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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WHATEVER exaggeration there may be in the accounts, which are published, of the atrocities perpetrated by the Bolsheviks in the territories brought under their influence, there can be no doubt about the unsocial, revolutionary and destructive character of their programme. The Bolsheviks already hold Russia in their iron grip, and, like the propagators of a new gospel, they are straining every nerve to extend their propaganda and to spread the infection of their revolutionary doctrines far and wide. They seem to have found a congenial field in Central Asia and as the forces of Denikin and Kolchak have vanished before their armies, the Bolsheviks are trying to concentrate their energies on a campaign in the direction of Persia, Mesopotamia and Afghanistan. The Bolsheviks are out to destroy the existing forms of society by pitiless war, and to impose the yoke of their own ideas and schemes of social organization upon every country they can succeed in penetrating. They are a serious menace to order and peace and civilization and must be resisted at any cost. The British and the Indian Governments are prepared, we feel assured, to face this pest and we have not the least doubt that they will have all the support they need from the people.

IT is really painful to find that the Bombay strike should have continued for about three weeks without any hopeful indication of an approach to settlement. The mill-owners would not consent to listen to and consider the demands of the workers unless the latter unconditionally returned to the factories. The operatives would not consent to resume work until their grievances had been redressed. The Labour Settlement Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar,

has ascertained the views of the workers and communicated them to the Mill-owners' Association. The situation has clearly established the need of well-organized unions of workmen, who may speak with authority in the name of the members and carry on effective negotiations with employers. It has also proved the necessity of a board of arbitration composed of the representatives of capital, labour and the public, which may consider questions relating to workmen's grievances. An appeal was addressed by the workers and others to His Excellency the Governor to intervene and use his influence to bring about a settlement of the strike; but Sir George Lloyd, for reasons which are not known, has postponed intervention. We think that this is a matter of great public importance—not a mere private affair between mill-owners and workmen—and the Government of Bombay ought to make an effort to put an end to the strike. Delay in such matters involves great risks, and we hope His Excellency will not put off interference till matters take a serious turn. It is the duty of Government, we repeat, to attempt a settlement of trade disputes when the parties to it cannot come to an agreement without outside pressure.

'A WAYFARER' suggests in the *Nation* that General Dyer should undergo a civil trial in England, and quotes precedents for such a procedure. He writes: The legal case and the legal precedents for putting General Dyer on his trial in the civil courts would seem to be ample. Broom's Constitutional Law declares that if any person employed in the service of the Crown in a civil or military capacity out of Great Britain, should commit any indictable offence in the execution of, or under colour of, his office, he may be prosecuted for it in the Court of King's Bench. And the Manual of Military Law lays it down that, when troops are called out to assist the civil power in cases of riot or insurrection, they are, indeed, under military law, but "they are also, as citizens, subject to the ordinary civil law of England as if they were not soldiers." Dicey's Law of the Constitution comes to the same conclusion.

MR. TILAK'S vernacular paper seeks to make out that the Gandhi-Tilak controversy in the Congress centred round the question whether an expression of thanks and assurance of co-operation should take precedence of the mention of self-government in the reforms resolution or the reverse. While Mr.

Tilak was for claiming full self-government first, and incidentally for promising co-operation or tendering thanks, Mr. Gandhi, it would appear, insisted on offering thanks and co-operation first and only casually bringing in self-government as an addendum. And, the paper adds, that this seemingly verbal but really important difference was composed by Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya agreeing to make prominent mention of India's fitness for complete self-government and giving a subsidiary place to an appreciation of Mr. Montagu's services and a promise of co-operation. This was, according to Mr. Tilak, the principal question that divided him from Mr. Gandhi, on which the Deccani ultimately won.

WE have heard a lot about the Congress controversy, but the differences as they have been set out by Mr. Tilak have never yet come into the public view. So far as one can see, Mr. Gandhi moved for the addition, at the end of Mr. Das's resolution, of a clause in regard to co-operation and thanks, and he did not disturb the place of the clauses regarding the immediate fitness of India for complete self-government and so forth. Thus if his amendment had been carried, the expression of thanks and the tender of co-operation would have come, not at the beginning of the resolution, but at the very end. This makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Malaviya were *not* for expressing the country's gratitude in a substantive clause and asserting its fitness for full responsible government in an adjectival clause, and the issue here raised by Mr. Tilak's paper would seem to be altogether wide of the mark.

THE question before the Poona City Municipality now is whether elementary education should be made compulsory for both boys and girls or for boys alone, and it is sad to find that all the Nationalists are in a body opposed to extending the benefit of compulsory education to girls at the same time with boys. The Liberals insist that girls as well as boys must simultaneously be brought under the operation of the Compulsory Education Act, and have set on foot a vigorous agitation to that end. The Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye is at the head of this movement which has won the support of all classes and communities. Ladies' meetings are being held to protest against the illiberal attitude of the Nationalist members of the municipality and to demand the application of the Act to both boys and girls. Several public meetings were held last week, at which unanimous resolutions were passed urging the immediate necessity for introducing compulsory education for girls as well as boys.

IT is not a financial question now; with a heavy reduction in the expenditure on school houses &c., as detailed elsewhere, it is proved that the education of boys and girls can be had for nearly the same additional taxation which the Nati-

onalist members are prepared to raise for the education of boys alone. The reasons for their opposition must therefore be other than financial. Some of the prominent Nationalists regard, and they have openly declared, compulsory education to be a western fad, which may perhaps be tried by way of experiment upon boys, but from which girls must be kept sacred. Even Mr. Kelkar than whom no more broad-minded Nationalist could be found in the Deccan, publicly justifies the discrimination sought to be made by the municipality in the operation of the Compulsory Education Act. In every country women's education comes later than men's; everywhere woman takes a back seat. Why then should we in India resent women's education being postponed to men's by a few years? This discrimination again is based on sound economic doctrine. Do not men produce more wealth than women? and is not male education more conducive to the general good than female? It is therefore but right that the latter should come some time after the former; so on and so forth. If Mr. Kelkar holds these opinions, it may easily be imagined what the average Nationalist thinks about female education.

LORD SINHA, in moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill, alluded to the Governor's power of blocking provincial legislation, but gave no sort of defence of this retrograde departure. "In legislation," he said, "the position of the official Government is safeguarded by the provisions of Clause 13 and Clause 11 (5) of the Bill, which give the Governor power to secure the passage or rejection of bills in certain circumstances." He made no attempt, however, to explain why this new power to secure rejection was required by the Governor, in addition the one of vetoing which he already possesses.—The Joint Committee's recommendation to have no less than three Indian members on the Governor-General's executive council, taken along with the removal of the limit on the total number of members, gave rise to the criticism in quarters given up to a denunciation of the reforms that the net result of the provision in this behalf would be that there would be three Indians among an unlimited number of Europeans on the central executive. Attention may therefore be drawn to the following pronouncement by Lord Sinha: "The statutory limit on the number of the Governor-General's executive council is a minimum of five and a maximum of six (or six and seven if the Commander-in-Chief is included)."

THE Government have an excellent opportunity of making a new departure by appointing Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, a senior Barrister-Judge, to be the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. A similar opportunity was lost when the post of Chief Justice fell vacant in the Allahabad High Court. It is high time that the permanent Chief Justiceship of High Courts was conferred upon Indians.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

THERE is a general quickening of interest in the question of mass education all over the world. A drastic attempt is being made to recast the educational system in Ireland, which has supplied the model to us of our Compulsory Education Acts. The great reform introduced by the Bill now before Parliament is, in the words of the *Times Educational Supplement*, that "compulsion is to be made universal, employment under thirteen years is to be forbidden, employment during school sessions is to disappear, and the number of days of compulsory school attendance is not to be limited to 150 a year." This no doubt constitutes a great advance on the backward conditions that prevail in Ireland, but it will not still bring that country into line with England and Scotland in its educational equipment. In the judgment of the *Times*, this Bill at the best "will bring Ireland only a little in advance of the position in England forty years ago." The Bill has in view the diffusion of elementary education alone, continued education or higher grades of education not coming within the purview of this measure. The educational advancement of Ireland has a special interest for us, for our Acts for compulsory education are based on the provisions of the School Attendance Act of 1892, which the local bodies may or may not put into operation. If after a thorough rehauling of its educational machinery Ireland lags behind England by nearly forty years, it can easily be imagined what a backward and rather antiquated model we have selected for our guide. In England itself there is acute discontent in the lower orders of society that the principle of equal opportunity, which should lie at the base of the social structure, has a very limited application in practice. Ninety per cent. of the youth of the nation have no more of secondary education than continuation schooling up to the age of 18, no one but exceptional geniuses finding their way into universities which are in practice reserved for a small privileged class. What, therefore, the Labour party now demand is that the educational system shall be reorganised, from the nursery school to the university, on the basis of social equality and that "the most important of all the measures of social reconstruction must be a genuine nationalisation of education, which shall get rid of all class distinctions or privileges, and bring effectively within the reach, not only of every boy and girl, but also of adult citizen, all the training, physical, mental and moral, literary, technical, and artistic of which he is capable." This is the language of a resolution adopted on the subject of education by a conference of the Labour party. The old idea of a ladder of education, helping bright scholars from among the masses, by means of scholarships, to reach secondary schools and the university is now gone, giving place to the conception of a broad highway which will open the avenue of all grades of education to all and sundry.

At a time when the nationalisation of education is making headway everywhere, what is India going to do? Do we realise with sufficient clearness the danger involved in bestowing political power upon an uninstructed people? The Vice-regal Committee on Irish education reported: "Wherever the democratic principle prevails there is a strong determination that all the units of society are to be educated, and well educated, not alone out of sympathy with each child, but in order that the commonwealth may be saved from the evil consequences of ignorance and illiteracy." Are we sufficiently alive to these evil consequences? The operation of the Compulsory Education Acts which are passed by some provincial legislatures, and which it is at the option of the local bodies to put into effect, will be the test. The Bombay Act was passed two years ago, and it is now the turn of the local Government to point to the reproachful fact that only four municipalities—Surat, Satara, Bandra and Dakore—have volunteered to apply the Act to their areas. No doubt the financial difficulties are very great, but is it right to set down the poor results solely to these financial difficulties? It is not possible to answer this question in the affirmative with any amount of confidence. Some means could certainly be devised whereby the difficulties could be overcome and compulsory attendance of children enforced if only the people were fired by a resolute determination to do so. Let us, for instance, take the case of Poona. The scheme which is now before the city municipality is worthy of consideration by all who find it particularly hard to finance compulsory education. It was estimated that nearly two lakhs of rupees would have to be raised if all the children of the school-going age were to be brought under the operation of the Act. The resources of the municipality are not equal to this heavy cost. A committee was therefore formed to inquire into any possible modes of retrenchment. It suggested that, as a *pis aller*, until full-time education could be restored, primary schools should be in session for only 3½ hours a day instead of for 5 hours, which would enable two sets of children being educated in the morning and in the evening in the same school houses and by the same teachers. Thus one school house and one teacher would suffice where two would otherwise be required. Professor Rajavade, the eminent educationist, and several others who served on the committee are satisfied that, with a proper adjustment of the curriculum, the scholars who pass out of the schools under this arrangement will be qualified for admission in an Anglo-vernacular school. This economy both in the teaching staff and the school-houses will reduce the cost so considerably that the municipality will have to raise Rs. 86,000 or, on a liberal calculation, one lakh by new taxation. Now this scheme is well within the means of the municipality. It may be that this or a similar scheme for a temporary reduction of expenditure will suit the con-

ditions of other local bodies, and it is to be trusted that, by this or other means, compulsion will immediately be applied to the attendance of children in schools all over the presidency.

A SUGGESTION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

BETWEEN the Bill and the report of the Joint Committee on it, a lot of important and difficult work is cast upon the Government of India. And it has all to be done quickly. Before the new order is inaugurated, the material worked up by the Government of India must have received the benefit of public criticism, undergone the scrutiny of the India Office and the super-scrutiny of the Joint Committee, and then been invested with the imprimatur of Parliament, whether in the shape of approving resolution or passive acquiescence. One fears there is not sufficient time for all this process unless it is to be abridged at the risk of error and inefficiency. Anyway, the interval has to be utilised with the strictest economy and the wisest care. A mere list of the items falling on the distracted Secretariats at Delhi is formidable. Rules have to be made under no fewer than seventeen sections of the Bill, and some of these are of capital importance, while many involve matters of intricacy. Certain of these rules, those under Section 33 and Sections 36 to 39, are to be framed by the Secretary of State for India, but they will need to be examined by the Delhi authorities and will employ them nearly as much as those for which they are primarily responsible.

The Selborne Committee have in addition recommended that as many as twelve different matters must be investigated in India and the data for their settlement furnished in definite shape before the new Act could be brought into operation. The date of this great event has not been fixed. It is widely believed in India that it cannot be later than July next, when the extended life of the various legislatures in India, except that of Madras, will expire. Perhaps, however, there will have to be another extension and the new régime will start with the year 1921. In this case there may be some disappointment to the Indian public; but the delay need not be altogether regretted, as there will be so much the more time for deliberation and revision of the Government of India's materials.

It may be useful to enumerate twelve labours put on the Viceroy and his colleagues by the Joint Committee of Parliament:—(1) Increase of rural as compared with urban representation in the Councils; (2) Provision for representation of the urban wage-earning class; (3) Correction of the disparity between the electorates of the different Provinces; (4) Additional representation of the depressed classes; (5) Reservation of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmanas of Madras and the Mahrattas of Bombay; (6) Conditions of the franchise for women where it is adopted by local legis-

latures; (7) Revision of landholders' representation; (8) Revision of European representation in Bengal; (9) Enactment of a Corrupt Practices Act; (10) Rules for election to the Council of State; (11) Rules for election to the Legislative Assembly of India; (12) Proceedings of the Financial Commission for revising the contributions of Provinces to the Imperial Exchequer. Doubtless dozens of items of smaller importance will claim attention. A whole department may have to be created for the purpose. The taxpayer need not grudge the extra outlay.

One condition, however, is paramount. In the formulation of the rules under the various heads, the non-official point of view must be secured by the inclusion of men of experience and judgment who can be trusted to represent it. The time lost in frequent consultation and debate with non-official critics is really time gained. It will be amply repaid by the friendly and trustful tone of subsequent public criticism. It is a commonplace that the Morley-Minto reforms were rendered unpopular by the rules framed by the Government of India. Officials do not readily anticipate the standpoint of their non-official colleagues, and, even when they do so, do not make adequate provision for it. Most things vital to democratic forms of government, especially the need of publicity and facilities for frequent debate, they are apt to subordinate to despatch, efficiency and uniformity—only to find in the end that these objects, dear to bureaucracy, cannot be attained in enduring or worthy form except with the goodwill and active sympathy of the popular representatives. Secretarial self-sufficiency must be laid aside on this occasion, and a truer economy of time and a higher order of efficiency, not hitherto within the ken of the hidebound official, must become the constant aims of the Viceroy and his immediate advisers. It may be that several committees will have to be appointed; it may be that each committee of non-officials will have to be nominated; it may be that some of these will have to be called up from the Provinces. Such things cannot be avoided; they are part of the coming order, necessary to start it smoothly and auspiciously. (From "United India.")

THE MASSACRE AT AMRITSAR.

THE most important event of the week from the Indian point of view is the publication of the Amritsar disclosures in the *Times*. They have startled not only the British public, but also those who are intimately in touch with Indian affairs. They have made a profound impression upon public opinion here. They have shocked the British conscience. The barbarous conduct of General Dyer, the circumstances in which the firing was resorted to and the number of casualties have created a feeling of horror. The entire press, with the solitary exception, I believe, of the *Morning Post*, is strong in its condemnation of General Dyer, who

did not think it his duty even to help the wounded. The *Times* in its leading article in the issue of the 16th instant characterizes the tragedy as a "deplorable massacre." Of General Dyer, it says, "On his own showing his conduct appears to us to be indefensible, and its worst feature was that he did not stop firing when the crowd instantly began to disperse," and it comments strongly on the concealment of facts by the Indian Government and the India Office. The *Daily News*, in a trenchant article, observes: "It was innocently assumed in this country when the armistice was signed thirteen months ago that the reign of 'frightfulness' was over—for the time being at any rate. The assumption was incorrect. . . . The scene of the new frightfulness is not Belgium but India. The General responsible is not German but British." The *Westminster Gazette* denounces even more strongly the atrocities perpetrated under the orders of General Dyer. "Not the least astonishing thing of all," it remarks, "is that such an episode did not precipitate a real rebellion. . . . A few more episodes of this kind would suffice to bring our rule in India speedily to an end." And referring to the shooting of Sheehy Skeffington during the last Irish rebellion it says: "In the case of General Dyer that course (bringing the guilty officer to justice) cannot now be taken, though some may think that it would be on many grounds applicable. But he must be recalled and dealt with in such a way that the massacre of Amritsar shall be solemnly repudiated by the Imperial Government." It does not state why it thinks that General Dyer cannot be tried. If the Indemnity Act protects him from all action on the part of the public, it does not prevent the Government from proceeding against him.

The real responsibility for the occurrences at Amritsar is that of Lord Chelmsford and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who expressly approved of what the *Westminster Gazette* calls the "insane deeds" of General Dyer. It is an outrage on Indian feeling that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be presiding over an Indian Commission. It is scarcely compatible with national self-respect that the Indian members of the Commission should continue to serve on it with him as a colleague. It would not be even too much to ask that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should resign his membership of the Commission and give evidence before the Hunter Committee. He is the chief culprit and his examination in broad day-light is essential to enable the Committee and the general public to judge of the spirit which animated the Punjab administration during the dark months that followed the passing of the Rowlatt Act.

On the 15th instant Sir Donald Maclean questioned Mr. Montagu about the Amritsar occurrences and asked in particular why no public statement had been made by the Government, during the last eight months about the affair. Mr. Montagu while counselling suspension of judgment till the publication of the Hunter Committee's report said:

"I knew of no details . . . until I saw the report in the papers." Lord Robert Cecil asked if the Government of India exercised "any censorship to prevent the telegraphing of the evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, because probably this had only come by mail." Mr. Montagu replied that the wires were congested and that this might account for the fact that the evidence was not telegraphed. The *Times* commenting on the replies given by Mr. Montagu, says: "The word now lies with Lord Chelmsford. How comes it that a British General can inflict nearly 2000 casualties without the full facts being forwarded within a reasonable time by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State?"

The New York correspondent of the *Daily News* telegraphs that the Amritsar revelations have shocked America. "Americans of all classes," he says, "share the shock felt by English public opinion as a result of the Indian massacre. The disclosure fortifies anti-British propaganda here in regard to Ireland, Persia and Egypt, as well as India."

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL.

The Government of India Bill passed its third reading in the House of Lords last night and will be reported to the House of Commons to-day. But for a few verbal amendments introduced into it, mainly on the motion of Lord Sinha, the Bill remains in the form in which it emerged from the House of Commons. In all probability it will receive the royal assent by to-morrow.

The second reading of the Bill was moved by Lord Sinha in a masterly speech. He dwelt on the development of British policy in India during the last 60 years of which the Bill is the logical outcome, on the enhancement in the status of India during the last five years and on the main principles underlying the Bill. His concluding words were an appeal to those of his countrymen who doubt the substantial nature of the advance proposed. He thought they were in the wrong, but even if it were otherwise he would say to them: "What is being given to India is like the grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field, which now is the least of all seeds, but when it was grown it was the greatest among the herbs and became a tree so that the birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof."

Lord Sydenham said he bitterly resented being called a reactionary and assured the House that he desired, earnestly desired, that "a safe step should now be taken in the direction of Indian self-government." But he could not see his way to support the Bill because it weakened the Government of India, introduced dualism and did not go far enough in the direction of providing communal representation. Both Lords Selborne and Middleton disclaimed all responsibility for the policy of the Bill. Had they had their own way they would not have touched the Government of India, but both of them strongly supported dyarchy and the appointment of Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council. "I think it is very

wise," said Lord Selborne. "to introduce these Indian statesman into the Government of India. . . I hold in the strongest possible way that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State are absolutely right in advocating this system of dyarchy, and that the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces who advocated a military system are absolutely wrong." It may be mentioned that he thought that the number of ministers would not be less than three in any province and might be four in some.

Lord Meston's maiden speech was an unqualified success. It easily surpassed all the other speeches in force, feeling and freshness and brought the House face to face with the realities of the situation in India. "What lies behind and below the whole of the political difficulties in India . . ." he said, "is the spirit of nationalism, a spirit bred in the soil, nurtured . . . by our own methods and our own examples, and spreading rapidly through all ranks and classes. I say deliberately all ranks and classes, because I have been watching its operations now for over thirty years. It of course permeates the professional classes, with whom it originated. That is accepted. But it is also going deep into the trading and monied classes. A few years ago they had nothing whatever to do with politics, but they are now a prominent feature in all political organisations, and it is very largely their money which finances the nationalist movement. It is also spreading to the landed classes." Referring to the Princes of India, he said: "It would ill become me to say anything about the great Princes of India. Some noble Lords in this House may have heard two years ago the most advanced nationalist sentiments falling from the most distinguished representative of that order who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, and I think that it is an open secret that most of the more progressive and enlightened Princes in India are deeply in sympathy with all that is best in this nationalist movement." He addressed a solemn warning against the rejection of the Bill or delay in passing it. "The Bill may be dangerous, . . . but even if it were crammed full of dangers, there is one danger which in the words of the first noble Lord who spoke this afternoon (Lord Carmichael) more serious than any that it contains, and that is the danger of doing nothing. There is one risk that would be infinitely more unpardonable than the risks taken in the Bill, and that is the risk of ignoring the reasonable and natural demand of the Indian people for a larger share in the management of their own affairs." Well did Lord Meston deserve the tribute paid to him by Lord Curzon, who said, "Well can I understand why the Viceroy and the Government of India selected him as the champion of their cause in connection with this Bill." (The compliment, though dubious from an Indian point of view, was, however, well meant.) "I realize," he continued, "that having left India now so many years ago I am not only out of touch with India, but probably out of focus and out of

perspective; and I think that it is a good thing that from time to time there should be some one who came in fresh from that country to put right in focus and perspective."

Lord Clwyd, who is better known in India by his old name Sir Herbert Roberts, was one of those who participated in the debate on the motion that the Bill be committed. He gave eloquent praise to Mr. Gokhale and said the Bill under discussion should have been passed ten years ago.

Several amendments were proposed during the Committee stage by Lords Sydenham, Macdonell and Ampthill. The only two which were pressed to a division were those which provided for the substitution of a unified for a dual Government and the extension of communal representation to classes in the Hindu community to which the term "Shudra" is applied. The first was rejected by 44 votes against 5 and the second by 27 votes against 7.

The deficiencies of the Bill are patent. No one can pretend to regard it as a final settlement of our claims. But in spite of all that it withholds, it cannot be denied that it marks an epoch in the constitutional development of India. It plants her feet on the road to self-government and brings her within a measurable distance of it. It enables us to lift up our heads and makes us the controllers of our destiny in a very important sphere of government. But whatever legitimate differences of view there may be in regard to the Bill none should exist so far as Mr. Montagu personally is concerned.

A genuine and staunch Liberal, he has striven, with exemplary energy and devotion to free India from the shackles of autocracy. He has striven manfully against difficulties of which the public at large can have no idea and pushed the Reforms Bill through Parliament with a speed which excites one's wonder when one considers the congestion of Parliamentary business. "I have had the pleasure of being associated with Mr. Montagu at the India Office," said Lord Crewe in the debate on the second reading of the Bill, "and I well know how deeply the interests of the Indian Empire appeal to him. It would not, I think, be too much to say that India plays the same part in his political life that the great overseas Dominions did in the life and in the heart of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain." This is a great but not an exaggerated compliment.

H. N. KUNZRU.

London, December 18.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JANUARY 1.

RECEPTION OF REFORMS.

TO-DAY a New Year commences, and I cannot do better than wish all your readers and your staff the very best wishes of the season. I think that, whilst we may differ upon half a hundred questions, all may unite in the offer and acceptance of good wishes for themselves and the country.

The cables are just beginning to speak on the delicate question of the reception of the Reforms Act, as a settled fact, and of the King's Proclamation. To suggest that the latter is a political document foisted by Mr. Montagu upon His Majesty, as, apparently, the *Statesman* does, is to forget, first, that all such documents are the work of the responsible Minister, and, secondly, that an Act of Parliament must not be regarded as a controversial matter, unless those who object to it are prepared to go to the length, in the alternative, of offering passive resistance to it, in which event, the *Statesman* and those who approve of its views and share them will be in no better case than Mr. Gandhi and his fellow-Satyagrahis in the matter of the Rowlatt Act. But I do not suppose that the opponents of the Reforms will carry matters to that length, and we may therefore afford to take this as a last dying effort to express splanetic dissent from everything for which Mr. Montagu is in any way responsible. What is of more interest, from the point of view of people here, is the fact that the President of the Congress—we do not yet know what the Congress itself has done in the way of resolutions—has stated that, though the provisions of the Act have fallen short of the minimum demands of the Congress—which was to be expected—"the little good that it has done" to India must be recognised. That recognition is of importance and value, which is enhanced by the declaration that the Act has given to Indians "some powers" and opened new avenues hitherto closed to them. We also learn, from the condensation of Reuter, that their clear duty in the circumstances is to make the most of what has been given to them, and at the same time to continue to press for what is their due. So far as the last part is concerned, I doubt very much whether Mr. Surendranath Banerjea himself could have dealt more effectively with the situation. Indeed, it hardly seems worth all the spilt ink and vituperation of the last few months if in essentials the party to which Mr. Nehru belongs sees so much eye to eye with the Moderates. I should like to regard this as evidence that the artificial barriers that have hitherto divided Indian politicians from each other being rapidly thrown down, leaving the situation clear for the more natural divisions that separate men's activities according to temperament and other more fundamental things than merely local or individual eccentricities. After all, it is principles and methods that are of major importance, and not temporary differences arising out of unrealities. It is just these preliminaries of political life that are being watched from here with a greater interest than ordinary, for upon these amenities so much of what is most appreciated in English public life depends, and it has pained many well-wishers of India in this country to observe how much of the little available energy and enthusiasm is being spent upon irrelevant issues or personalities.

THE AMRITSAR AFFAIR.

Most thoughtful people here will agree with Pundit Motilal in his appreciation of the dark and dreary waste revealed by the Amritsar affair and the Punjab inquiry. That India should feel herself in mourning for her massacred children is but natural, and all kinds of high sounding excuses and explanations cannot wipe out from her recollection the memory of the fact that the system that has been so long and so widely condemned is responsible for this calamity. No Englishman of feeling can in his heart of hearts feel anything but a sense of shame and humiliation at these happenings. But there seems to be a tendency among the European witnesses that have so far appeared before the Committee to differentiate between the human nature of the Indian population and that of the Europeans. So long as it is felt to be of more importance to consider the feelings of a white man or woman rather than those of a non-white, so long have we not merely failed to take note of one of the primary lessons of the war, so long, in fact, do we stand convicted of being possessed of the same essentially evil thing which we have agreed to call Prussianism. It is the demon of race pride, race brutality, race superiority, race dominance, all that is worst in Imperialism, that has to be exorcised, and Amritsar indicates that even our methods, when we lose our heads, have an ugly resemblance to those for whose use the whole world unsparingly and rightly condemned Germany. We cannot, in a world of captious critics, demand to be judged by the best that is in us, to the neglect of the worst of which we give a conspicuous demonstration that we are capable. It certainly does not lie in the mouths of those who were responsible for the Amritsar affair to charge the local mob with frightfulness. Even supposing that it was guilty of excesses, one would have supposed that Britishers, according to their own estimate of of themselves, knowing better, would have also done better.

BRITISH PRESTIGE.

Mr. James Brett, a contributor to the *Daily Sketch*, endeavours to explain, to the satisfaction of the British reader, how it is that "the mandarins contrive to keep Indian news so quiet." He thinks that it is because the Indian Press, by which, doubtless he means the Anglo-Indian Press, "is too respectable to be lively, too respectable to be anything but—just respectable." Mr. Brett describes the financial limitations of the Anglo-Indian papers and how they depend for much of their news upon official people in up-country stations who seek to add a little to their incomes by sending along columns of tittle-tattle. The papers print this sort of thing by the yard, "but they do not like reality touched too nearly, because that could bring them up against officialism, and it is extremely uncomfortable in India to be up against officialism." Somehow or other, it did not prevent the *Statesman* some years ago starting a "Hardinge must go" slogan. But perhaps that may mean

that the officials were in agreement with the *Statesman*, rather than with Lord Hardinge. "So rigid," we are told, "is the social tyranny, that if a live paper got going with really virulent and useful criticism no-one would dare to be seen with it." Even then, the editor of an Anglo-Indian paper would suffer from nothing worse than social ostracism, for which, evidently, he has no stomach. Not being in charge of an Indian paper he would not run the risks of the application of all or any of the provisions of the Press Act and the other well-known reactionary measures by which "officialism" has sought to stifle the freedom of the Indian press in India. We learn that toadyism is the road to success, and that "many a man has been made or damned by a casual word dropped between drinks at the club bar." As a matter of fact, is not that the way in which India is largely governed, in reality? Does power lie in the Secretariats, so much as in the club-coteries? Our writer thinks that there is much, too much, of the "We can't let down dear old Jimmie," and "Good old Bobby must be seen through this," and "Get Reggie a decent billet, for Mrs. Reggie's sake." "And so the crusted old gang is allowed to go on in its crusted way." It is all this that is translated into the official vernacular as "British prestige," and that is all that is meant by the various phenomena, political and otherwise, which are explicable in no other way. It would be interesting to know how much of this compound is to be found in the evidence that has been brought before the Hunter Committee.

Mr. Smillie, the other day, at a public meeting expressed alarm at the way in which the coal-owners, either directly or through the Government, were endeavouring to undersell British labour by importing coal produced by sweated Indian labour, and Sir Richard Cooper asked whether it was a fact, as stated by the miners' leader, that the daily rate of pay for the Indian miner is equivalent to 4½d. Mr. Montagu replied that, according to his information, the average daily rate is equivalent to rather more than a shilling. Mr. Swan a little later asked what the average hours worked per week by the Indian miners in Bengal were, and what their average wages a week were at the current rate of exchange. The reply was that the hours of workers in Indian mines were not at present regulated by law, and no accurate statistics were available. The Government of India had, however, recently reported that the average weekly hours were not excessive, probably not as many as fifty a week. The average weekly wages were stated to be from 6s. 6d. to 8s. This, however, is considerably higher than 1s. a day at the present rate of exchange.

ASIATIC LABOUR.

Mr. George Barnes, the principal British representative at the Washington Labour Conference, has returned here, as has also Mr. A. C. Chatterjee. Mr. Barnes has been interviewed by the *Observer*, and has given some interesting views

on the question of Asiatic labour, which is certain to be more and more seriously considered by western labour in the future. "One of the most important features," said Mr. Barnes, "of the Conference was the adoption of the agreements made with Asiatic countries with regard to their introducing approximately European standards. Japan, in particular, has agreed to very substantial improvements in labour conditions, including the prohibition of child labour under fourteen, thus bringing herself at a bound on a level in this respect with Europe and America. Japan has also agreed to adopt the eight-hour day for youths up to fifteen and, in three years' time, to sixteen; also to reduce hours generally to 9½ per day, with a provision of sixty hours a week in the silk industry. Further, Japan has adopted the Berne Convention protecting women from night work, and also providing for the weekly rest. Altogether, Japan has made a tremendous advance in industrial improvement. The same may be said of India, though the agreements do not embody so substantial an improvement as in the case of Japan. A further advance, however, is expected next year. I regard these agreements with Japan and India as achievements of the highest importance. So far as Japan is concerned, they possess the validity of a commercial treaty, for her delegates were invested with full powers. That apart, the agreements tend to remove one of the chief industrial difficulties England and Europe generally, as well as America, have had to face; to some extent they dispel the fear of Japan flooding European and American markets. The movement is an indication of her desire to bring herself into alignment with western countries, and shows she is anxious to fulfil all the obligations incidental to her entry into the League of Nations. In adopting these—to her—advanced economic ideas, Japan has displayed great mental enlightenment. She has placed herself abreast of the best aspirations of the western races." I wonder what Mr. Joshi will have to say of the part that India has displayed at the Conference, when he returns here shortly.

MR. H. N. KUNZRU.

I do not think that I should allow this opportunity to pass without paying a warm tribute to the work done here in a quiet and unostentatious way by Mr. Hriday Nath Kunzru. The youngest member of the Moderates' deputation, he was by no means the least useful and influential. His work has been much appreciated by all who have had an occasion to know its details—a restricted number of people, as all who know his natural modesty are aware. He has been assiduously qualifying himself for yet greater public services than he has yet been able to render, and we here shall be the poorer for his departure. He has well supported the character of an Indian gentleman. I hope very much that each year one or other of the members of the Servants of India Society will be sent here for some kind of public work. Mr. Kunzru has

shown what can be done by his quiet application and varied interests.

SELECTIONS.

THE REFORMS AND AFTER.

MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI'S LECTURE.

The following report of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's lecture (delivered on January 11 in Madras) is taken from *New India*:—

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Besant and fellow-citizens,—In my talk on Friday last I tried to give you an outline of the new Government that we shall be living under in the course of the next twelve months. From the description that I was then enabled to give, you might have gathered, unless you were altogether sceptical of my estimate, that our new Government will be really new in very many ways and that, therefore, all sections of the community will be called upon to face the new duty in a new spirit. Outside the ranks of those who from the beginning have pledged themselves to find nothing whatever, nearly every discerning person has made up his mind that we are going to have an entirely new state of things in the country in the body politic. The members of the I. C. S. are full of uneasiness that the change required of them outwardly and inwardly in the spirit is something amounting to revolution. The Governors who will have hereafter the charge of our provinces are already trembling in their shoes to contemplate the extraordinarily difficult and delicate duties which from day to day they will have to discharge. Men who will be called upon in course of time to fill the position of responsible Ministers are casting about to find whether they can find the means ready to hand of accomplishing those great objects the omission of which they have continually criticised the executive Government of this country for. There are many men competent to judge, anxious for the welfare of the country, men who have studied the new Act and comprehended the full scope of its provisions, who, however, are full of concern for the way in which the public men of our country will realise the duties that will devolve on them. They are continually asking themselves are there in our province a sufficiency of men to fill the enlarged Councils with credit and benefit to the people at large? Are there behind these men a sufficiency of discerning critics both in the press and outside who will keep them up to the mark, alive every hour to their duties? Are there a sufficiency of men outside these to form an instructed and qualified electorate who will see that their interests are always kept to the forefront by the representatives whom they send into these Councils? Are there the materials necessary for working this democratic constitution established on a wide basis such as we have hitherto had no experience of in this country? Before one can answer 'yes' to these questions, one should look into oneself and see whether one is prepared for the great mental and moral change in oneself that the whole of this Government will involve, for it is going to be as in really democratic governments, a government by public opinion, a government by continual, ceaseless and thorough-going discussion, relentless examination of men and measures. Therefore, since a majority of votes is to determine every question, those interested in it will stir public opinion on all sides. We shall have groups of people arising in the country with various programmes of work, with ideals and aims, which they would fain realise if they could upon which they would spend their energy, money and organising capacity. The press is going to be a tremendous power in this country, much more tremendous both for good and for evil than it ever has been. Newspapers, weeklies, monthly magazines that go into the root of things and daily papers that evolve extemporaneous opinions without much thought will form your reading from day to day and will enable you to form current opinions, well-informed in many cases but also ill-informed in many instances. Well-informed or ill-informed public opinion is going to determine the great issues of this country. Every man's thought will tell and, as the Theosophists are fond of saying, each thought and con-

scious impulse that you send forth will have its contribution to make to the welfare of the country. Every sentiment that you utter, every leading article in newspaper, every speech that you make with a sense or without a sense of responsibility, the resolutions of public meetings, the considered proceedings of Conferences and Congresses, all are going to have a value, measured arithmetically, ten thousandfold of what they have had hitherto. Your administrators deaf hitherto to the call of public opinion, will hereafter harken with an anxious voice to your opinion. Those things will mark a complete transformation in our politics. Thousands and thousands of people in large cities and small villages, young people and old men and women too will come into the swim of our politics and contribute their share to the making of public opinion which will be the sovereign power in public affairs hereafter. If public opinion is to determine everything, is there not a risk that the Governor and Ministers and all those who have anything to do with public affairs will really feel pulled about in a hundred different ways? There will be parties in our country. The time for unity, the period when you all said every politician must say the same thing, and in England or India all public workers must owe one allegiance, that time if it ever was will no longer be. There never has been a country with democratic institutions in any degree which got along without parties and groups. We shall have parties and groups too. We have not had parties hitherto. When I think of the parties that now sunder our politics I dismiss them as out of the question. Real parties such as you have in England will take a long time to grow up in this country. Responsible government is not possible unless there is a twofold division among politicians so that a Government may be built up of the elements offered by the parties which have a majority in the country while the other party supplies His Majesty's opposition. Other countries where democratic institutions on the English model have been established have however not realised the full benefit of these institutions because they have been unable for decades together to build up a party system like that in England. We are going to be faced with a long period of merely a group system, where 20 or 30 people are grouped together fighting for either one principle or one idea or contending for the supremacy of one single individual. Concentrating round personalities and single ideas will dominate our politics for a good many years. When on questions of taxation, education and social welfare we have divided for twenty years in the life-time of the four or five Councils, then it is possible that groups of members may be evolved round which a party may be built up. I hope that is going to be the goal of our evolution, for it is only then that we shall realise to the full the benefits of responsible government, but that is in the far-off future. We have got to see for the moment that there will be groups in this country. The question is: how will these groups function? Shall we all fall into these groups? In England, to-day you find a very large number of independent people who scorn to owe allegiance to any particular party and keep an open mind. That is why you find sweeping majorities formed in elections. These people whom you may call neutral people are in one respect the very salt of the community. In India, there being no parties yet as there shall be one day, with particular programmes and principles of their own, I wish and hope that every citizen who is going to have the vote and influence over the man who has the vote will be a strictly neutral and independent person for a time at least till principles settle down. You must make up your minds after all sides had their full say. In England and in every well-regulated constitution, while there may be a Government and an Opposition, it is a mistake to suppose that the Government being in the majority carry everything over the heads of the minority, and it is wrong to suppose that the minority have no influence whatever. It often happens that the influence of a minority depends on their personnel, on their capacity to express themselves, on the earnestness they show that their view shall be felt in the determination of public issues. Although a minority may be defeated in the open houses, the minority does count in committee meetings and Bills are altered out of shape. You will see how

necessary it is that in your Government of the future, although a majority may be established, it is necessary for that majority as far as possible to respect the feelings and carry out the wishes where they are wise of the minority. There are many wise men on both sides. Nearly every speech in a well constituted Parliament contains some elements of wisdom which it behoves the authorities duly to consider. What a calamity would it be if your Councils were to be filled with men of one set of views, by men whose mind is cast in one mould. There will be dreary dullness in that house and nothing of particular importance will ever come out of that house either in the shape of resolutions or law. There are hundreds of different schools of thought. The idea is that Parliament should consist of due representation of each phase of thought. If Parliament failed to be such a house, if at the elections men of one party alone come to power and men of all other parties are shut out, your Parliament is not truly representative of the elements of the Nation. To that extent it ceases to be the vehicle of the Nation's view and it cannot subserve the best interests of the people. There ought to be no Bill passed unless everybody who can contribute something to it has been heard fully. I find a tendency prematurely to reproduce in India the worst side of party politics in England and to reject the better side for want of discernment. What is going to be our future? We have not got any parties yet and we have no business therefore to import party feelings into the discussion of public questions. Is not the atmosphere in every town ringing with denunciations of Moderates or Extremists? We have enough surely of a bad party system. Whatever life this party division had, whatever justification it once might have had, is no longer there. Why did we divide into Moderates and Extremists? It was brought into existence owing to a fundamentally differing attitude assumed by our politicians towards the reform question. Now the Reform Act is there. You and I, whether Extremist or Moderate, have to live under the Act. There ought to be hereafter only one way of looking at it. Now that complicated piece of administrative mechanism is put amidst us, now that this system of dyarchy with checks and counter-checks has to be worked by the Indian politician, comparatively inexperienced to responsible government, does it not behove us to go into the new Government by putting our best thoughts into it and making it a complete success? Yet there are a few amongst us who have influence in shaping the councils of the country, who count very large numbers of followers who have stated in public not once, some of them even twice, that they will come into this new Government resolved to show that it is unworkable, resolved that it shall in their hand prove unworkable. We stand on our trial. We have got a difficult task to perform. The eyes of the world are turned upon us. Shall representative institutions of the democratic type take root in India or not? You will answer it in the affirmative if you work this constitution successfully. You will answer it in the negative not only for yourself but for all Asiatic peoples and pronounce a fatal doom, if you get into the Government resolved to wreck it, resolved to show that this will not do but something else will. Common purpose ought to bind all into one party. Still on any fundamental question of practical politics, it is conceivable that they will divide. Once divided, there is a danger which seems to me worthy to be taken note of. The great danger is that which arises from the habits of political thought and act engendered at a time when all our public work had nothing definite to show in the actual result of administration. The majority party, whoever they may be, are likely to carry things with a high hand reckless of the opinions of the minority. Amongst our politicians the weaknesses belonging to a minority are strongly pronounced, for we have always been in the minority hitherto. Every resolution of ours has been defeated, every piece of legislation has gone to pieces. Our public opinion has not been listened to. Permanently in the minority in the councils, we have acquired certain weaknesses of conduct which we must hereafter put down amongst ourselves. When defeated, what is a minority to do? When battle is going against you and you know that you are going to lose, it is a moral weak-

ness to confess your defeat long before victory declares itself. If a minority retires from the field in domestic politics hereafter, it never will become the majority. They must never withdraw but must remain in the councils and always try to influence the aspect of affairs, for apart from keeping up their spirit, it is not true that they have no hand in shaping measures. In the case of the original Bill, as regards the Patna University, we were in a minority, but we put up a good fight for it. Although the Government could have defeated us on many points and refused to change the Bill, they did not listen to us till at the end the Bill became a liberal measure instead of a narrow piece of legislation. Similarly, in the case of the Rowlatt Act, hateful as it is, it would have been more hateful if, as some people suggested to us, we had merely walked out of the Council and refused to take part in its shaping. Whether we were wise on that point or not, some of you who followed the debate on that occasion might have seen how our criticisms, although they could not draw the main poison fangs out of the Bill, still succeeded in introducing so many improvements in it that it was not so harmful a legislation as it might otherwise have been. It is perfectly true that with all the improvements effected, it is still what it is. Even in a case of that kind where the Government had absolutely made up their minds, where both sides came to the fight resolved for a mortal encounter, the minority were able to influence the decisions of the majority. A spirit of reason must dominate the councils and that is why I would ask you to consider what the duty of a minority is. All political life is compromise and compromise is between opposing members. When votes are given to considerable numbers of the population, political power is placed in the hands of people who have a hard day's work to go through all the days of their lives, who have never received high education, whose aims in life are all circumscribed by their limited occupations, men, therefore, whose vision is apt to be narrow and who cannot be trusted to form an altogether enlightened judgment on important political questions. If votes are given to numbers of such people, how can wisdom guide the councils of the Nation, how can the resultant legislation be altogether beneficent, how can the best interests of the people be always kept in view and ever promoted from good to better? This is a fundamental doubt that arises as one looks superficially at all democratic institutions and which fills the minds of people every time an extension of franchise is permitted. Every extension of franchise in England has only brought a freshness of view until it has now come to be believed that franchise should become universal as soon as possible. Bagehot traces the extraordinary phenomenon of wisdom still continuing to grow with ever-widening electorates. The intelligence, the public spirit, the wide wisdom necessary to exercise the vote and actually to take a hand in the daily administration belongs only to a few, and that is why in England and other countries there is no residential qualification at all for a candidate. The habit of deference, the habit of looking up to those above you, the habit of taking guidance from those competent to give guidance, is the habit that has made the British citizen an efficient voter who has kept up the average quality of the British member of the House of Commons. That is the aim which you should also keep in this country. Send the best men to the councils. If you should be restricted in a communal way, choose the men who conform to the national spirit and not the men who represent the extreme communal view. Coming as far as you can into the general current, do not keep yourself too much in this limited groove lest you corrupt the purity of public life.

CONCLUSION.

You have a great future, an extraordinary bright era is dawning upon us. You will for the first time be admitted into a sacred temple. Just as when you enter a holy place you wash yourself, so when you come into the circle of politics in future, come with your hearts thoroughly cleansed, thoroughly purged of everything that is mean, petty and parochial, determined to use all that is best in you for the general welfare. Continually people will address you, hold up one programme and ask you to accept it for all it is worth. Men with dif-

Merent voices from different points of view, with different aims and ideals, will try to win your hearts. My prayer is that you should be enabled to distinguish the permanent from the transitory, the gold from the tinsel, the real man of public spirit from the possible demagogue. It is necessary that in politics each one of you should cultivate the habit of wise and patient choice. Keep your ears always open but do not surrender your heart far too easily. If you cannot consider yourselves men of no parties whatsoever, but if you must enrol yourselves under one banner or another, by all means do so, but still within your party choose the man who stands for what is honest and of good report, instead of a man who talks loudest and says the most screaming things, not necessarily the wisest. We are all passing to days of democratic rule. If a King was wise and strong and beneficent, there could never be a better rule than under him, but we all reject monarchy because it is idle to expect a succession of Asokas and Akbars. We prefer democracy in spite of its transparent evils, but just as a King, with absolute power is often apt to surround himself with evil advisers in the world, favourites who misguide him, who keep good men from his council, who profit by his weakness and poison his ears, who hold up vulgar ideas before him and debase the Crown which is the badge of God, so the King Demos is all the more dangerous because it is myriad-headed and if tales from favourites are told unabashed in public meetings, politics then becomes absolutely debased, the platform, the press, all the instruments of political education are prostituted from their noble uses to ignoble uses. Those dangers lie ahead of all popular institutions. If a King goes wrong and the public suffer, there may be an appeal from him to a wider body of oligarchs who will teach him a severe lesson or send him flying about. But what can be done if King Demos himself becomes a tyrant? Nothing can resist him and then indeed government will become an instrument of public evil instead of an instrument of public welfare. This is the picture then of what may happen if evil counsels are listened to by wide electorates that we are going to create and this picture must be constantly kept before our eyes. Every one, be he a Minister, or a member of a Legislative Council, or an elector, or one who instructs electorates, must remember that he is in his little way a King. Listen therefore to wise men and wise counsels, be the British citizens of the type described by Bagehot and cultivate the habit of deference to those who, although your political equals, are still people somewhat wiser, more experienced, with a wider outlook on human affairs and, therefore, more competent to give you a guidance. This habit of deference is by no means incompatible with independence of judgment, with originality of thought, and that is the real test of competence. You will be enjoyers and givers of votes, but give them freely out of your hearts and at the same time under the guidance of the wise and the patriotic. (Cheers.)

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

At the end of the lecture a young man from the audience asked the Hon. Mr. Sastri if he approved of the policy of those people who withdraw from the Congress.

Mr. Sastri replied: No answer that I can give will express my opinion so conclusively as my own action. (Loud and continued applause.)

Another member of the audience sent up a question as to what Mr. Sastri's opinion was of communal representation and how many seats, he thought, should be given the non-Brahmans out of 61.

Mr. Sastri replied that as a matter of necessity, as a matter which conduced to a proper working of representative institutions in the immediate future, he was agreeable to the principle of communal representation which did not divide the Hindu community into separate electorates but allowed any specific communities their due representation by reservation of seats. He was not in a position to give his opinion now as to how many seats should be reserved for the non-Brahman community. It was a very delicate matter, and it was somewhat inexpedient that if he was to be called upon in the near future to take a hand in the determination of this

identical question, he should embarrass the conclusions of the Conference which would meet at an early date by the pronouncement of any opinion of his at present.

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