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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Associated Press of India, in telegraphing some stray sentences in Mr. Sastri's speeches in Madras, is doing him an ill turn. Apart from the wrong impression they produce on the whole, the messages give an incorrect version even of the sentences quoted. For an instance, he is represented to have said: "The Congress once had an enormous moral purity which it has now forfeited": what he actually said was "moral authority"—which of course is entirely different.

THE Secretary of State has now confirmed what the Government of India proposed some time ago, that the proportion of Indians and Europeans in the Indian Educational service should be equalised and that future recruitment also should maintain the same proportion. This is no doubt an advance upon the recommendation of the Public Services Commission, which was that the ratio between Indians and Europeans should be 1 : 3. But it does not do adequate justice to the Indian claim. Lord Willingdon's Government themselves had expressed the opinion that the ratio proposed by the Commission should be reversed and that, to begin with, there should be three Indians in the service to every European, and that the ultimate aim should be to man the whole service with Indians, drawing upon Europeans only when men of special qualifications not available in this country are required. These are the right lines on which to solve the question; and it is regrettable that the final decision of the Secretary of State is not as liberal as we had a right to expect.

THE Secretary of State has also sanctioned an advance in the scale of pay over that recommended by the Commission. They had proposed that the salary should be Rs. 350-50-1250 (Rs. 550-50-1250 in the case of non-Indians), which would have had the

effect of increasing the average salary of an officer in this department from Rs. 970 to Rs. 1043 per mensem and of throwing upon the exchequer an additional burden of about 9½ lakhs. The Secretary of State, however, has now ordered that the commencing salary of an officer in the I. E. S. should be Rs. 50 more than that recommended by the Commission, i. e. Rs. 400 (400-50-1250). The overseas allowance to be granted to Europeans, instead of being at the uniform rate of Rs. 200, is to be Rs. 150 during the first five years of service, Rs. 200 during the next three years and Rs. 250 thereafter, which, it is clear, entails a greater burden in the aggregate than what was contemplated by the Commission, the salary again for a European at the end being Rs. 1500 instead of Rs. 1250.

MR. ANDREWS cabling from Mombasa says: "Full draft proposed ordinance menacing Indian political freedom reads thus. Firstly, the Bill may be cited as removal of Undesirables Ordinance, 1919. Secondly, any person within East African Protectorate, not being a native, who from information officially received is deemed by Governor-in-Council undesirable, may be ordered by Governor to remove himself from the Protectorate before the date prescribed in such order. Thirdly, any person contravening such order shall be liable on conviction to a fine up to Rs. 1500 or to imprisonment of either description not exceeding six months or both together. Such conviction shall not affect Governor's power to issue further order under preceding section against same person. Legislative Council meets January 19th. This ordinance entirely lacks safeguards against political misuse. Economic Commission's volume of evidence contains no valid substantiation Indian moral depravity. Our vindication of Indian character has carried conviction, but European determination to follow South African policy still gravely serious."

COLONEL WEDGWOOD sought, by an amendment, to prevent the Governor being given the power to block legislation by 11(5), and his amendment was very modest. He merely proposed that, instead of stopping discussion of a proposition affecting public safety or tranquillity, the Governor should allow discussion to proceed and that even if it commanded a majority of votes it should be deemed not to have been passed. Mr. Montagu's defence of this provision was very weak. The Governor being responsible for the safety and tran-

quillity of his province, he must be armed with power, he said, to prevent discussion of a matter which, in his opinion, would jeopardise that safety and that tranquillity. But he enjoys no such power now; then why should he be invested with it in future. If the bill or clause or amendment be unacceptable he could veto it at the end, or, as was suggested in this amendment, regard it as not being passed, but why should discussion be debarred?

* * *

THE non-Brahmans of Madras read the Joint Committee's recommendation for special protection to mean that it favours the reservation of seats for non-Brahmans in communal electorates. It is of course an impossible construction and the words used by Mr. Montagu in reply to Col. Wedgwood's amendment on the subject make it plain that the Joint Committee contemplated general electorates when they recommended the reservation of seats. He said:

I think with two evils confronting a population which is really apprehensive that it is not going to get its fair share of representation in the immediate election there are two alternatives; one is to have communal representation, and that, I think, would be a great misfortune, as it would drive the people into separate camps. . . The alternative is to reserve seats by agreement between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans.

He made the position still clearer when, in rejecting Mr. Oman's amendment, he said: "He wants me again to express my objection to communal election. . . The Hon. Member knows that I would never assent to communal elections for non-Brahmans." It is sincerely to be hoped that the Madras non-Brahmans will leave aside their irreconcilable attitude and fall in, with good grace, with the compromise suggested by the Joint Committee.

* * *

IN moving his amendment relating to contributions from the provincial Governments to the Government of India, Col. Wedgwood pointed out the inequity of the basis on which the proposed contributions were assessed and emphasised that this system of grants from the provinces to the central Government should be regarded as a temporary makeshift and should cease when the next step in constitutional advance would be taken and provincial autonomy established. The central Government should by that time become self-supporting. It already had, he argued, a large and an increasing revenue, *e. g.*, income tax, salt tax and railway revenue; the import duties alone were an enormous increasing asset. The Government of India could thus raise within its own fiscal ambit ample revenue for all its needs, without laying the provinces under contribution. Col. Wedgwood mentioned at the outset that his object in moving the amendment—to leave out paragraph (ii) in clause 1 (2)—was only to elicit from the Secretary of State a statement as to the fiscal arrangements which he intended to make in the next ten years, but Mr. Montagu did not give a satisfactory reply. He would not commit himself, he said, to the tax-

able capacity of India; he would leave the matter to the Government of India to decide.

* * *

ON this point Sir Stanley Reed's evidence was very valuable, and it agrees substantially with Col. Wedgwood's amendment. "The scheme of contributions," Sir Stanley said, "from the provinces to the revenues of the Government of India should be accepted as transitory only. I hold that the basis of responsibility both in the provinces and in the Government of India requires that each shall raise and spend their own revenues. On this ground I hold that the principle should be definitely accepted that the goal should be the allocation of the whole of the provincial revenues to provincial purposes, the Government of India raising all the monies which it requires for its purposes. Whilst this goal is not immediately obtainable owing to the necessities of the Government of India definite steps should be marked out for its realisation by a continuous reduction, say 10 or 20 per cent. each year, so as to secure the elimination of the provincial contributions whilst the Government of India is given time to develop its own revenues. Only in this way can genuine responsibility be built up in the provinces, and the admitted inequities in the proposed scale of contributions removed."

* * *

IN view of the Joint Committee's recommendation that "the statutory commission should not be appointed until the expiration of ten years, and that no changes of substance in the constitution, whether in the franchise or *in the lists of reserved and transferred subjects* or otherwise, should be made in the interval," it might be useful to quote here the language employed by Mr. Montagu and Mr. Fisher on this subject to indicate that this retrograde recommendation of the Committee was not accepted by the Government. Col. Wedgwood, in speaking to Mr. Ben Spoor's amendment for the transfer of all subjects other than law, justice and police, said:

One of the things I regret most in the Bill is that we are prevented from making any changes for a period of ten years. That will not bind subsequent Governments and it will mean that this Bill will have to be repealed or altered in material respects. It is lamentable to think that those councils and those provinces which indicate a real progressive spirit and a desire to work this Act harmoniously will not be able in less than ten years to have any other subjects transferred to them. . .

* * *

MAJOR BARNES, however, took the contrary view, and therefore he put it to the Secretary of State:

As far as I can gather from the Bill there is nothing which ties the Bill down to a particular list, so that I take it that it may be quite possible, within the ten years before the statutory commission sits, to extend the list of transferred subjects. At all events there is no obstacle in the way?

Mr. Montagu: Certainly.

Mr. Fisher, in replying to Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy's amendment for the transfer of all provincial subjects after six years, observed:

May I point out that there is nothing in the Bill which reverts revision taking place before ten years, but there

must be a revision at the expiration of ten years? If it be true that great progress will be made, and if it becomes obvious that the transferred subjects are being handled wisely and effectively to the satisfaction of the Indian population by the Indian ministers, then there is no obstacle to a revision at an earlier period than ten years. It will be noted that, even after this pronouncement, there is still some set-back from the recommendations of the Joint Report inasmuch as there will be no obligation upon the Government of India to revise the list after five years.

A FEAR was expressed by Mr. Jinnah recently that the Government would try to nullify the benefit of the Reform Act by the Governors calling to the office of ministers men who were subservient to themselves. One would have thought that the decision to make the ministers responsible to the legislature from the very start would leave no ground for any such fear. The Joint Committee have given a specific direction that the ministers should be chosen from the "elected members of the legislative council, enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it," but even if the Governor were to disregard this direction—which no wise Governor will do—the council has the power in its hands to unseat the minister selected by the Governor and practically to force upon him a man of its own choice. This point was raised when the Bill was being discussed in committee in the House of Commons, and while Col. Wedgwood objected that, under Col. Yate's amendment, it would be possible for the Governor to appoint two reactionaries, he considered it a merit of the Bill that such an undesirable selection of ministers would be effectually prevented under the Bill as it stood. This expression of opinion, coming as it does from a Radical, should carry conviction in this country.

THE new Governorships of provinces which were till now administered by Lieutenant Governors will under the Reform Act cease to be reserved to the Indian Civil Service, but the question that really concerns us is, what will be the usual practice of filling these posts? The I. C. S. are in law eligible for the presidency Governorships at present; but in practice they are rigorously excluded. Will the appointment of independent men who have made a mark in the public life in England to the new Governorships be equally rare? Or will they be freely appointed? We were entitled to an answer to this question in view especially of the fact that the majority of the Government of India agreed to the proposed provision on the understanding that "no immediate change is needed in the existing practice." There is nothing in the discussion on the Bill to indicate that His Majesty's Government intend to depart from the practice of appointing the I. C. S. men to the present Lieutenant Governorships. Rather the contrary.

Mr. Inskip: To take the arguments of the right hon. Gentlemen (Mr. Fisher), the House will assume that it is in contemplation to appoint, either at first or subsequently, men who are not members of the Indian Civil Service be-

cause of the delicate and difficult duties.
Mr. Fisher: Not necessarily.

IN order that the experience of the I. C. S. men might be made available to the country in the highest sphere, Mr. Montagu suggested that Indian civil servants should be occasionally given Governorships outside India, and that colonial Governors be given Governorships in India. Mr. Lionel Curtis propounded a similar idea in his evidence. His suggestion was that members of the Indian civil service should be made Governors in some province of any of the Dominions, and that after they had had experience of democratic government they should be brought as Governors in India. If colonies would accept I. C. S. men for Governors, India would have no serious objection to accepting them after they had come into intimate contact with the working of responsible government.

THE Joint Committee empowers the Governor to set up a separate purse for each half of Government even if in the framing of the first budget there is likely to be a serious difference of opinion. Mr. Curtis's suggestion in regard to this matter was that the joint purse system should first be given a trial for two or three years, and if, as he expected, it was found unworkable, a commission should be sent out to establish the separate purse. Sir William Meyer who gave very strong evidence in favour of the joint purse was asked what he thought of the establishment of a separate purse in case of friction between the two sections of Government, and he replied: "If the Governor were to come to you and say, 'The position is really intolerable, because I cannot get my two wings to agree, do let us have a separate purse,' it would be worth considering, but I would not do it unless the joint purse proved a practical failure." Sir Stanley Reed also expressed the same opinion. It must be noted, however, that the allocation of provincial resources which the Governor may decide upon is to last, according to the Joint Committee's recommendation, only for the term of the Council, and not permanently as Mr. Curtis had suggested.

IN view of the fact that the standing committee of Parliament will be consulted in regard to the appropriateness of the considerations which should lead to the exceptional procedure in case of reserved legislation and also that the Acts thus passed over the head of the legislature will be laid before Parliament, it is necessary that the Governor or the Governor-General should be required to state reasons why the procedure of ordinance had to be resorted to. Mr. Curtis made the same suggestion in his evidence: "Then when the Governor has made up his mind that he must carry his measure or that he cannot accept an amendment which has been voted by the Council, let him say outright that he cannot accept the request, and put his reasons on record."

THE LABOUR PARTY'S ADVICE.

"NOTWITHSTANDING the defects, from our point of view, of this Bill, as a party we welcome the measure as a step in the right direction," said Mr. Adamson on behalf of the Labour party on the third reading of the Government of India Bill. "We hope it will prove a success, and so justify a further instalment of political power at no distant date. I hope the people of India themselves will accept the measure in the right spirit as a step towards the realisation of their ideal of self-government, and will do their best to make it a success, and so inspire the people of this country with the necessary confidence to trust them with a much larger measure of self-government in the very near future." The Labour party here exhort Indians to enter the new era in a hopeful spirit, imbued with a proper appreciation of the powers conferred upon us and determined to make the new constitution a success. They further insist that the enlargement of this charter and the attainment of our cherished goal will depend upon the exercise of the constitutional rights now conferred upon us. There is cause for serious misgiving that this disinterested advice of the Labour party has not sunk in the hearts of as many of us as might be desired. The Congress has no doubt decided to use the reforms; no one ever believed that even those who talked of rejection would in actual fact throw away a powerful instrument for good which had been placed in their hands. We do not speak in a polemical spirit; it is enough if they have realised that, as Mr. Ben Spoor said in the House of Commons, the time for criticism is past, and that it is necessary now to look forward. In Parliament itself there were people, in whose judgment the Reform Bill was "the most hazardous and the most daring step that had ever been taken by the British Parliament," who thought that the activities of the I. C. S. were impaired for ever by the Bill, and yet they agreed that there must be unity of purpose and of spirit in all British parties to make this constitutional advance successful. The Nationalist leaders in this country, however, adopt a different tone. Their professed object in participating in the new order of things is to make the reforms unworkable. Dyarchy in provincial administration is the essential feature of this Act, and just because the extreme view of compartmental-autonomy has not been adopted, but many arrangements making for unified government have been inserted, it will make a peculiarly large draft on our capacity for adjustment, if the new experiment is to be successful. There is no indication forthcoming yet that we shall set to work in a reasonable spirit. Mr. Tilak the other day gave the country the same advice as was given by Mr. Pal some time ago—get into the councils and see that dyarchy breaks down. To invite people of set purpose to demonstrate the impracticability of reforms is to give a very wrong and even mischievous lead to the country. It

is not unreasonable to suppose that, a clause in its resolution on co-operation notwithstanding, the Congress mainly stood for this idea at Amritsar. We trust the country will not follow this lead, but recognise that it is the duty of all to whom it will fall to work the reforms in whatever capacity to show that dyarchy with all its inherent difficulties can be made successful, with forbearance and mutual good will which every transitional constitution requires in a special degree.

The new Reforms Act makes, as Mr. Spoor put it, a distinct break with the past, and, therefore, it requires all of us to effect a corresponding change in our attitude. We, too, on our part, must be prepared to leave the past behind, and with a single eye to the country's good and irrespective of the existing party divisions amongst us, work the new constitution in co-operation with all. There will most certainly be parties under responsible government that is to come into existence; but those parties will be very different from the present groups, and they must gradually evolve as opposing schools of thought based on live practical issues struggle with each other to find expression and gain ascendancy in the councils of the nation. No useful purpose is served by either perpetuating the existing lines of cleavage or prematurely forming new parties. It is not easy to adjust ourselves to the rôle which the new duties to which we are now called require of us. A tremendous amount of work lies ahead in educating the masses in the principles of the new constitution. As Capt. Ormsby-Gore observed the act establishes for the first time the broad foundations of an Indian electorate. The franchise has been sharply criticised by Labour members as being too narrow. To Englishmen an electorate of 8½ per cent. of the adult males must appear miserably small. It is small, and the main work of Indian reformers consists in widening the electorate and training it in the use of the vote. It is then, as Capt. Ormsby-Gore said, that the coping stone of full self-government will be placed on the existing edifice. It is an acute observation of Mr. L. Curtis that too often the fitness for responsible government is measured by the number of capable ministers that are available to assume charge of administration. Democratic self-government, however, rests more on the capacity of the voters to have an intelligent understanding of public questions and to hold their representatives to account. All our available resources in men will be taxed to the uttermost in placing before the people in as simple a form as possible the main features of the Act, the powers conceded to them and the use to which they can be put. We must acquaint them with questions which most nearly concern them and the ways in which their solutions can be attempted. This is a work in which all men with public spirit, whatever be their party label, can take their share. Let definite programmes of work be formulated, and as they differ, different parties will naturally be for-

med, but for the present it is best that the existing party distinctions be not unduly emphasised.

INDIA'S COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE European Chambers of Commerce in India and Ceylon have lost no time in organizing themselves for the purpose of effectively attacking the trade problems that confront them in the immediate future. They have formed themselves into an Association, the first meeting of which was held last week in Calcutta when the Viceroy opened their conference. In his speech, Lord Chelmsford touched upon a number of important questions and explained the attitude of the Indian Government with regard to them. How enemy nations and foreigners generally should be dealt with in the matter of Indian trade, has long been debated and some are in favour of a rigid control of their operations, while others want to exclude the Germans altogether and prevent aliens from engaging in trade of any kind in this country except under license. For very sound reasons, the Government of India does not propose to follow such an extreme, and from the point of view of the interests of Indian trade, suicidal course. The Germans are certainly going to be excluded from India for a period of years and will not be allowed to handle Indian trade in this country. But to ask Government to stop all trade with Germany or not to allow foreigners to trade here without a license, is rather a tall order. It is a policy which is bound not only to create unnecessary international complications, but to prove detrimental to the progress of India herself. While, therefore, restriction will be continued in the matter of certain essential articles such as minerals and oil, the Viceroy wants that foreign competition should be met with stronger organization and improved methods of marketing. He asked merchants and manufacturers to show greater initiative and adaptability and to rely less on Government help to eliminate foreign competition.

It was an interesting confession which the Viceroy made when he observed that old ideas concerning free trade must be revised and that India and the Empire must adopt a new policy with regard to tariffs. Indian leaders have, for years, urged this self-same policy on Government, and a great war was needed to teach it the reasonableness of the Indian demand. Lord Chelmsford said: "The fact is that preconceived opinions have been somewhat shaken by the events of the five years and now-a-days we are not prepared to accept the doctrines of our youth as something sacrosanct, inviolable and capable of no exceptions whatsoever." The material point, however, which here arises is, how are these changed ideas going to be given effect to? The United Kingdom has already admitted the principle of preferential trade within the Empire, but it will be too much to ask India to adopt it wholesale. What India wanted in the past and wants to-day is that she should be allowed to frame a tariff best suited to

her conditions and requirements and that no economic policy should be imposed upon her which does not satisfy this test. Lord Chelmsford observed: "It is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference as a general policy without full discussion and full support of enlightened public opinion," and he wished that the public should be enlightened on the subject and that no one should express ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the condition of the trades concerned. The basic principle and test laid down by the Viceroy are perfectly sound. What we want to do, he said, is to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages and then strike the balance between the two. It is India's interest first which we have to look to, but the Viceroy added that in developing the tariff policy of the future it would be unwise to consider the purely Indian aspect and that we ought to be able to evolve some system which will be to the advantage not only of India but also of the Empire of which this country is an integral part. There will be no difficulty in endorsing this quite reasonable view of the matter, but the whole trouble will lie in striking the balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the practical operation of a policy of preferential trade within the Empire. With reference to economic conditions and needs India stands in a peculiar position, and her trade problems will have to be handled in a special way if her people are to be allowed to develop the country's resources to their utmost benefit.

We are glad to notice that the Viceroy exhorted employers of labour in India to take every step in their power to improve the condition of work-people engaged by them as much in their personal interest as in that of the country as a whole. He also made a passing reference to railway expansion and stated that an inquiry would be made into that question in the course of the current year and that the possibilities of providing adequate funds for the development of India by means of railways, would be thoroughly examined. Proceeding to the problem of rice control, Lord Chelmsford explained that Government's policy in that behalf was calculated to attain a threefold object, firstly, preventing an undue rise in internal prices, secondly, obtaining a fair price for exports, and, thirdly, securing to the general community the profits which would otherwise be absorbed by a small section of people. The Viceroy did well to emphasise the conflict of interests, though apparent and temporary, between the expansion of external trade and the development of local industries. The latter is bound to diminish imports from abroad, and commercial houses engaged in this species of trade will have to reconcile themselves to the change and adapt themselves to the altered conditions. There is going to be greater state activity, directed to the promotion of industrial development, and we trust that European merchants will wholeheartedly co-operate with Government and the people of this country in making these efforts

successful. A joint session of the Industrial Conference and the Commercial Congress will be held in a few days' time in Bombay and it is to be hoped that the Viceroy's Government and the decisions of the Calcutta conference of the Chambers of Commerce will be carefully examined at it and the Indian attitude towards them will be thoughtfully formulated and clearly enunciated. The immediate future is big with great economic possibilities, and it is the duty of all those that are engaged and interested in the rapid and sound development of Indian industries and trade to give their best thought to the problem and place their considered views before the public and the Government.

FINAL STAGE IN THE COMMONS.

RULES UNDER THE ACT.

COL. YATE moved an amendment in Committee the effect of which, if passed, would have been to suspend the operation of the Act till all the rules to be framed under it, without exception, were submitted to Parliament and passed therein by an affirmative resolution. Capt. Ormsby-Gore pointed out that while some clauses of the Act could not come into force till rules regarding franchise, &c., were made and finally adopted, it would be unreasonable to hold up the other portions of the Act which could be brought into operation immediately, as they did not require any rules, *e. g.*, the appointment of a High Commissioner for India. The delay which the acceptance of this amendment would entail was quite unnecessary, besides being "open to the worst misconstruction." Sir Henry Craik observed that that was not a point on which the Joint Committee was at all divided, and that the relegation of rules to the Secretary of State was by no means a novel procedure in Indian legislation. Indeed, it was very unusual to incorporate in a bill all the elaborate rules which were necessary for its working. The Joint Committee had only improved upon the usual manner in which rules were made and increased the stringency of the procedure by recommending that a standing committee of the two Houses should be set up to which the rules should be referred. Mr. Montagu said that all the rules would be submitted to this committee, and that all of them with the report of the committee would come before Parliament. It would be for the Secretary of State to decide, upon the advice of the standing committee, which rules should be dealt with by positive resolution and which by the "negative laying upon the table." Will the Secretary of State abide by the committee's advice and propose important rules to Parliament for acceptance by resolution? Mr. Montagu thus answered this question: "The standing committee will have the power to advise Parliament when there are rules of sufficient importance that they should be submitted for affirmative resolution, and, if they do that, I feel quite convinced Parliament will insist on supporting its own committee and standing up for the advice which is given." "It will thus be practically

the standing committee which will say, to the Secretary of State, 'These rules are so important that you had better have an affirmative resolution; this is such a trifling alteration that it is necessary only to draw the attention of Parliament to it and to leave it upon the Table of the House.'" If anyone wants all the rules to be submitted to the process of resolution, it had better be done, said Mr. Montagu, by moving an amendment to clause 44, but, as a matter of fact, no amendment was moved when that clause came up for consideration. The rules of course will be published in India and opinions invited on them before they are sent to England.

ATTACK ON DUALISM.

The next amendment by Col. Yate for the elimination of dyarchy from the Bill was easily disposed of. As Mr. Bennett said, it was really a second-reading point, and should not have been raised at the Committee stage, for, in the words of Sir Henry Craik, dyarchy being "interwoven in the very woof of the Bill," it could not be disentangled without drawing, as Sir John Rees expressed it, "the pith and substance out of the whole of the Bill." But the question really was: What was to be substituted in its stead? Merely to choose half the executive from the people's representatives in the legislature without the guarantee, as Mr. Acland showed, of their being allotted any definite responsibility and any power to discharge it, would be a very poor substitute for dyarchy. Even if a portfolio be assigned to the Indian half of the executive, unless they had a separate sphere of work, the Government would have a finger in every pie, and the dualism that would result would be "in the most dangerous and unworkable form possible." This was the verdict of Sir Henry Craik himself who was one of the most determined opponents of dyarchy. Or, to use Sir J. D. Rees's phrase, Col. Yate's amendment would merely "convert a nominal dyarchy into an actual anarchy." For, Mr. Acland argued, the Indian wing of the executive "will not have any real responsibility of their own, and in course of time they will gradually become the tools of the official members, and maybe of the Governor, in carrying out the official policy, in which case they will lose the touch and confidence of those who have elected them, or else they will claim their right of interfering with every mortal thing and try to make every action of the Government impossible and make it difficult for things to be done in the interests of India." The truth is that, under the amendment, the Indian section of the executive would not be responsible to the legislature, and this suggestion is, therefore, far different from the Congress-League scheme, to which it bears only a superficial resemblance.

The Labour members tried hard to enlarge the list of transferred departments and Col. Wedgwood particularly pressed for the transfer of irrigation in Bombay and Madras and of legislation in industrial matters in Bombay. The Secretary of State agreed that no immediate transfer of either land

revenue or irrigation or industrial legislation was possible as there was no electorate sufficiently representative of the rural or industrial classes to whom the ministers could be made responsible.

A CONSTITUTION FOR BURMA.

Mr. Spoor's amendment for the inclusion of Burma in the Bill drew forth expressions of opinion from many progressive members that although it was necessary to endow Burma with a constitution no less advanced than that of Indian provinces, it would not be to its interest to make it a part of India, which it was not. The conditions in Burma were in several respects more favourable to the growth of responsible government: for instance, there was a wider spread of education there, no caste distinctions prevailed, and the standard of treatment of women was higher; and it would not do therefore to confer upon Burma fewer powers than were given to Indian provinces. But the members thought it inadvisable that it should be included in the Bill, because it would mean," observed Mr. Acland, "that, although Burma is not India, she should be harnessed to the provinces of India and have to go their pace for ever." Mr. Montagu agreed that "Burma must get an analogous grant of self-government, a similar grant of self-government, subject to differences in the local conditions of Burma." But he added that Burma, not having enjoyed the same development under the Morley-Minto scheme, was in this discussion a stage behind—which is rather ominous. Col. Wedgwood asked whether a Bill would be introduced for Burma in the next session of Parliament, and Mr. Montagu replied: "I want to bring in a Bill next year. I am now in telegraphic communication with the Government of India upon the Burmese scheme, and I shall be very much surprised if at the end of next session we have not passed the Bill dealing with Burma."

APPOINTMENTS TO NEW GOVERNORSHIPS.

Sir Henry Craik championed the cause of the Indian Civil Service by moving an amendment for the retention of the present statutory prescription that the heads of the present Lieutenant Governorships, etc., should be men who had been for ten years in the service of the Crown in India. The Hon'ble member, however, claimed that he was making this motion, not in the interest of the service so much as in the interest of India, for he believed it would be a great national loss if the Governors were selected, not from men who had had official experience in India, but from "fledgling politicians" or older men who had not found opportunities for advance at home—men, again, chosen by the Whips "under political pressure." Every member who took part in the debate admitted that the I. C. S. were good administrators, but the duties of the Governors under the new régime lay in a different direction. The future Governors will be, as Col. Wedgwood said, "constitutional sovereigns who will take the advice of their ministers and who will be in effect the constitutional means of carrying out the wishes of the ministers and of the Legislative

Assembly." And Mr. Fisher well remarked that their past experience did not provide the best qualification for their new duties. The Governor "will be the political chief of the province and not only the administrative chief. He will have in effect to manage on an assembly. He will have to deal with difficult Parliamentary situations every week of his life. He will have to study the eddies of political opinion in India in a way which in the ante-political days was not possible. Those are not duties for which the administrative work of the civil service is specially qualified to fit a man." Even Sir John Rees admitted that the chance of the great constitutional experiment now being inaugurated must not be impaired in the interest of the service. "The world is altered," he said, "and the Indian civil servant must alter with it, however, conservative he may be in his heart. I am one of them and I have all the prejudices of my class, but you must take into account the existing circumstances and not only the claims of a particular class." In other words, as Col. Wedgwood put it, experience in constitutional practice was a greater desideratum in the new Governors than experience of India. The upshot of all this discussion was that the new Governorships were in law thrown open to men outside of the ranks of the civil service, but no hope was held out that in actual practice men with Parliamentary experience would be appointed on a large scale.

FEMININE FRANCHISE.

For over an hour and a half the Committee debated the question of woman's franchise. The case for sex equality was strongly put by Major Hill, Mr. Spoor and Earl Winterton. They all urged Parliament to confer suffrage straightaway upon Indian women instead of leaving the matter to be decided by the provincial councils. Mr. Fisher assured the Committee that woman suffrage would be introduced in many provinces in India if the decision was left to the councils, but it would not be right to foist the right upon a province like the Punjab if the local council were opposed to it. It is just because there is this element of uncertainty about it in some provinces that the advocates of feminine franchise would have liked to see the question settled in Parliament, but it is unreasonable to object to the Joint Committee's decision to refer the matter to provincial legislatures on the ground that the latter are not sufficiently representative. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to enfranchise more than 2 per cent. and odd of the population, but it is ridiculous to argue that if the franchise were lowered the council would be more progressive. Mr. Bennett effectively disposed Mr. Spoor's reasoning: "He (Mr Spoor) says that something like 98 per cent. of the people of India will have no voice in determining whether or not the vote shall be extended to women. Let me assure him that anyone who has any knowledge of the people of India would say that not from the 98 per cent. of the population will the demand for the vote for

women proceed. The demand will come from within that 5,000,000 upon whom the franchise is to be bestowed, and not from the 98 per cent. who are left outside it."

RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATION.

Col. Wedgwood advanced very cogent arguments in support of his amendment that there shall be no residency test for any candidate in Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, as has been decided upon. It is worth while to quote from his speech here :—

In this country a member can sit for any constituency wherever he lives. In America they have the other plan, and a man may only stand for a constituency in which he is resident. The difference between these two systems is profound. In England anyone who is a keen Conservative, Liberal or Labour man who loses his seat can find a seat elsewhere. In America that is impossible, and if you lose your seat you have no chance of re-election till another general election comes along. Furthermore, if you happen to live in a constituency which is naturally Conservative, and you are naturally Liberal or Labour, you may never have a chance of getting into Parliament at all. The residency qualification is a curse in America. It prevents a man taking a real live interest in a political career. It makes a man much more the delegate of the vested interests in his constituency than a representative of the whole community. . . . All the arguments against residency which apply in England apply with even greater force in India, because there they are beginning political life, and there is not a very large selection of candidates available. Leaders are few in number at the present time, and to intensify the difficulty of getting these leaders elected by prohibiting them from standing in any constituency save that in which they live would make far more difficult than it would otherwise be the selection of leaders to lead the new democracy in India.

Mr. Montagu also agreed. "I believe," he said, "that the residential qualification provision is a bad one, because it is very little used. Its object is to ensure that candidates who stand for a constituency are really representative of that constituency. It is very easy to get a residential qualification." It was represented to the Joint Committee that rural constituencies might be represented by members who habitually resided in cities, and that, therefore, the residency qualification might be tried in some provinces to see if it did not secure better representation. Mr. Montagu explained that if it was found that the absence of residential qualification led to good representation of rural constituencies, then the reservation in the three provinces would disappear.

PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

Mr. Spoor moved that the presidents of the provincial legislatures should be elected from the start, and the essential part of this motion received the support of Mr. Bennett. Both these members urged that although in India there were of course no men of Parliamentary experience, still there were people who were well qualified to preside over large and responsible deliberative assemblies. The Indian Speakers would learn and tradition would grow up round their office and in time they would fully justify their choice. From the reply which the Secretary of State gave, it would appear that it was in contemplation to send out from Eng-

land the first speakers for all the eight provincial legislatures. He said: "These new legislative councils have a burden big enough upon their shoulders already without suggesting that they should find one of the best men among their number, learned I do not know how in all the niceties and intricacies of Parliamentary chairmanship, as President."

Under the revised constitution as under the old, no non-official member can, without previous sanction of the Governor, introduce in the provincial council any measure affecting the revenue of the province. Col. Wedgwood sought to delete this provision in the Government of India Act now in force so that all proposals, even if they involved any charge on the exchequer, might come up before the legislature and be discussed. No harm could result, the mover argued, from any such discussion so long as the Governor retained the power to veto the measures. Mr. Montagu replied that a similar provision applied to the House of Commons and contended that there was no need to alter the procedure.

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

Col. Wedgwood then levelled an attack against the Council of State as a revising body. Since it was going to be elected in the same way as the Legislative Assembly, it could not in his opinion revise the latter chamber's decision and he urged that the duplication be prevented by abolishing the second chamber. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the Council of State was to be elected for a different term of years and by a different electorate. The Joint Committee laid very great emphasis upon the fact that the electorate ought to be different. They said: "The Franchise Committee advise that the non-official members should be elected by the same group of persons as elect the members of the Legislative Assembly and in the same constituency. This is a plan which the Committee could in no circumstances accept." Capt. Ormsby-Gore pointed out that this proposal was to be tried only for ten years to see if they could get a useful body in that way. Col. Wedgwood then moved that the first Legislative Assembly ought to be formed by direct election. The Joint Committee too was in favour of direct election, but they left it open to the Governor-General in Council to decide whether it was practicable or not. Mr. Montagu expressed cordial agreement. He said:

I happen to know by telegraphic correspondence with Government of India that they are hoping to devise a system of direct election. That is what they are aiming at, and in all human probability that will be the scheme that my hon. and gallant friend will find will come before us. There is, however, a possibility that a direct electorate cannot be devised in time for the first starting of the Bill. I do not think it is likely to occur, but it will not be fatal to have for the first ten years or perhaps for a shorter time indirect election. . . . It would not be an incontrovertible disaster if, for instance the first Legislative Assembly in India were indirectly elected by the members of the municipalities and the local government bodies in the rural districts.

Col. Wedgwood then proposed that four instead of three Indians be appointed to the Viceroy's execu-

ative council and that they be selected from the elected members of the legislature. He also proposed that two Under-Secretaries of State for India be appointed, one of whom to be always an Indian. The Secretary of State promised, in response to the request of Col. Wedgwood, that before the rules embodying franchise were made, they would be submitted to the House of Commons for approval, and that members given an opportunity of making amendments. The declaration of rights which Mr. Henderson proposed to be inserted in the Bill was pronounced by the Speaker to be out of order.

A CRITIC.

SELECTIONS.

MR. SASTRI ON REFORMS. SPEECH AT THE MODERATE CONFERENCE.

APPEAL TO THE NATIONALISTS.

THE following is the full report of the speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in supporting the resolution on reforms moved by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea at the second Moderate Conference held at Calcutta:—

Mr. President and brother delegates,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I come upon the platform to support the resolution. It is by far the most important of the resolutions you will deal with to-day and to-morrow, and if we dwell at some length upon it, I do not think we shall at all mispend our time. This resolution opens with a regret that no liberalization has been allowed in the Central Government of India. It is certainly a matter for regret. Our veteran leader has already told you how all the deputations from India pressed for the introduction of dualism in the Government of India with unanimity. That was rejected by the Joint Committee. But our regret at this may well be qualified and tempered by a certain consideration. While with one hand rejecting this common request of ours, the Joint Committee has given us instead so many improvements in the Central Government that we are under no necessity at all to go into mourning or to shed tears at this omission. They have given us three members on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. They have given us what we had not dared to hope—the power of voting the Imperial Budget. We never had this before. As far as I remember it was not one of the seriously pressed points in our programme. The Joint Committee have, however, realised that when this big step of reform is taken, christened responsible government, it would be absurd to deny to the representatives of the people even the right to vote on their taxes. So they have, with qualifications it is true, with subtractions, it is true, but still they have given us in the Imperial Council the right to vote on the budget. The Viceroy may, if he pleases, consider any vote which has been adopted or any item that has been reduced as having been voted in its entirety. That however, is to be construed as a reduction in our power, not as a total denial of it. That is a great gain. Then we have got fiscal autonomy which Mr. Banerjea has already mentioned. Then above all they have gone much farther and have given us in the Imperial Legislative Council, the first house consisting of 140 members of whom 100 will be elected and the second house consisting of 60 members of whom 40 will be elected. That is a constitution which is a very considerable improvement even on the House of Lords, where there is a deadlock between the two Houses on matters under dispute. All these things put together increase our power of the Central Government to such an extent that really the denial of actual dualism in the Government is not after all a matter for unqualified regret. Coming to

THE PROVINCES,

we have obtained a practical control over the administration and over the purse, or what is known as the power of the

purse. I well remember the fateful December, 1908, when the Congress met in Madras and it was left to Mr. Gokhale to explain to them the Minto-Morley reforms before they were actually put into operation. He said that while what we had up to that moment was only consultation with the Government, thereafter we should have association with the Government. He then added that that did not mean participation in the Government. That would come in time. I wonder if he realized that that participation would come so soon. But it has now come. No one is kept out of the temple of self-government. We were admitted into it by slow degrees, first into its outer court and are now admitted to the full privilege of worship in that temple. Self-government is now ours. Provincial government, it is now my privilege to tell you, is practically ours. I have heard friends on the other side say that we have not got provincial autonomy yet, whole and entire. That is practically true. That is another step that we have to take—I hope that will be the next step. I hope I am not guilty of over-interpretation of the various provisions of the Bill and of the recommendations of the Joint Committee not yet incorporated into the Bill, but to be soon made the subject of reform practically having the force of an Act. I do not wish to over-interpret, but I am content to estimate the provisions of the Act as fully as possible. It will yield to us benefits on a footing that your ministers or representatives in the Legislative Council will be men of initiative, of courage, of patriotism, of ability, to use the powers placed in their hands to the best advantage of the community. Taking it at that, supposing our men would use the power they have got to the best advantage, then what would our voting in the provincial Governments amount to? Please remember that we are going to have at least three Indians to one European in the Government of every province—perhaps four Indians in certain provinces. That means that the Government will be predominantly manned by Indians. If you examine it carefully you will agree with me that practically you will have three Indians responsible to the elected house and legislature, that the one who is in the executive council working with two brother Indians will not be able to consider himself for a long time on any vital matter as standing outside. The pressure of the atmosphere upon him will be irresistible, and for all practical purposes, you will remember, that the day of the unmitigated bureaucrat, whether white or brown, is ended. (Laughter.) What then becomes of the division between transferred and reserved subjects? I make another statement which you may consider as bold. On the supposition that when the power is placed in your hands to elect representatives you elect proper men, a certain number of functions will no doubt be reserved and the executive Government will in the last resort have power to administer them as they please. But still to the Governor is now entrusted the power of overriding the decisions of the legislature as regards the reserved departments—but not absolutely without qualification. This power he will have to exercise, under such difficulties as will make it impossible for any particular Governor to exercise it more than once in this régime, for a single use of this extreme power of overriding the decision will make a subsequent exercise more difficult. I am perfectly certain that the Governor must be foolhardy who repeatedly exercises such decisions, passes laws on his own account, goes before the Select Committee with a case to make out, and then also runs the risk of being overruled altogether by a negative or positive vote of Parliament itself. In point of fact a Governor may not in any given case have the decision go against him, for the trouble will be so great. As I told you before I have every confidence that he will not dare to exercise too his reserve powers frequently. Considering your Ministers are going to be three, the reserved subjects are already half transferred to us.

THE POWER OF THE PURSE.

Then as regards the power of the purse, you will be surprised to hear that the Joint Committee set aside the recommendations of the Government of India and restored this item to the position as it had occupied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We have control all along the line, transferred or re-

reserved, subject only to the qualification that as regards reserved services the Governor will have the power of restoring the item that we have struck out. It is a serious qualification, no doubt, but a qualification that is bound to grow less and less important in time. We have, if not complete legally acknowledged constitutional provincial autonomy, we have such a degree of provincial autonomy that for all practical purposes we may consider it fairly complete and that in a few years, it is bound to be theoretically complete.

At the time when the Reforms were announced, you knew that the politicians were divided into two camps. We called ourselves Moderates and the other party sometimes called themselves Nationalists and sometimes with pride called themselves Extremists. They said that true tactics is to denounce the Reforms and ask for the whole, not necessarily to get the whole but with a view to get as much as possible on such bargain. We told them that our policy is to stand and declare our hearty and cordial opinion that the Reforms are substantial and that we support them. And we ask, as friends and supporters of the Reforms entitled to respectful and sympathetic hearing, for a certain expansion here and certain improvements there so that the scheme will really be such as we deserve and could work.

TRUER PROPHETS.

It was stated that ours was bad tactics. We said it was honest and good tactics. For these reasons we were obliged to separate and erect a camp of our own. The time has now come to ask whether they or we have proved true prophets. I venture to think that it is almost beyond question that we have proved truer prophets. (Hear, hear.) It is open to people to claim that everything that has been obtained has been obtained through them and that we contributed nothing but a little obstruction and a little hesitation. It will be admitted even by certain people on the other side who have not altogether taken leave of fairness and justice in criticism that we who took the view that it was the wisest and likewise the best course to appear as friends and supporters of the scheme, that we have contributed in obtaining for India this large measure of responsible government. I will tell you in one word in how many ways the scheme has been improved. When I say that the Reform Act is an improved scheme, please understand that I am comparing the Reform Act as it is to-day not with the recommendations of the Government of India of the 5th March, they went back a good deal, but with the original Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We were not thoroughly dissatisfied even with that report. We think we can claim that we have obtained a good many improvements—nearly everything in the Central Government is an improvement.

There is one other thing. The Joint Committee has given us and practically incorporated in the Bill as a whole that we will have elected presidents in the popular houses. This is a thing to which the Government of India attached no importance, but they took very good care to write in strong terms that we should not have an elected president at all. I am one of those who believed at the time that without an elected president your popular house will be slow in finding out its own privileges and will be ineffective in using all its privileges. When it is presided over by a non-official, then it will obtain the fullest room for self-expression.

I claim that we were fully justified in assuming the rôle of friends and supporters of the Bill, for in that way we have really succeeded in extending the scheme and obtaining many improvements upon it. Now having obtained a big measure of responsible government, what is the attitude that this house of Liberals is going to take with regard to it? The last clause of this resolution lays down the necessity for hearty co-operation between all classes and communities, Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials.

NATIONALIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS REFORMS.

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee has referred to the Europeans and their attitude and also to the Indian Civil Service and their attitude. If you will not consider me guilty of high treason to this camp, if you will not consider me a heretic and a renegade, permit me to say that this invitation

to co-operate must now be extended in all honesty and consistency even to our brothers of the Indian National Congress. They are Indians, they are citizens of future India just as much as you are. Their co-operation, their full understanding of the Reform Scheme and their fullest sympathy in the working of the new Act are absolutely essential. It is a great pity that one of the leaders of the Congress should have gone there after having declared it as his opinion that the Extremist party should capture all the seats in the new councils. For what purpose? Not for the purpose of extracting from the Reform Act all the benefits and advantages that it is capable of conferring, but for the purpose of showing that this Reforms Act is unworkable, that it will not do, that the whole thing must be thrown out, that a new constitution should be devised for the purpose of satisfying the political aspirations of India. That will lead to where? Nothing but a perfect anarchy and chaos. I am positive that this counsel will not prevail even in the National Congress. There is amongst them, I am able to say from personal experience, a very considerable body of opinion that this Reform Act is a substantial measure of responsible government. Unless everything goes against us, even the National Congress will be passing a resolution more or less on these lines. Gentlemen, to some who are utterly consumed with the spirit of partizanship that may not be good news. To me it is good news. It is of the happiest augury that the National Congress from which we had with so much regret to separate the other day should have come round to our views. What greater triumph could you think for the Moderates than that? (Hear, hear.) We have succeeded in this even more than we anticipated, even more than we have hoped. I am fully persuaded on every side there will be a recognition that this new Act will mark a new era and that, therefore, we must enter upon it with a new outlook of politics generally.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT.

Our whole attitude towards the Government must change. Hitherto Extremists and Moderates alike viewed with suspicion anything that the Government did. We never felt fully that it was ours. We always thought that we were advisers, sometimes advising, sometimes threatening, sometimes cajoling, but on the whole we considered ourselves standing outside, being denied the power in the inner councils. When the new councils are constituted practically the Government will be ours. Their outlook should be changed fundamentally. We should turn right about towards the new Government.

It may be very easy to turn right about in drill, but it is not easy to execute a right about turn in your mind, especially in your attitude towards the Government. During the last 35 years of our political existence we have always taken a critical attitude towards the Government, lacking in sympathy, always suspecting motives, never feeling that our voice will be listened to. Now, every word of ours will have its own effect in shaping our destinies—our political programme, newspaper leaders, platform speeches. You can all take a stand in the making of the law, in raising the revenue, in fact in the shaping of your destiny. Every citizen in the country, whether he is an Extremist or a Moderate, should change his attitude, should fully realize the powers granted under the new constitution, should with fear and trembling in his heart at the responsibilities put upon his shoulders enter the sacred precincts of this new constitution, and worshipfully take his place as a citizen of the Indian Empire. You may remember even in the abbreviated report of the debates in both Houses on the Reform Bill, how member after member, those who are usually friendly, and those who are not usually friendly to us, speaking in accents of genuine hesitation, sometimes not unshared by me and by others who have shared the troubles and anxieties of the past few years, how member after member got up and said: "We have given a great measure of self-government to India, we are making a great experiment, what will come of it all? We hope that the future representatives of the people, the future tax-payers of the country will realize each their fullest responsibilities, each will remember that the eyes of the whole world are on them, watching how they use this new power," for on the way we use our powers will depend a great deal whether we Indians ought to get more powers

of a constitutional kind hereafter. On the way we use our powers will also depend whether Asiatics can work representative institutions and develop responsible government, and use them in orderly, peaceful and thoroughly constitutional ways. These are the mighty questions which our future conduct of our own assemblies will decide and it behoves us all to remember these immense responsibilities. And that is why I for my part extend the terms of the last part of the resolution and would give the invitation to co-operate to everybody.

HOW TO WORK THE ACT.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH IN MADRAS.

The following extract is taken from the speech (as reported by the *Madras Mail*) by the Hon. Mr. V S. Srinivasa Sastri at the reception given to him by the Madras Liberal League on Thursday, January 8:—

"I do not think we could come into the councils, such of us as have the good fortune to get there, except in a spirit of the broadest, the fullest and the most unprejudiced patriotism. Let us put aside our views such as they have been hitherto. The time has now come to grow out of ourselves. If you please, let there be no Moderates, or Extremists anywhere. Let us all be Indian citizens of to-morrow in working this new Act. Our business should be to show that this Act is workable, that in spite of its apparent defects we can bring so much common sense, so much practical good feeling, so much of the spirit of moderation, of the spirit of compromise, of the spirit of mutual accommodation to bear on the daily working of the council, that it shall succeed in our hands and yield to our people the utmost good fruit of which it is capable. It is in that spirit that we should go into councils and for that purpose it is not enough that we should fight new elections, as people belonging to one party or the other. I make no doubt that people who think that it is a nice thing to go before the electorate and call themselves Nationalists will do so. I have no doubt that those who think that it is a better thing to go under the name of Moderates will do so. But, whatever is actually going to happen, the best thing is to go before the country as the citizens of a promising and hopeful future. We must make up our minds that the new councils should be filled, not with men of this party or that, but with the best men who are willing to serve the public, whatever parties they may have hitherto belonged to. For I am perfectly certain that this Act can be worked only on this condition, that in the beginning we do not consider ourselves as Brahmans or non-Brahmans, as Extremists or Moderates, or as belonging to one community or another community, but as people resolved to consider themselves as trustees of the future, as guardian of the best interests of posterity, of people who have stepped into a noble heritage and mean to deserve it fully

"I am by no means hopeful. I do not expect that everyone can put aside the mantle he has hitherto worn. That is not human nature. That has been abundantly testified to by the way in which the Congress has treated the subject; because we have hitherto done so, we shall do so just to be consistent, whatever the changes in outward circumstances might be. I am perfectly certain that many will go into the councils resolved to wear the same label hitherto worn. World politics has changed. In England to day the old party divisions are practically obliterated. There is a new spirit abroad everywhere. On our own Joint Committee there were many people who will be marked down as Conservatives. But it is remarkable that even they came to the consideration of the Reforms from a broadened standpoint which the war has enforced on all minds. People are forgetting party differences in England. In India let us not carry into the new time the bitterness, the animosities and the asperities of party warfare. If they come on real living issues, when we work responsible government, let them come, nobody can avoid them. We ought not to dwell too much on them now. We shall

handicap ourselves and others most grievously indeed, if we do not go to the elections and the work of the future, resolved to bring into the new councils the very best men that are available, and men who come into them with a belief in the institution that they have got to work, and not men who have already pre-judged and pronounced it unworkable and say that they will show it by coming into the council. I make no doubt that these very people will change their view when the excitement of the Congress is over, and good sense will draw on every one of them. I venture to state that the National Congress this time has given a wrong lead, and I have every hope that that lead will not be taken and that will find, that they in proportion as they depart from the lead that has been given, in that proportion they will be serving the best interests of the country. It is a very strong statement to make—I take no pride or pleasure in making it, but I am bound to make it because that is my most emphatic conviction. I venture to think that the future of India will be guaranteed if we resolved not to be shackled by the opinions of the Congress, which once had enormous moral authority, but has now grievously forfeited it. (Loud applause)."

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