

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is a happy sign of the times that, in terms of the Royal Proclamation, the orders now in force requiring the deposit of securities under the Press Act, are being cancelled and the securities deposited returned. This wise policy is general, being adopted in all the provinces. In the Bombay Presidency, the restrictions applying to 34 out of 46 presses and 5 out of 8 newspapers are ordered to be abrogated. The names are yet not known. We only hope that liberal application will be given to the policy, and in any event no press or paper must be penalised on its arbitrary condemnation by the executive Government. In Madras also many of the newspapers are being released from the chains, and we fully expect that in that presidency the process will be carried to the farthest limit to which any local Government can carry it. In Bihar the *Search light* has been freed from the security order and we trust that in every province measures will be taken to undo the mischief wrought by the Press Act.

THE Judicial Committee of the Privy Council heard on the 16th instant the appeal of Bugga and others against the convictions and sentences passed by the Punjab martial law commission. The contention on behalf of the appellants was that Regulation 10 of 1804, under which martial law was declared in the Punjab, empowers the Governor-General in Council (to establish martial law) in the case of those persons who are actually taken in arms or in the commission of an overt act of rebellion against the State, and since none of the appellants was so taken, they were entitled to be tried by the ordinary courts. Exception was specially taken to Ordinance 4, which extends the

scope of Ordinance 1 and covers offences committed as back as March 30. Sir Shivaswamy Aiyer thus described the effect of the fourth Ordinance: "Whereas by the first Ordinance only persons charged with the offences described in section 2 of the regulation could be tried, the fourth Ordinance provides for the trial of any person charged with any offence committed on or after the 30th March, 1919. It may be anything punishable under the Indian Penal Code or, for the matter of that, even under a special or a local law. The offence may be a simple trespass, defamation, bigamy or nuisance. It need not involve the safety of the British possessions or the security of the lives and the property of the inhabitants." If such an interpretation is to be placed upon the Ordinance, it is clear, the appellants contended, the Ordinance was *ultra vires* and unconstitutional. Judgment is reserved in the case.

THE Gokhale Anniversary was celebrated on the 19th inst. at all the centres of the Servants of India Society. In Poona a gathering of nearly five thousand was addressed by Mrs. Annie Besant, extolling the manifold virtues of the departed leader in choicest language and pointing out the various directions in which his constructive statesmanship would have applied itself in the altered circumstances. Mrs. Besant also unveiled a beautiful portrait of Mr. Gokhale to be hung up in the rooms of the Daccan Sabha. In Bombay Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several others gentlemen spoke. In Madras the celebration took place under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Aiyar and Messrs. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, T. M. Krishna-swami Aiyar and others were the speakers. In Allahabad Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru delivered an address on "The Life of Mr. Gokhale" under the auspices of the Hindu Boarding House. At Jamshedpur, also, a public meeting was held to celebrate the anniversary, which was presided over by Mr. Madan. The meeting at Benares was presided over by Rai Krishnaji, and among the speakers was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

IN a speech delivered by him the other day, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, upon whose re-entry into public life Madras is to be felicitated, discussed the present political situation as between different parties. This discussion he might have conducted on a higher plane. His main theme is

one to which we wholeheartedly subscribe, that all parties should go into the Congress, each retaining its right to hold its own views and refusing to be bound by the decisions of the Congress if they run counter to its views. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar says that a minority may strive to convert itself into a majority, but must not have any organisations independent of the Congress. To withhold from the minority the right to form separate organisations within the Congress is practically to deny it all opportunity of asserting itself and becoming a majority. A minority, while belonging to the Congress, must have its own organisation where its views will have free play. This can happen without any injury to the integrity of the Congress, and we do not see why Mr. Iyengar should rule out this only way in which a minority can make its influence felt and grow in numbers.

The Bombay Village Panchayats Bill has undergone few alterations of any consequence and its most serious drawback is left unremedied. No judicial functions in petty civil and criminal cases are proposed to be assigned to the panchayats, and this, without a doubt, greatly detracts from the usefulness of the measure. It would appear that this question of the conferment of judicial powers was discussed in the select committee, but the chairman prevailed upon the committee not to press it to a division. Thus, in the result, the scope of the measure is unnecessarily narrowed and much of the beneficence, which might be legitimately expected from it, is lost. Diwan Bahadur Mr. Godbole, in his dissenting minute says that he has agreed to sign the report on the understanding that a supplementary bill authorising the Bombay Government to invest select panchayats with judicial functions will be coming before the Council in the near future, but why the present bill should not be widened by a provision similar to the one in the C. P. and Bengal Acts is not known.

ANOTHER defect in the Bill which requires rectification is that special provision must be made in it for the representation of the so-called untouchable communities. The Bill is framed on the thorough-going democratic principle, that the panchayats should be wholly elective, and that the election should be on the basis of manhood suffrage. The special conditions of the depressed classes, however, practically debar them from any effective participation in the election, and it is therefore necessary that one or more seats, as may suit the conditions of the particular panchayat, should be reserved for them. Perhaps, there need be no specific provision in the Bill to this effect, and the rules to be framed thereunder will possibly permit of seats being reserved for classes. In the Bill, franchise is withheld from women, and Mr. Deol insists that the franchise ought to be extended at least to the women who hold immoveable

property in their own right and to those who are literate in the sense of having passed the vernacular fourth standard.

AMONG the grounds on which the introduction of compulsory education for girls is resisted in Poona by the Nationalist party, there are two of vital principle, the soundness of which even those not possessing a knowledge of local conditions can judge for themselves. It is said that because there is not enough money to go round for the education of both boys and girls, boys' education must be given precedence, as having a greater social value and being a greater social necessity. This is Mr. N. C. Kelkar's dictum. Let us assume, for argument's sake, that a certain municipality can raise funds sufficient to finance compulsory education of the children of only one sex. Does it then so clearly follow as Mr. Kelkar would have us believe, that it becomes that body's duty to take in hand only boys' education, leaving girls' education to the indefinite future. The dispatch of 1854, on the other hand, clearly lays down that girls' education contributes more to the social and educational progress than boys' education and has thus a greater value. Mr. Gokhale expressed the same sentiment. "I share the opinion," he said, "that the education of girls is with us even a greater necessity than that of boys."

THE other ground which the Poona Nationalists advance is that because the State ought to bear a larger educational expenditure than it is at present bearing, our energy must now be concentrated on securing a right apportionment of this burden, and till Government becomes willing to pay a grant-in-aid three-fourths, in amount, of the total educational expenditure, all the municipalities, even those which are in a position to introduce compulsory education on the present footing of half the grant, must, as a matter of tactics, hang back. All are agreed that the Government must take a larger share of the burden, but few will approve of the policy of suspending the operation of the Compulsory Education Act till Government assumes that share. Mr. Gokhale thought that for every rupee spent by the local bodies, the Government should contribute Rs. 2; this proportion, according to Mr. Gokhale, should apply in the case of boys' as well as in that of girls' education. Yet the Poona Nationalists are prepared to let boys come under the operation of compulsion without any additional grant from Government, while girls' education must wait till all the municipalities receive a three-fourths grant! Outsiders can certainly pronounce on these views of the Nationalists, for they are not based on any local circumstances.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI was invited by the Imperial Press Association to be a member of the Press Conference to be held in Ottawa in August next, but is constrained to decline the invitation.

THE QUEST FOR A NEW CAPITAL.

IF anyone thought that the Government of India could be persuaded to change their seat from Delhi, he must be a very simple man. This is a very different thing from saying that the Government of India would resist or lament if some extraneous influence compelled them to do so. The statement may be hazarded that no one of any standing in the secretariat is enthusiastic for Delhi; a few are lukewarm friends, and the rest are decidedly opposed to it. If a Viceroy with abundance of individuality and driving power made up his mind that Delhi would not do, he would find that he had little to overcome except the inertia which characterises bureaucratic administrations. Some mild surprise would be caused by the initiation of the proposal; but in a short time, quiet chuckling would grow into open applause; and it would all wind up with an acknowledgment that the change was inevitable and could have been predicted from the outset. A wave of public opinion may still perform the feat; the time is ripe; the occasion is furnished by Mr. Sarma's recent resolution and the forthcoming Budget. The resolution has been negatived; but members could return to the attack during the discussion of the Financial Statement and rouse the slumbering taxpayer. The proposal to build a duplicate Parliament house in Simla is not only an extravagance, one in itself questionable, but raises the whole issue of the annual movement to the hills of the various Governments in India. The attempt sometimes made to discriminate between the central Government and the local Governments and allow the exodus to the former, while denying it to the latter, is invidious and without justification. No argument can be based on the difference in the personnel, the quality of the work, or the pressure under which it has to be done. Every provincial budget will probably contain proposals for the construction of new houses of legislature at the summer as well as the winter capital or at least for the movement of the Government to the plains during summer to meet the legislatures. Either way the public throughout the country will have the opportunity, not lightly to be thrown away, of condemning the serious administrative inconvenience and blunder of hill-top government for one half the year away from the throb of the people's life. The increase in the output of work is more than counterbalanced by the lack of touch, and a double wrong is inflicted on the people who get less government, but are required to pay more for it. The *Leader* of Allahabad gave up the fight too easily when it said the other day that the abandonment of Delhi as the Imperial capital was not within practical politics. On the contrary, the matter must be taken up in right earnest and the authorities compelled once for all by force of public opinion to give up their Simla abode during half the year. That the poorest population in the world should have the costliest administration indulging in the luxury

of an annual migration to distant hill-stations is an incongruity which would not be tolerated in any country where the people voted the expenditure.

Once Simla is ruled out, the question is: is Delhi possible all the year round? Even if, the heat of the summer months were rendered supportable by tattis and fans and other aids, there seemed to be mosquitoes and flies and diseases to which Delhi is liable. Considering that we have to decide for unborn generations, an outlay of four out of the twelve crores required for building the new capital is not such a loss as to deter us from a change forced upon us otherwise. Nor need the fact of Delhi being the King's choice keep us for one instant from pursuing the right course at this time. The emphasis laid on this circumstance by the spokesmen of the Government shows us that it is unreasonable to expect the King's agents to take the initiative. The pressure of public opinion must supply the motive power. No city unfortunately stands out as preeminently suited to support the honour and satisfy the tests of the metropolis of a vast country. Calcutta and Bombay, cities that might claim Imperial splendour, even if they were not at different ends of India, are too congested and overgrown. There are places again that enjoy temperate and equable climates throughout the year, but they are not centres of thought and influence where a Government will get the stimulus of criticism essential to its efficiency. Taking all things together, the city which appears to us make the nearest approach to the ideal is Allahabad. That the executive of the Indian National Congress often chooses it as its meeting-ground is proof that it is popularly accepted as fairly accessible from all parts of India. Madras, which has the most reason to complain, would be brought sensibly nearer, when the Vizagapatam-Raipur line of railway is opened. Though very hot for three months in the year, its climate is not unhealthy or deleterious like that of Delhi. Well served by newspapers, with a High Court and a University, it has the promise of development into a city worthy of Imperial honours. A touch of the farcical was given to the debate in the Imperial Council the other day when each speaker suggested his own place for the coveted honour. But almost any solution is better than that of Delhi, coupled as it necessarily is with Simla.

THE GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY.

It is now five years since Gokhale died. But the loss that the country then sustained by his death is as fresh to-day as it was five years ago on the day of his departure from this world. Opinion is unanimous that now more than ever India needs Gokhale. It is indeed a sad thought that India could not get another like him in the course of five years. But India cannot go on without many like him in the new era about to begin with the introduction of the reforms which would demand

of us, to a very considerable extent, talents for constructive work of every kind. We must, therefore, do all we can to stimulate in our people, and particularly in our young men, endeavour to make their own as many as possible of the merits that distinguished Gokhale. One of the many ways in which we can stimulate this endeavour is to celebrate the anniversary of his death. We must, therefore, welcome the annual celebration of this anniversary in many important centres in India.

In Poona, the principal centre of Gokhale's activities, this anniversary is celebrated every year in one form or another. This year the celebration took the form of a public meeting held under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha on Thursday last on the Liberal Club grounds. The principal address of the evening was delivered by Mrs. Annie Besant who had come down to Poona specially for the purpose. The Hon. Mr. Kamat who presided on the occasion paid in his introductory observations a warm tribute to the memory of our departed leader and requested Mrs. Besant to give her address. Mrs. Besant, who, on rising to speak, received an ovation from the assembly, gave in her address an eloquent expression to her generous appreciation of Gokhale's career. First and foremost, Gokhale was a great patriot ready to give his all to his country. It was then but natural that Mrs. Besant opened her address with an eloquent tribute to his patriotism. He began his life, said Mrs. Besant in substance, as a professor of the Fergusson College and ended it as a member of the Servants of India Society. It was thus a life of selfless dedication to the cause of the country from one end to the other. This selfless devotion to his country's cause could come only from his high spiritual endowments. His aim was, as he used to say, to spiritualise public life in India, and in his own case he successfully tried to realise that ideal and thus set an example from which others could take their inspiration in the matter.

But Gokhale was not a mere patriot. He was also, observed Mrs. Besant, a great leader of his people. He always placed before his people as their leader, a high ideal of progress in all spheres of life which, as Mrs. Besant pointed out, was on one occasion expressed by him in these words "I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in art." It was however his reasoned conviction that this high ideal could be realised within the Empire to which India, he thought with Ranade, was wedded by Providence in its wisdom. He, therefore, always asked his countrymen to make this conviction their own and to do ceaseless work for the attainment of the ideal of progress in all directions in the true spirit of faith and hope.

But he did not ask others to do what he was not personally prepared to undertake. In fact he laboured for India's progress as few others have ever done. More. His work always was, as Mrs.

Besant pointed out, thorough. He was one of the most eminent of our legislators and had, in that capacity, to deal with a variety of problems. But he never handled them superficially. He studied, with infinite patience the fundamental principles and the numerous minute details of each and he studied them from all points of view, particularly from the point of view of those with whom he could not agree on that question. He had the rare capacity to look at things from the point of view of his opponents and to appreciate the merits of their position on any question. So he was never one-sided in his conclusions which when reached in the way indicated, he could always defend with a persuasive force all his own. His criticisms in the Imperial Council of the various measures of Government and particularly of the annual financial statements attracted the attention they did, because he could always make them unassailable. In fine, in everything he did he was so well equipped that he could rarely be dislodged from his position.

Nevertheless he was always ready to make compromise, provided the price demanded was not the sacrifice of one or more essential principles. Like Charles Bradlaugh, Gokhale believed, Mrs. Besant observed, in gradual progress by States. He was ready to take the immediate next step and thus to bring nearer than before the step next to it. This was his attitude towards the Morley-Minto reformé which he advised his countrymen to accept and to work in order to secure in that way further constitutional advance. Had he been living now he would have taken the same attitude towards the Government of India Act of 1919, and would have given us the same advice to accept the reforms and to work them successfully in order sooner to reach the next stage in the progress towards our goal. We could then best show our regard for his memory, as Mrs. Besant pointed out in conclusion, by doing in the matter of the present reforms what he himself would have done had he been spared to us.

After her address was over Mrs. Besant was requested by the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye to unveil a portrait of Gokhale prepared and presented to the Deccan Sabha by our famous artist, Mr. S. K. Pimpalkhare. In doing so, Mrs. Besant hoped that the portrait would quicken endeavour in many to follow his great example and to work as Gokhale did in the cause of India's continued progress. We share Mrs. Besant's hopes and trust that men in all parts of the country would try to emulate Gokhale's noble example. Under the new dispensation, India would need in large numbers men of Gokhale's patriotism, selfless devotion, high ideals of progress in all spheres of life and the capacity to do, with adequate equipment, ceaseless and thorough work for its attainment. We trust India will not want such men to work for her progress in the new era.

THE DEVIL AND THE SCRIPTURES.

It is said that the Devil occasionally quotes scriptures for his purpose, but as the Devil can never do anything honestly, he must misquote them, take them away from their context and forget the time, place and circumstances in which the passages were written. The extremist attitude on the question of primary education for girls and boys simultaneously well exemplifies this remark. In the first place, like good boys, they make a great show of their goodness in accepting the principle of compulsion for children of both sexes. In our opinion, the acceptance of a principle without the slightest attempt to bring it into practice and accompanied by the most rancorous opposition to the more honest persons who make this attempt, is utterly valueless. Of course this plain fact is not unknown to the extremists, much as they wish in this question to forget it. The most reactionary bureaucrats were always ready to give the most fulsome lip-homage to the goal of self-government in India, provided the attainment of that goal was indefinitely postponed. But the popular party in India, including both the extremists and the liberals, rightly discounted all such lip-homage. They have been asking for some tangible proof of the actuality of their belief. The extremists have not been satisfied with only some proof; they want the whole ideal at once regardless of practicability, experience, finance, &c; and no words are too severe for the hated liberals if they urge the force of any of these considerations. Now on the question of primary education these considerations are being urged by the extremists *ad nauseam*. They think that a proof of honesty is afforded by their readiness to apply compulsion to boys only. But the principle at stake is not compulsion, but *simultaneity* of compulsion for both boys and girls. If they resist this, all their protestations are so much waste of breath, and people will know how to rate their zeal for public good, regardless of caste, creed and sex. If they had come forward with some instalment in the direction of simultaneity, their opponents would have been glad to compromise with them. But of this there is no sign in the least. A workable scheme made by experienced educationists, which is declared by some of the nationalists *privately* as well calculated to fight illiteracy, would not be looked at by them *publicly*.

Then again they claim for themselves to be the elected representatives and say that among their opponents there are only six representatives of the rate-payers. In view of the large volume of public opinion displayed on the side of the latter, this fact only proves that the franchise in the municipality is not sufficiently wide-spread, that it tends to give undue representation to one class of people. Thus the depressed classes are keen on this question. Their only representative on the municipality is a nominated member. In the opinion of the extremists he does not represent his people, but their real representatives are two

gentlemen who opposed a resolution for their uplift at the Lonavla Conference two years ago! The Mahomedans have no elected member and it is claimed that their four nominated representatives do not represent them, but that any of the orthodox Brahmans may well be their real spokesman. Women have no representatives at all on the body and therefore their proper spokesman is Mr. Talvarkar, whose work in the cause of women cannot be discovered by means of the most powerful microscope! The bogey of a referendum is trotted forth to support the opposition to girls' education. A referendum is only feasible if every adult resident of Poona were asked to give his opinion and if he were sufficiently educated to give a considered opinion.

The weakness of the case against girls' education is well illustrated by the desperate straits into which they are plunged. They are now quoting what Mr. Gokhale said ten years ago, when he brought in his bill in the Imperial Council. On other occasions the extremists are never tired of saying that the war has changed everything, that the most revolutionary ideas of six years ago appear now to be actually reactionary, that the outlook on the question of women's rights, duties, and capacities has been revolutionised. When Gokhale's scheme for reforms was made public, the *Kesari* had not hard words enough to properly characterise its inadequacy, and it then forgot that the scheme was worked out in the beginning of 1915. But now Mr. Gokhale's words of 1911 are to be regarded as gospel truth. To a man who offers co-operation—of the responsive variety—in the working of reforms on one day and on the next says that we must so work them as to show that they are unworkable, this veneration for Mr. Gokhale's very words uttered in 1911 is disingenuous at the very least. Those who have been all the time associated with him in his work, as his willing assistants, are the persons, who can form a guess as to what attitude he would have taken on this day, and not those whose lives were spent in abusing him, belittling his work and hastening the end of his days by misrepresentation, of a man who was the soul of honour and was remarkable for scrupulous fairness to his opponents and intense love for the good of his country even though his work did not lead to successive stages towards deification at the hands of misguided followers.

The *Kesari* and its henchmen have been trying to make capital out of one phrase in a speech of the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye in the debate on the Compulsory Education Bill in the Bombay Council. But we wish they had read the whole sentence in which that phrase occurs. The speech was made as a reply to Khan Bahadur Pir Baksh, who brought forward an amendment to restrict the scope of the bill to boys only. This evidently, does not look very promising, for any use of that speech to buttress the cause of the opponents of girls' education. K. B. Pir Baksh had said that in Sind especially, compulsion of girls would

be opposed on religious and social grounds. Mr. Paranjpye said in reply that if this were really so, municipalities, composed of Indians themselves, would not be ready to apply this permissive act to themselves. "There may be some municipalities," said Mr. Paranjpye, "in which public opinion may be prepared to extend this clause to girls. Of course we do not expect that the bill will be immediately applied to girls, but after all we expect that we shall soon advance in public opinion sufficiently to apply compulsion to girls, and there may be some districts where at any rate it will not do any harm or cause trouble." Mr. Paranjpye's words have come out true. In Poona everybody agrees to the principle of compulsion and nobody raises any objection from the social or religious point of view; the communities specially affected are keen on it. Where then is the difficulty? None but in the diseased brains of the *Kesari* and its followers. If they had boldly come forward to oppose the principle of compulsion, we should have had to consider the point anew. Certainly the question at the time of that speech was not at all a question of cost or taxes. It is dishonest to take a phrase from a speech and try to use to support the exact opposite of what was intended by that speech. This is really the Devil quoting, or mis-quoting, scriptures.

The opposition to girls' education, indeed if not in words, is only on the side of the nationalist members of the Municipality. These have been very vocal in recent Congresses and Conferences in advocating women's suffrage in India. Eloquent speeches have been made on this question, but it appears that these have been mainly for consumption by the Labour party in England. They expect that a man like Col. Wedgwood will say on reading these speeches: "Look, how catholic and radical these Indian nationalists are. They have already accepted the cause of women's suffrage which it took almost a century to get adopted in England. Should they not be allowed to govern themselves? The cause of all classes and creeds and both sexes is safe in their hands." It would be instructive to see what his opinion would be on reading the detailed account of his allies' doings in the Poona Municipality. He is at any rate clever enough to see that a vote without education of the most elementary kind is a contradiction in terms.

If it was a question of merely increased grants from Government, why not ask for the same increased scale of grants both for boys' and girls' compulsory education? On such a platform and on the understanding that if compulsion is introduced, it will be enforced *simultaneously* for boys and girls, there will be a practical unanimity, for Poona can make out a very good case for a special scale. We do not say that new proposals for taxation cannot be made without hitting the poor people hard. For all this a round table conference of both sides, would be the best method. The Rajavade scheme may also be considered at such

a conference. But all these would appeal to one who fights in the open. To those who say one thing and mean another, who are determined not to sacrifice anything for the advancement of their poorer brethren and sisters, only the whip of public opinion would be the most potent goad.

MILL LABOUR IN BOMBAY.—I.

THE last millhands' strike was the second of its nature—a sudden, general strike, the first having occurred only twelve months previously. High prices, huge profits and labour strikes is a vicious circle and such strikes are threatening to be an annual fixture. It is estimated that the last strike caused a loss of about 6½ crores of rupees to the millowners and of about 30 lakhs to the millhands. In my opinion, the actual loss both to the employers and the employed is much higher than this. Add to this, the loss of private property caused by lootings, the cost of maintaining a sufficient military and police force to prevent any breach of the public peace, the constant uneasiness to the general public and also the menace to the public health. Neither the millowners and the millhands nor the general public can afford to have such strikes as a regular feature of the annual programme of the city's staple industry.

Such sudden general and prolonged strikes point to a series of serious defects in our industrial organisation. Unless those defects are removed in time we cannot hope to make unhampered progress in strengthening the existing industries and building new ones. To find out the defects we must be prepared to look the facts in the face squarely and boldly, without giving in to the temptation of deceiving ourselves by following our pet prejudices or selfish interests.

That the millhands, unorganised as they are, are able to bring the mill industry to a standstill, has been amply proved by the last two general strikes. It is true their methods are crude and their attitude at the time of negotiations and settlement of the dispute is not quite reasonable. The last strike was unnecessarily prolonged and much avoidable waste was incurred. The millhands look upon strikes not as the last but the first remedy to get their grievances redressed and also sometimes strikes in individual mills occur on flimsy grounds, even on the ground of a bazaar rumour. Moreover it is not an easy task when these strikes occur, to bring the workmen to a reasonable frame of mind. Can we, however, hold the millhand alone responsible for this undesirable state of things?

The etiology of the millhands' strike has been a mystery, or at least it is treated as such by a number of people. A few capitalists and Anglo-Indian papers contented themselves by attributing the unrest to "Bolshevism," an easy thing in these days, when you have to condemn any person or thing or to conceal any inconvenient truth. Some saw the hand of the professional agitator in the

whole affair. The fact was, however, that no other Bolshevik or agitator than high prices was at the root of the matter. Also the huge piles that were being made by the millowners could not remain a profound secret. So far as my information goes, a number of millowners knew that the strike was coming on. Two or three months before the strike actually occurred, there were thick rumours that the millhands would go on a strike and demand higher wages in the month of February after the promised bonus had been distributed. Workmen in a particular mill precipitated the matter and brought about the strike one month earlier. Also it is a fact that the Millowners' Association was, some four months back, considering the advisability of introducing a ten hours' day, at the instance of the Government, though nothing practical came out of it and the question appeared to be practically shelved in the absence of unanimity among the millowners. Was it not possible for the millowners, who are surely more educated and enlightened than their operatives, to take steps in time to anticipate the men's demands? By such intelligent anticipation the trouble would have been nipped in the bud. Even after the men struck work, the millowners did not try to meet them half way, but tried everything to wound the men's self-respect. There was a complete deadlock and the Social Service League had to step in to find out a *via media*. The Labour Settlement Committee which was specially formed for this purpose, approached the strikers and helped them to formulate their demands. The Committee's overtures were treated with scant courtesy by the millowners' committee. Finally, when the Committee's efforts were backed up by H. E. Sir George Lloyd's good offices, and when the strikers themselves had shown beyond doubt that they were prepared to hold out much longer than their masters had expected them to do, the millowners announced their concessions. But the men, following the example of their masters, refused to accept the terms and did not resume work till a week had passed after the concessions were announced. The millowners had to yield, but they did so without grace, and "without grace" speaks volumes, depicting the present and future troubles between capital and labour.

Let us also plainly and honestly answer the question to ourselves: Would the millowners have parted with a small share of their unprecedented profits in consideration of the ruling high prices or reduced the hours of work, had the men not resorted to the weapon of strike? When the first general strike occurred last year, H. E. the Governor had to intervene to bring about an amicable settlement. The millowners did not, however, learn any lesson from that strike and took no steps to prevent its recurrence this year. So far as labour was concerned, the organisation of the textile industry remained in the same defective, nay, primitive state. Does it now lie in the mouths of the millowners to complain of the lightning strike? In the course of his sermon to the mill-

hands and their friends delivered at the last Commercial and Industrial Conference in Bombay, Mr. J. B. Petit totally disapproved of the idea of starting trades unions and other labour organisations. But our millowners must remember that they cannot have it both ways. Either they must be prepared to have trades unions and other labour organisations to deal with or they must not complain against lightning strikes which are brought about by the millhands in their present manner and all the consequent evils thereof. Another wellknown millowner went the length of denying the existence of a rise in the prices of foodstuffs and naturally drew upon himself retorts holding him up to public ridicule. It is time the capitalists recognised that it is no longer possible for them to pursue the policy of drift or to indulge in that of the proverbial ostrich.

It is an undeniable fact that the millhand is an illiterate and ignorant person. Neither the millowners nor the State has seriously tried to educate him properly, nor has anything been done to guide him along the lines of constitutional agitation for getting the wrongs righted. Can we then blame him for not being constitutional in his methods? Can we justify the neglect with which he has all along been treated by saying that he struck work all of a sudden and failed to give notice of the same beforehand, as he ought to have done in the ordinary procedure of such disputes? The millowners, the State and the community in general have failed to do their duty by him and in retaliation he fails to do his duty by them. The millowners can combine to 'sweat' labour, why then should labour not combine in its own crude, primitive, and yet the most effective fashion to get its just grievances redressed? In short, the millowners have got such labour as they deserve.

PARELWALLA.

AN ENGLISHMAN AND INDIAN STATES.

IN his original and illuminating reflections on the machinery of the Government of India, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has discussed the subject of Indian states. He suggests the federal ideal for their improvement. "The continued liberty of the Native states and of their Rulers does not depend upon a loose connection but upon a constitutionally defined relationship within a federated India." This ideal is similar to that adopted by the illustrious authors of the Joint Report. Mr. MacDonald proposes consultative councils of the Chiefs to discuss matters of common interest and co-ordinate policy with the Governors of Provinces. They are to be purely of an advisory character. He thinks that it would be a mistake to put the Chiefs into organic relations with the Indian Government. We fail to see how the interests of two-ninths of the total population of India would be effectively protected, so far as matters of common concern are involved, unless the representatives of Indian States have a voice in the settlement of such questions in the councils of the Indian Empire. The proposals in the Montford Report were of a practical character and would have solved the difficulty in a satisfactory manner. The Government of India Amendment Act makes

no provision to ascertain the opinion of the Indian States and the subject is at present shelved out from constitutional reforms in British India. If the proposed Chamber of Princes is so constituted as to faithfully voice the opinion of Indian States, the expression of its views on matters of common interests may go a long way in bringing relief to the subjects of Indian States whose interests are directly affected.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald suggests that the Indian States should not only be preserved but should be multiplied if that were possible. He urges that the existing States should have more powers of self-government. By self-government the author means freedom from interference through the political officers. "These men," he pertinently observes, "too often are devoid of the qualities which fit them for the delicate and difficult office which they fill and their influence tends to stifle both initiative and sense of responsibility in Chiefs, who perhaps at best have but little of either but who under certain types of residents lose what little they have." This no doubt is literally true. The Indian Princes are being educated in the Chiefs' Colleges, though these institutions on the whole are rightly declared by the author as disappointing. The general political atmosphere of India, the known views of British Government and the personal contact between Delhi and the Indian Rulers are gradually leaving their impress on the Indian States. The redeeming features of the indigenous system of government, are peculiarly visible in some of the important Indian States. The harmonious relations between Hindus and Mohamedans in states like Hyderabad and Gwalior, the magnificent pioneering work done in education in Baroda and Travancore, the experiment of the separation of judicial and executive functions, the initiative taken in matters of social legislation like marriage laws, the flexible system of taxation, the patronage of arts show the Indian states to better advantage in comparison with the British system of administration and these reforms achieved with greater freedom and confidence than is possible in British India. "The head of the Native State is just as likely to be progressive now-a-days as the British bureaucracy."

This fact alone does not go far enough. What is wanted is, that the head of an Indian State should be not only progressive but should be constitutional. With the vast development in the political condition of British India mere efficiency in administration would not commend itself to any rationalist thinker in these days. When British India is pulsating with new hopes and with the consciousness of new political ideals, such as those of responsible government, it is idle to expect that the subjects of Indian States would be satisfied merely with enlightened rule. What they expect is that the Indian Princes should also respond enthusiastically to the changes that are being enacted in British India. Lord Hardinge has described the Indian Rulers as "helpers and colleagues in the great task of Imperial rule." If really this ideal is to be realised the Indian Princes must now come forward and honestly declare their intentions to follow in the footsteps of the British Government and adopt the policy laid down in the Royal Proclamation, and in the new Government of India Act.

It is really very disappointing that a writer of such originality and of such credentials as Mr. MacDonald should have failed to appreciate the people's point of view in dealing with Indian States. A student of socialism and a leader of labour movement ought to have recommended the

advisability of introducing responsible government in Indian States to the Indian Princes. We are afraid that during his travels in India he came in contact with Indian Rulers only. He has been very fair to them and has drawn a glowing picture of their position. He has however altogether ignored the subjects of Indian States. He could have very easily advised the Indian Princes that constitutional reform was the only way which would secure their position and prestige in the wave of socialism which is now passing over the world. The indigenous Governments could bring about reforms with greater ease and celerity than it is possible to achieve them in British India. An Indian Prince can at once set apart his own income from that of the State. He will have no difficulty if only he has an honest desire to be just to his people, to associate the representatives of his subjects in the machinery of his Government. Responsible government will be an accomplished fact in Indian States, if only the Indian Princes are prepared to exercise self-denial and self-restraint and abstain from arrogating all power to themselves. There is no conflict of interests between the rulers and the ruled, such as exists in British India. Indian States are entirely free from the knotty problems of an alien civil service, of foreign capital, of foreign trade interests and of a foreign domiciled community. Without therefore encountering any opposition from such quarters as is inevitable at every step in British India, an Indian Ruler can accomplish reforms and elevate his State, if he is actuated by a genuine desire to do justice to his subjects and to share his responsibilities with the chosen representatives of his own subjects. Mr. MacDonald has very graphically described the condition of Indian states when they were transferred to the protecting care of the British Crown. It is however a matter of poignant regret that there has not been any perceptible change in the position of the subjects of Indian States, as there has been in the position of the subjects of British India during the last sixty years. "The Indian Prince did not always respond satisfactorily to the new conditions of luxurious security in which he found himself under our wing. Nothing drew from him energy and activity. He was secure in his state, he had ample income, he had prestige and authority amongst his subjects, he had a bad upbringing and a deteriorated and deteriorating entourage, he had no traditions of public usefulness to spur him. His conception of himself was that of a tax receiver surrounded by plotters and schemers, by flatterers and traitors; that of a god ministered to by hangers on. He could not understand that there was any difference between the income of his state and his own. It was his private possession managed by agents. His court was too often a maze of crookedness and sensuousness in which women generally played the leading part and through which he sank into physical, mental and moral decay. The peace and protection of Britain brought the Native States to the condition of a fever stricken morass, where diseased nature was prolific and gorgeous to the eye, but rotten at the core and feeding on corruption. And British interest and influence not infrequently increased the corruption." Of how few Indian States it can be said that the above description does not apply to them even at the present time? The absence of any free press, absence of real representative institutions, not to mention the sham councils and assemblies, the despotic manner in which power is exercised in Indian States, absence of any decentralization—all these forcibly bring to the notice of

any casual observer, the helpless condition and the abject morass in which the people of Indian States are at present struggling, while their own brethren in British India are spurred to action by new hopes and new ideals of political regeneration even under an alien rule. Of all critics Mr. MacDonald was specially gifted to authoritatively tell Indian rulers what is expected of them in this period of transition. It is not merely self-government and freedom from the shackles of the Political Department that is wanted for the revival of the Indian States, but a government by the people and through the people under the aegis of their ancient and hereditary rulers. Constitutional monarchy, representative institutions and a system of responsible government will alone elevate the status of Indian States and entitle the rulers to be the real partners of this vast Empire. If they do not rise above personal considerations and try to incorporate the changes that are taking place in British India, they will lag behind and may perhaps be absorbed in this huge machinery as mediatised chief-ships. We are therefore extremely sorry that Mr. MacDonald has not correctly seen the popular aspect of Indian States and has failed to give correct advice to the Indian Princes at this juncture.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

SELECTION.

MR. KUNZRU'S SPEECH.

AT THE U. P. LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

A GENERAL meeting of the United Provinces Liberal Association was held on Wednesday evening in the *Leader* office, the Hon. Dr. Sapru, President of the Association, being in the chair.

WELCOME TO MR. KUNZRU.

The Hon. Dr. Sapru then moved the following resolution from the chair:—

"The United Provinces Liberal Association accords a hearty welcome home to Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, one of its delegates and a member of the All-India Moderate deputation to England, and records its sense of appreciation of the public services rendered by him in that capacity."

Dr. Sapru said that he had been in England while Mr. Kunzru was there and he came back with a feeling of admiration for the work he had been doing and for the manner in which he had been devoting himself to the task which had been placed in his hand. They had read the speeches made by him in Bombay and elsewhere since his return and he felt that they had every reason to feel proud of him. They all knew what self-sacrificing services he had done in the past, and he hoped that sphere of his usefulness would be considerably enlarged in the next months.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Kunzru in reply made the following speech:—

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—It is an unfeigned pleasure to me to find myself in your midst and it is extremely flattering to me that the chairman has proposed a resolution appreciating my so-called services to the deputation. I cannot truthfully say that I rendered any services worthy of the name while I was in England. I myself had no illusions on the subject when I went there, and I said in the course of a speech that I delivered shortly before leaving for England, that the utmost I could hope to do while I was there was to prepare myself to be of some service to my country in future. I cannot say that I utilized my time to the fullest extent even in that respect, but I had not been wholly idle, and I had devoted a portion of my time to study and to increase my information in regard to some subjects which will play a most important part in the future, not only of these provinces but of the whole country.

MODERATES AND THE PUNJAB QUESTION.

I do not think I need say very much in regard to the work done by the Moderate deputation in England, as you had already been enlightened on that point by Dr. Sapru and Mr. Chintamani and other members of the deputation; but since their return fresh allegations have been made against the deputation, which require to be noticed. One of the charges brought against us was that we in England, entirely unmindful of the sufferings of those who had been interned or sent to jail after the disturbances in the Punjab, opposed amnesty to the political prisoners there and asked merely for a general enquiry. The manner in which the charge is being brought forward will lead any one who reads it, to imagine, that we were entirely against amnesty, that we thought that those who had been sent to jail were guilty of the offences for which they had been sentenced and that in order to please officials we thought it our duty to oppose their release. I should not feel at liberty to disclose everything that passed between the Secretary of State and the Moderate deputation on the occasions on which our deputation waited upon him but in view of the reckless charge brought against us it is necessary to lift the veil to a certain extent. The position of the Moderate party throughout the negotiations was that, amnesty or no amnesty, there must be a full, free and impartial enquiry into all the circumstances connected with the disturbances in the Punjab. Our position was that if martial law had been proclaimed without sufficient justification or had been administered with undue harshness, the release of the men condemned during the disturbances would follow as a matter of course. Besides, what would have been the situation if we had accepted an amnesty without an enquiry or with a private enquiry? The object of the enquiry is that the facts should be known throughout the country, and that for two reasons; first, that the public should become aware of all the circumstances connected with the case, and, secondly, that if the Government was wrong it should be compelled to bear the odium attaching to the harsh administration. If we had accepted amnesty with a private enquiry none of the objects would have been gained. On the contrary, Government would have been able to claim credit for the amnesty without bearing responsibility for the harsh acts committed by it, which have come to light during the last three or four months; it is not merely that the authorities and the public in England were unaware of the full extent of the oppression exercised in the Punjab, but the people in India itself, on account of the censorship exercised over the Punjab papers, did not know one-fourth of what had transpired since the Hunter Committee began to take evidence. In a general way they knew that the people in the Punjab had been subjected to a reign of terror for some time. In a general way they knew the charges that were being brought against the officials. From the speeches made in the Legislative Council they learnt that martial law was administered there with undue severity, but I venture to think that even those who were most forward in attacking the officials and in putting the case of the people before the authorities did not know the full extent of the evidence forthcoming in favour of the charges that were made. So far as England is concerned, the evidence that has been tendered before the Hunter Committee has convulsed public opinion. Nothing that you could have done would really have tended to agitate the people there and to bring public opinion to your side as strongly, as the revelations with regard to the Amritsar massacre and other acts of oppression committed in other districts. The *Times*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Star* and a host of other papers have commented fully and strongly on these disclosures, and they have said in reply to official apologists who pleaded for a postponement of judgment lest the case against officials should be prejudged, that, whatever the conclusion of the Committee might be, with regard to the justification of martial law or its continuance, nothing could excuse the firing on an unarmed crowd without due warning and the continuance of that firing when the crowd had already begun to disperse. Reuter wired the other day the comments of the *Times*, which, as you know, is the most influential paper, and

which also is a conservative paper, on the letter that Sir Michael O'Dwyer wrote to it, defending himself and his administration. Could any of these facts have been brought out if we had been content only with amnesty or with amnesty coupled with a private enquiry? I should have thought that the experience of the last three or four months would have provided conclusive justification for the attitude of the Moderate party, and yet people belonging to the other party, who hold responsible positions, who are among its leaders, did not hesitate to bring charges which will not stand a moment's scrutiny. The real fact is that we did not oppose amnesty, but we did say that if we could have only one of two things, either an amnesty or a free and independent enquiry we would have the latter rather than the former, because, if our case was just and if there was any strength in us, the people who had been sentenced to imprisonment could not be detained in jail after the true facts have come to light.

MODERATES AND REFORMS.

With regard to the general attitude of the Moderate deputation in regard to the Reforms, I should like to make just one or two observations. It has been frequently said that we made no attempt to come into close contact either with the British public or with the Labour party. A little reflection will show you, gentlemen, that it is not easy to carry on a public agitation in a foreign country. After all, the only agitation that could be of any use, from our point of view, would be that which could bring pressure to bear on the authorities to modify the Government of India Bill. Unless the agitation that we carried on there was useful to us in this particular respect it would have been entirely superfluous, so far as the immediate object of our going to England was concerned. It might bear fruit in future. It might yield most valuable results in the course of 20 or 30 years; but it must be plain to a man of even the meanest intellect that for our present purpose it would have been absolutely useless. I do not thereby mean to say, that public opinion is of absolutely no value. What I mean to say is that addressing public meetings is not the thing you have to do if you want to have public opinion on your side, and to influence opinion you must use the power of the press. I think in that respect our party has done more work than any other party and I take particular pleasure in referring to that, because my friend Mr. Chintamani, who is a member of this Association, took a leading part in that respect (Applause). Whether it was the Reforms or the Punjab atrocities or the Army Commission, he lost no time in acquainting the British public and the authorities with the Indian point of view. A second way of influencing it, is to come into contact with influential journalists and to place the Indian point of view before them. In that respect also our party has done more valuable work than any other party. I have no desire to belittle the work of any other party or to say that we had the monopoly of wisdom and courage, but comparatively speaking, I do assert, I believe without any exaggeration, that the methods on which we set to work were the soundest and have actually yielded the best results.

THE REFORM ACT

I need say nothing with regard to the Act that has been passed. You are as well acquainted with its provisions as I or anybody else. Unfortunately the public at large do not know the full value of the Act. It does not know the extent to which it can be utilized to ameliorate the condition of the people and uplift the masses. It is our duty, therefore, to tell them what a potent instrument this will be in our hands for raising the people of our country. We have to tell them that we have been demanding the power of effecting reforms principally in two directions—one is education and the second is industries—and in spite of the fact that the power to impose protective tariffs finds no place in the Statute, as has been pointed out over and over again by the hostile critics of the Government of India Act; there is no doubt that we shall have practically full power to remodel our educational system and develop our industries. I do not mean to say that the path in future will be quite smooth. There will be difficulties, and we shall have to meet that opposition; and vested interests may still band themselves together and obstruct the course of our progress.

Nevertheless if our ministers are men of capacity, if the men who enter the Legislative Councils are true to themselves and are men possessing knowledge, I have not the slightest doubt that the growth of public opinion during the next few years will be so strong as to make it impossible for the greatest autocrat to go on setting aside deliberately the considered wishes of the public. Besides, in the particular field of industries, you must not be led away by the fact that you can impose protective tariffs only when the Government of India is in complete accord with representatives of the people. In the first place, the departments of industries are to be provincialized, and we have yet to learn that no industry can be placed on a firm basis without the help of protection. In the second place, a great deal of attention has been paid in the public press during the last ten years to the question of the development of cottage industries. I am not at all sure that for this purpose also it will be absolutely necessary to have protective tariffs. For aught I know, they may be necessary, but I do think both in regard to provincial industries and cottage industries it will not be found absolutely necessary that we should have protective tariffs. Where then remains the field in which protection may be absolutely necessary? We do not know what these industries are. Even our leading industrialists have not so far taken the trouble to study the questions fully and inform the people what those departments are in which without protective tariffs no progress can be looked for. Taking all these things into account and giving the fullest weight to the criticism brought forward by the other party, I think the power that we have got in respect of fiscal autonomy substantial and if we make proper use of it we shall be able to do a great deal towards the industrial regeneration of our country.

Just one point and I have done. It is pointed out that the power to protect our industries against foreign competition has not been granted to us by statute. The reason for that is plainly given in the report of the Joint Committee itself, viz., that such power has not been conferred by statute even on any of the self-governing dominions. Besides, if you take into consideration the recent attitude of the Government of India in regard to industries, the speech of the Viceroy and the assurance given by Lord Sinha, there is no reason for supposing that the future is in any way dark. As I said a little while ago, we shall undoubtedly have to encounter difficulties, but if we are to go on probabilities we have no reason at present for saying that we shall in the future have to face only difficulties. And if we make the fullest use of the Act, I have no doubt we shall be serving our country far more than by maintaining a sullen attitude and by giving effect to the reforms only in such a way as to show that they are unworkable. (Applause.)

ARMY REFORM IN INDIA.

THE Hon. Mr. Chintamani, moving a resolution on Army Reform at the U. P. Liberal Association, spoke as follows:—

UN-BRITISH AND ANTI-INDIAN.

With regard to the proposals in the first part of the resolution I do not think there can possibly be any difference of opinion among Indians. No part of British policy in India has been more un-British and more anti-Indian than its military policy. It has been based upon distrust. The British Government have proceeded on the assumption that in no circumstances will the Empire be safe in India unless Indians are treated as out-landers in their own country, at all events, so far as the Army goes. The introduction of constitutional reforms should also lead to a radical change of this military policy. The terms of reference to the Esher Committee are not altogether explicit or satisfactory and at one stage there was doubt whether any of these questions could be discussed by them. I believe, however, that we need not be unduly pessimistic on that point. Since the appointment of that committee and the publication of the terms of reference, first one and then a second and a much more satisfactory Indian member have been nominated thereto, and I feel certain that our distinguished countryman, Sir Krishna Gupta, will leave

nothing undone to see that justice is done to Indian claims in the reorganization of the army that is going to take place, I do not put forward any of the proposals on the footing that the downfall of Germany means the end of the war. On the contrary, while opposed to militarism as much as any individual can be, I think it is safer for us to assume, from the state of affairs in Central Europe as well as outside Europe, that universal peace is not yet, that while there have been peace treaties there is yet no peace, and that every part of the world may have to go through another ordeal such as the one brought to a close fifteen months ago. I do not think that the proposals that are embodied in this resolution will lay us open to the charge that we are idealogues, that we would, if we could, bring about a state of affairs in the Indian army which will render it impotent either for defence or for offence if circumstances should necessitate either. Far from it. I claim for the proposals which I ask you to accept that they will render the Indian army not only much larger in peace than it ever can possibly be on the present footing, but also vastly more efficient than it can be unless these changes are introduced. Wars in the present day are really wars between nations in arms. No regular army which any Government can bring into existence with the funds at its disposal—let it be the richest Government in the world and the country the most populous in the world, still my proposition holds true—will be able to withstand an onslaught like the German onslaught unless it adopts a system of army organization which will render the active army as economical and efficient as possible while being limited in numbers, and will also enable it to expand as occasion may arise.

TERRITORIAN ARMY.

Proposals to this end will be found embodied in the great speech which Mr. Gokhale made in the Viceroy's Council 14 years ago. If there are any who will say that, whatever respect Mr. Gokhale should have commanded, and his name should command, in respect of matters of civil government, he could not claim the same authority when he went into the region of army organization, they might be told that the self-same principles were adopted by Lord Haldane, the greatest Secretary of State for War England has had since the days of Caldwell, in his reorganization of the British army in 1906 a reorganization which alone rendered possible the dispatch of the expeditionary force to France in 1914. If the people of India are not to be entrusted with a real living share in the defence of India it is out of the question that England can expect, when there is an emergency, a loyal united nation prepared to stand up for the Empire and able to resist aggression. The British army will be there, an active Indian army organized as a territorial army will be there, and if the system of short service is introduced you will have outside the active army large and increasing numbers of men who can be drawn upon in the hour of need. If there is to be a large territorial army it is a condition precedent to success that that army should, as far as may be, be officered by Indians themselves. The position of helots, either in the army or in the civil administration, is not going to be accepted by anybody. It will be safer for the army and for the Empire in India if the same policy of trust is adopted in matters military as has been adopted in the civil government of the country. If there are to be Indian officers there must be institutions in India to train them. It will not do to toy with the question of appointing Indians as commissioned officers and seek to put us off by appointing a stray half a dozen; you may say you will send them to England for training, but we are not going to be put off in that manner and I am sure if we are going to make ourselves heard we shall not be put off. It is not an exaggerated claim that we make that one-fourth of the officers in the Indian army should be Indians, and if they must be Indians surely there must be facilities for training them in the country.

COLLEGE CADET CORPS.

Lastly, we ask that military training should be given to Indian youths and college cadet corps should be organized. You remember that under the Indian Defence Force Act

European youths between the ages of 17 and 19 must receive military training. You will further remember that in the debate in the Council on that measure the non-official Indian members strongly pressed that an identical provision should be inserted in the Act for the benefit of Indian young men also. The proposal did not succeed then. It may succeed now. It ought to succeed. It is our business to press it until we succeed. With regard to the college cadet corps, we are really in a humiliating position. In our own province take the case of the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee. There is a volunteer corps attached to the college and it is provided in the regulations of the institution that every European and Anglo-Indian student must be a member of the volunteer corps, and there is also another rule which says no Indian student can be a member of the corps. Nor is any other arrangement made for the Indian students. It is a most humiliating position and an invidious distinction flaunted in the face of our young men in the most sensitive age of their lives.

MEMBER FOR DEFENCE.

Clause (b) of the resolution also requires just a word or two to commend it. You remember in 1905 there were two distinct offices, the office of the Commander-in-Chief and of Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief was an extraordinary member of Council. The complaint was made by us that the military had an excessive voice in the councils of the executive Government because there were two members, and it was supposed that as a rule the Viceroy, who is the political and foreign member of the Government, threw the weight of his support on the side of these two military members, the Finance Member going to the wall. In 1905 took place the Curson-Kitchener controversy and Lord Kitchener won and the two offices were amalgamated into one, that of the Commander-in-Chief. I need not mention the Military Supply Member. He was there for a brief space of time and disappeared. Military and other expert opinion has been strong since the Mesopotamia muddle, that Lord Kitchener might have successfully combined the two offices in his own person but that his successors in the office of Commander-in-Chief failed to perform the functions of his dual office with any degree of efficiency. I think the Esher Committee is going to consider the whole question. This is just the time for us to make ourselves heard. In England the Commander-in-Chief is not a member of the Government. There is the Secretary of State for War and he is a member of the Cabinet and the position of the Commander-in-Chief is that of Inspector-General of Forces. There must be a member for defence in the Government; but that member should not be the Commander-in-Chief. The latter should be out of the Government; he should not even be an extraordinary member. The position of the Member for Defence should be somewhat different from that of the old Military Member who was overshadowed by the Commander-in-Chief. In future, the member should not be so overshadowed; he should be the one member of Government who should be responsible for the defence of the country. I have designated the member as Member for Defence, because the question of navy will come up and there is also the air service. It will be the business of this member to be responsible for all measures relating to the defence of the country. The military element will not preponderate in the Government, nor will there be the anomaly of the fighting-head of the army being himself in the position of a statesman who has to decide questions of policy in the decisions of which considerations other than military will also be involved. Although it is a subject relating to the army we may safely adopt the proposals that are embodied in the resolution.

In the last clause we ask that this resolution should be communicated to all the officers concerned. I am sure the Indian members of the Committee, whether they accept these particular opinions or not, will do all that is necessary in furtherance of our claims. Lord Esher has unfortunately not come here, and the chairman of the Committee here is an individual in whom no one need be ashamed to say he has absolutely no confidence.

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