhaban", Uttarpara, E.I.R.
14. Mr. Ganendra Kumar Roy Chaudhury, 106/2, Grey Street, Calcutta.
15. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Dutta, M.Sc., B.L., M.R.A.S., 45, Barrackpore Trunk Road, Calcutta.
16. Mr. Saureddra Nath Kar, Kar's House, Santragachhi, Howrah.
17. Mr. Manmatha Nath Sen, 44, Ram Kanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
18. Mr. Mohini Mohan Chakravarty, 9A, Gopal Bose Lane, Calcutta.
19. Mr. Bimal Mitter, 5/5A, Ram Moy Road, Calcutta.
20. Mr. S. K. Mitter, 181, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
21. Mr. Sailen Mitter, Ditto.
22. Mr. Rohini K. Mitter, Ditto.
23. Mr. Ajoy Kumar Basu, P.11, Diamond Harbour Road, Calcutta.
24. Dr. Panchanan Neogi, M.A., P.R.S., 44A, New Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
25. Mr. Debendranath Dass, M.L.A., 44, Raja Rajkissen Street, Calcutta.
26. Mr. Amarendra Nath Saha Chaudhury, 3, Bishwambhar Mallik Lane, Cal.
27. Mr. K. V. Venkataraman, 20, British Indian Street, Calcutta.
28. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A., B.L., 31/1B, Beadon Row, Calcutta.
29. Mr. Jatindramohan Bose, 57/2, Puddopukur Road, Calcutta.
30. Mr. Sukriti Ganguly, 10B, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta.
31. Mr. Jagannath Ganguly, 65B, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta.
32. Mr. Ajit Dhar, 175, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
33. Mr. Pankaj Dey, 31A, South End Park, Calcutta.
34. Mr. Ganesh Ghosh, 10, Dover Road, Calcutta.
35. Miss Smritikona Dey, 283, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

36. Miss Prakriti Goswami, 3, Gossainpara Lane, Calcutta.
37. Mr. Kanai Lal Chatterjee, 114, Sambhu Halder Lane, Howrah.
38. Mr. Sailendra Nath Goswami, 27, Balaram Majumder St., Calcutta.
39. Kshirode Lal De, B.A., M.B., D.T.M., 283, Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.
40. Mr. P. P. Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., 84A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
41. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, Servants of India Society, Ajni Jail Road, Nagpur.
42. The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru, M.A., LL.B., 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
43. Mr. A. N. Mitter, M.A., B.L., 6, Ballygunge Plerce, Calcutta.
44. Kaviraj Girija Prasanna Sen, 17, Kumartoly Street, Calcutta.
45. Mr. S. R. Venkataraman, B.A., B.L., Servants of India Society, Madras.
46. Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., M.L.A., 33, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
47. Mr. Sudhir Kumar Basu, Ditto.
48. Mr. Sanat Kumar Basu, Ditto.
49. Rai Fandindra Lal De Bahadur, 186, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpara.
50. The Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru, 1, Katra Road, Allahabad.
51. Rai Bahadur Lala Behari Lall, Ranimandi, Allahabad.
52. Mr. B. J. Shroff, "Noormahal", 125, Tardeo Road, Bombay.
53. Rai Bahadur Pandit Parameshwar Nath Sapru, Fyzabad, U.P.
54. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc., Poona 4.
55. Mr. N. C. Bharucha, M.A., LL.B., 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
56. Mr. V. R. Bhende, 107, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
57. Mrs. Savitribai V. Bhende, Prarthana Samaj Road, Vile Parle, Bombay 24.
58. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
59. Mr. M. D. Altekar, M.A., Napier Road, Vile Parle, Bombay 24.
60. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, M.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, 41, Pedder Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
61. Mrs. Vatsalabai V. N. Chandavarkar, 41, Pedder Rd., Malabar Hill, Bombay.
62. Mr. S. G. Gokhale, Servants of India Society, Poona.
63. Prof. R. H. Kelkar, 289B, Narayan Peth, Poona 2.
64. Prof. N. C. Nag, 18/28, Dover Lane, Calcutta.
65. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, "Rajbati", Seoraphuli, E. I. Ry.
66. Rai Pannalal Mukherjee Bahadur, 7, Raj Mohan Road, Uttarpara, E. I. Ry.
67. Mr. Anil Chandra Dutt, 6, Brindaban Pal Bye Lane, Calcutta.
68. Rai Sahib Dalip Man Singh, M.A., LL.B., Ram Niwas, Fatehpur, U.P.
69. Mr. Ram Shankar Misra, B.A., LL.B. Sarsa, Allahabad.
70. Mr. Surendra Nath Varma, M.A., LL.B., 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
71. Mr. A. J. Gopal Rao, Bhimlipatam, Vizag Dt., S.I.
72. Mr. C. R. Somayajulu, Vizianagram, S.I.
73. Principal J. R. Ghurpurey, B.A., LL.B., Law College, Poona 4.
74. Prof. B. B. Roy, M.A., 21/1, Hindusthan Road, Calcutta.
75. Pandit Shambhunath Kaul, Dilkhusa Road, Fyzabad, U.P.
76. Mr. A. D. Mani, M.A., Servants of India Society, Nagpur.
77. Mr. Upendranath Bal, M.A., 44, Karbala Tank Lane, Calcutta.
78. Kaviraj Rameshwar Prasanna Sen, 17, Kumartuly Street, Calcutta.
79. Rai Bahadur Ram Deo Chokhany, 27, Baranoshi Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
80. Mr. Banwari Lal Sarma, C/o Pandit Bhikamalji, P. O. Balwari, Vill. Mayan, Tehsil, Rewari, Dt. Gurgaon (Punjab).
81. The Hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
82. Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin), 14A, Baloram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
83. Mr. Surendranath P. Nagpurkar, Deccan Gymkhana, Pappu's Bungalow, Poona 4.

APPENDIX D

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1940.

COUNCIL FOR 1941

President

1. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, M.A., (Cantab) Bar-at-Law, 41, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.

Vice-Presidents

2. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Mylapore, Madras.
3. Sir C. Y. Chintamani, Kt., D.Litt., LL.D., Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
4. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D., Mylapore, Madras.
5. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc., "Purushottamshram", Poona No. 4.
6. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
7. Sir Moropant Joshi, K.C.I.E., Advocate, Nagpur.
8. Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., M.L.A., 6, Old Post Office St. Calcutta.
9. The Hon. Dr. Hirdayanath Kunzru, M.C.S., Servants of India Society Allahabad.
10. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., Mylapore, Madras.
11. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., M.L.A., Church Gate Street, Bombay 1.
12. The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sapru, Bar-at-Law, M.C.S., 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.

General Secretaries

13. Mr. M.D. Altekar, M.A., Nehru Road, Vile Parle, Bombay 24.
14. Mr. Naushir C. Bharucha, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, 468, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
15. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, Servants of India Society, Bombay No. 4.

Nominated by the President

16. Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle, Yeotmal, (Berar).
17. Pandit Manohar Lal Zutshi, 10, Beli Road, Allahabad.
18. Mr. B. S. Kamat, B.A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona 5.
19. Prof. R. H. Kelkar, Karve University College, Poona.
20. Prof. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M.A., 31/1B, Beadon Row, Calcutta.

ELECTED MEMBERS

Bombay

21. Sir Homi Mehta, K. B. E., Menekji Wadia Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
22. Mr. A. D. Shroff, B.Sc., (Lond) Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay 1.
23. Mr. Nusserwanji H. C. Dinshaw, 12I, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.

24. Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
25. Mr. Vasantao S. Ravut, J.P., French Bridge, Chaupaty, Bombay 7.
26. Mr. B. D. Lam, B.A., L.L.B., (Solicitor) 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
27. Mr. Sohrab Wadia, "Las Palmas" Little Gibbs Road, Bombay 6.
28. Mr. N. R. Wadia, Motlabai Building, 120, Parsi Bazar Street, Bombay 1.
29. Mr. K. J. Dubhash, B.A., L.L.B., (Solicitor) 79, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
30. Principal J. R. Gharpure, Advocate, Law College, Poona No. 4.
31. Mr. B. N. Gokhale, M.A., L.L.B., (Advocate) Girgaum Road, Bombay 4.
32. Dewan Bahadur Chunilal M. Gandhi, Advocate, Nanpura, Surat.
33. Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Bar-at-Law, Sholapur.
34. Mr. V. M. Apte, B.A., L.L.B., (Advocate) Dhulia, West Khandesh.
35. Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I.C.S., (Rtd) 344, Shanivar Peth, Poona 2.
36. Mr. G. K. Gadgil, Bar-at-Law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
37. Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M.L.C., Fergusson College, Poona 4.
38. Prof. D. D. Kapadia, M.A., 6, Staunton Road, Poona No. 1.

Bengal

39. Hon. Sir Bejoy Prasad Singh Roy, Kt., M.L.A. Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
40. Mr. H. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, 1, Mullen Street, Calcutta.
41. Mr. B. B. Roy, M.A. Statesman House, Calcutta.
42. Mr. Satinath Roy, 139A, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
43. Mr. P. N. Singh Roy, 15, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.
44. Mr. Sudhanshu Kumar Mitter, 34/1, Elgin Road, Calcutta.
45. Kumar Rajendra Narain Roy, 79, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.
46. Rai Nagendra Nath Mookerji Bahadur, O. B. E., Ranaghat, Nadia.
47. Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur, Sutrapur, Dacca.
48. Rai Fanindralal De Bahadur, 186, Grand Trunk Road, Uttarpura E.I.R.
49. Mr. Manmathanath Sen, Solicitor 44, Ramkanto Bose Street, Calcutta.
50. Mr. B. K. Chaudhuri, 99/1/C, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
51. Lord Sinha of Raipur, 7, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.
52. Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha, M.L.C. Bahadur of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Calcutta.
53. Mr. D. C. Basu-Mallik, 18, Radhanath Mallik Lane, Calcutta.
54. Mr. Sachindraprasad Basu, 9/3, Romanath Majumder Street, Calcutta.
55. Mr. Shivaprasanna Ghose, 75, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
56. Mr. Bhagawan Das Kalla, 29, Clive Street, Calcutta.
57. Mr. Sheokissen Bhattar, 30, Clive Street, Calcutta.
58. Mr. Gostha Behari Mondal, Nawabganj, Barrackpur, Calcutta.
59. Mr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, Sheoraphuli, E. I. Ry.
60. Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, 11, Braunfield Row, Calcutta.
61. Mr. D. C. Ghose, Bar-at-Law, 23, Devendra Ghosh Road, Calcutta.
62. Mr. Kiran Chandra Dutt, M.R.A.S. (London), 1, Luxmi Dutta Lane, Calcutta.
63. Mr. Anil Chandra Dutt, Solicitor, 6, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

United Provinces

64. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Hamilton Road, Allahabad.
65. Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, P. O. Dumraon, (Dist. Shahabad).
66. Dr. Rajeswar Bali, O.B.E., Daryabad, District Bara Banki.
67. Rai Bahadur Lala Bihari Lal, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
68. Rao Krishnapal Singh, Castle Grant, Agrā.
69. Rai Braj Narain Gurtu, George Town, Allahabad.
70. Babu Bodhraj Shaney, Advocate, Civil Lines, Jhansi.
71. Pandit Krishna Prasad Kaul, Ganga Pd, Memorial Hall, Lucknow.
72. Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, Advocate, Clive Road, Allahabad.

73. Mehta Krishna Ram, Leader Buildings, Allahabad.
74. Mr. Dalip Man Singh, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Fatehpur U. P.
75. Babu Surendra Nath Varma, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
76. Babu Vishnu Nath, B.A., LL.B., 3, Cawnpore Road, Allahabad.
77. Rao Raja Rai Bahadur Dr. Shyam Bihari Misra, 105, Golaganj, Lucknow.
78. Mehta Mahipet Ram, Leader Office, Allahabad.
79. Pandit Parmeswar Nath Sapru, Advocate, "Surya Bhawan" Fyzabad.
80. Rai Bahadur Babu Ram Narayan, Civil Lines, Cawnpore.
81. Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, M.A., C.I.E., M.L.A., Lucknow.
82. Rai Bahadur Babu Bhagwati Saran Sing, "Chandra Bhawan" Outram Road, Allahabad.
83. Rai Bahadur Babu Kampta Prasad Kakkar, Rani Mandi, Allahabad.
84. Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, Taluqdar, Kotra, Sitapur District.
85. Rai Bahadur Kunwar Guru Narain, Maurawan (Unao) Oudh.
86. Rai Bahadur Pt. Badri Dutt Joshi, Vakil, Nainital.
87. Mr. Ayodha Dass, Bar-at-Law, Anand Bhawan, Gorakhpur.
88. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Chili Int, Agra.

Madras

89. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar, Chettinad Palace, Adyar, Madras.
90. Rao Bahadur Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Kanti Nivas, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
91. Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, North Gopalpuram, Cathedral, P.O. Madras.
92. Mr. E. Vinayak Rao, Advocate, East Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras.
93. Mr. C. L. Narayan Sastri, Advocate Vizagapatam.
94. Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, "The Ashram", Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
95. Dewan Bahadur M. Balasundram Naidu, C.I.E., Ritherdon Road, Vepery, Madras.
96. Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
97. Mr. S. R. Venkataram, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.
98. Mr. V. M. Nayanar, Servants of India Society, Roypetta, Madras.

Central Provinces and Berar

99. Dewan Bahadur K. V. Brahma, C.I.E., M.B.E., Advocate, Nagpur.
100. Mr. V. K. Rajvade, Advocate, Nagpur.
101. Rao Bahadur A. R. Bambewala, Nagpur.
102. Mr. N. A. Dravid, M.A., Craddock Town, Nagpur.
103. Mr. V. G. Mandpe, Dantoli, Nagpur.
104. Mr. S. B. Gokhale, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.
105. Rao Bahadur R. M. Khare, Amraoti Camp.
106. Mr. S. N. Bhalehandra, Advocate, Yeotmal.
107. Mr. V. T. Deshpande, Yeotmal, (Berar).
108. Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, M.A., Servants of India Society, Craddock Town, Nagpur.

Punjab

109. Mr. C. L. Anand, Principal, University Law College, Lahore.
110. Lala Jagannath Agarwal, Advocate, High Court, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
111. The Hon. Sir Manohar Lal, Bar-at-law, Fane Road, Lahore.
112. Pandit Hardatt Sharma, Servants of India Society, 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.
113. Mr. Banwarilal Sharma, Village Mayan, Balwadi P.O., Dist. Gurgaon, Punjab.

(102)

Behar and Orissa

114. Mr. L. N. Sahu, M.A., Servants of India Society, Cuttack.

Assam

115. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, Shillong.
116. Mr. Chandra Barua, Jorhat, Assam.
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APPENDIX E

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, 1940.

WORKING COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1941.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar (Chairman)

Bengal

Mr. J. N. Basu
The Lord Sinha of Raipur .
Mr. N. C. Ray
Mr. S. N. Roy

Bombay

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad
Dr. R. P. Paranjpye
Mr. H. G. Ghurpurey
Sir Cowasji Jehangir
Mr. A. D. Shroff
Mr. M. S. Sirdar

United Provinces

Sir C. Y. Chintamani
The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú
Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu
The Hon. Pandit H. N. Kunzru
Sir Maharaj Singh
Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh

Madras

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar
Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri
Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao

C.P., Berar & Orissa

Mr. N. A. Dravid
Mr. V. T. Deshpande
Mr. L. N. Sahu

Hony. General Secretaries

Mr. M. D. Altekar
Mr. N. C. Bharucha
Mr. R. R. Bakhale

} (Ex-Officio)

APPENDIX F

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

(As amended at its session in 1940)

1. The object of the National Liberal Federation of India is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status for India) at the earliest possible date.

The Federation 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 National Liberal Federation will be composed of (i) component organisations which adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and are recognised by the Indian National Liberal Council as component organisations and (ii) of individual members who subscribe to the creed of the Federation and are approved by the Council and pay the prescribed annual subscription.

The component organisations at present recognised are : The Indian Association and the Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta ; the Western India National Liberal Association of 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 ; and the Deccan Sabha, Poona.

The minimum annual fee prescribed for individual members is Rs. 2/-

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.

4. The Indian National Liberal Council will consist of

(a) Office-bearers.

(i) The president of the previous annual session who shall be its Chairman.

(ii) The ex-presidents who shall be Vice-chairmen.

(iii) One or more General Secretaries.

(b) Members elected at the annual session to represent the various provinces on the recommendation of the component organisations in their provinces, provided that there shall not be more than 25 from any one province.

(c) Not more than 10 members out of individual members elected at the annual session.

(d) Five members nominated by the President.

5. Each member of the Council will have to pay a fee of Rs. 25/- per annum.

6. The members of the Associations which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their committees and individual members 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 Liberal as well as other persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation, but do not belong to any Liberal organization or are not individual members of the Federation. 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 half the amount of the surplus for financing the work of the Federation.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA.

(As amended at its session in 1940)

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(b) Members elected at the annual session to represent the various provinces on the recommendation of the component organisations in their provinces, provided that there shall not be more than 25 from any one province.

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8. Every Reception Committee shall remit to the General Secretary or Secretaries after the conclusion of the annual session half the amount of the surplus for financing the work of the Federation.
