

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

GOVERNMENT have at last made a move and have removed the restriction upon the imports of gold bullion and foreign coin. They took months to realise that the effective and permanent solution of the exchange question "cannot be dissociated from the policy to be adopted in regard to gold," though this aspect of the currency problem had been pointedly brought to their notice by the comments appearing in the press. The Currency Committee itself had likewise chalked out the lines Government were expected to follow, but somehow or other, they were absorbed in their policy of the sale of reverse councils and could not apparently attend to anything else. It has now been declared that sovereigns will no longer be legal tender at the rate of Rs. 15, though during a period of three weeks they will be accepted at currency offices at that old rate. On the expiry of the moratorium, the free import of sovereigns will be allowed and the ratio between the sovereign and rupees will be 1-10, as recommended by the Currency Committee. For this purpose, the currency law will be amended at the next session of the Indian Legislative Council, and in the meantime, Government have taken the necessary power by an ordinance in that behalf.

THE smuggling of sovereigns across the land frontier of British India compelled Government to take this action; otherwise it is possible that

they might have waited longer for more propitious circumstances. With regard to the sales of reverse councils which have been carried out week after week at a serious loss to the country, Government have not given them up; but they have only reduced the rates at which the sales will be effected in the future. Owing to the small supply of export bills, the market rates of exchange have fallen below even the parity of two shillings which will hold when the identity between gold and sterling is restored. Government's sterling rates for reverse councils will be 23½d. per rupee for immediate transfers and 23¼d. for deferred bills. These rates are not in conformity either with the market rates or with the nominal rates governed by the American cross rate. Government's policy with reference to the reverse councils has so far failed to give stability to exchange which is shifting with the currents of trade, and the announcement of the new rates is a clear confession of this failure to maintain the exchange. On Government's own showing, the future is not free from uncertainty, and relief can come only from a favourable turn in the course of the country's foreign trade.

SPECULATING on the Liberal attitude to the Hunter Report, the June number of the *Round Table* observes: "Despite all the care which the Indian minority have taken to exculpate the Government of India, it is difficult to see how their view could be adopted (by the Moderates) without imputing incompetence and lack of vision to the present administration, and such an imputation might prove a source of grave embarrassment to the Moderates in their stand for the principle of co-operation. It might even play directly into the hands of the extremists at the approaching elections." The writer of the article seems to have a most curious notion of the Moderates' position. In the first place, it is not true to say that the Minority Commissioners exculpate the Government of India. They do not. They refrain, it is true, from holding Lord Chelmsford's Government to blame in express terms for the mishandling of the situation, but they certainly do not hold that their conduct is free from blame.

IN the second place, the Moderates feel no difficulty whatever in imputing "incompetence and lack of vision" to the Government of India, for they have no wish to purchase public support for

the principle of co-operation by exonerating the highest authority in India who as a matter of fact deserve stern censure. As to the effect which the expression of such an opinion may have on the elections, fortunately electioneering has not developed to such an extent in India as to make one think of the election time whenever any public act is to be done. The Moderate party has never been guided in its policy by such extraneous considerations and, we hope, will never be. In fact, the only important point on which the Moderate leaders differ from the Minority Commissioners is as to the failure of the latter to condemn the Government of India in emphatic terms. The Moderate party would grievously fail in its duty if it let its judgment be influenced by considerations as to its chances of success at the ensuing elections. Again, as regards co-operation, it believes that the co-operation of Indian and British communities on terms of equality is essential to the progress of the country, and it is for that very purpose that the Moderates plead for a just reparation for the atrocities committed in the Punjab, for they feel sure that it is only by dealing sternly with the offending officials that co-operation between self-respecting Indians and Europeans will become possible.

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"A WAYFARER" writes in the *Nation*: "However, Mr. Montagu's despatch retrieves the situation. Government by coalition is an hypocrisy, and the price India has to pay Lord Curzon and the Tories in the Cabinet for a repudiation of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism is a formal compliment to the honesty of one man and the "energy" and "courage" of the other. No one imagines that these words, or at least these thoughts, are Mr. Montagu's, and India, at least, will not suppose that they are. For the real question is the future of the reforms. It is impossible to think that they can stand unless Ordinance IV is wiped out of the records of the Indian Government. Mr. Montagu has practically thrown it over. But as long as political Indians see that their new liberties can at any moment be superseded by administrative order, they will look askance at the reforms, and quite possibly refuse to work them. How is confidence to be restored? There seems only one way and that is for Mr. Montagu to take Lord Chelmsford's place. The Viceroy will now, I suppose, serve out his term, though he richly deserves recall, and the feebleness of his rule is evident in his Government's report now excusing and now throwing over what are virtually his own acts. But the future of India hangs on the appointment of his successor; and those who know her will, I think, conclude that only a persistent act of liberal administration can save it. I believe that Morley was freely consulted in the critical stages of the Indian crisis.

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THE Minister of Health recently introduced in the House of Commons a bill for the provision

of blind persons. It is framed on lines similar to those of a private bill, on which we commented in our issue of April 22. It enables local authorities to provide and maintain workshops, hostels or other institutions for the reception of the blind, the State's contribution being 50 per cent. of the expenditure, and extends the benefit of the old age pensions to blind persons when they reach the age of 50. Naturally, the bill was welcomed in all parts of the House, but it was loudly complained that it did not go far enough. With regard to the last named provision as to pensions, it was contended that the reduction of the qualifying age from 70 to 50 would not at all meet the necessities of the case, what was required being that all blind persons unable to earn a sufficiency should be supported by the State, whatever their age might be. As one member put it, "Why cannot it be an actual fact that the blind shall not suffer at any age, but shall be allowed to have a decent and comfortable existence? It is not their fault, and it is a national duty that the blind should not be allowed to suffer, but should be kept in a state of ease and comfort." The demand was therefore made, not by the members of any particular party, that every blind man who is unable, because of his affliction, to earn a living should be a State charge, and that there ought not to be any taint of charity about the affair.

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WHAT is of far greater consequence, however, than the maintenance by the State of the indigent blind is the provision of opportunities for them to learn some trade or other whereby they could support themselves in a self-respecting manner. As the Right Hon. G. Barnes said: "The blind men do not want to be kept in idleness. They do not want even to be treated as outside the ordinary citizenship. . . . Nothing hurt blind men so much as to be treated as if they were outside the scope of ordinary citizenship, and therefore I attach infinitely more importance to the provisions of this Bill which deals with training than with pensions." But the great vice of the provision in this regard is that it is permissive and not mandatory. The clause in question says, "it shall be lawful for the council of any county to provide and maintain . . . workshops," &c. This is not enough. It ought to be made obligatory on local authorities to provide for the maintenance of institutions which will make the blind self-supporting citizens. It was maintained that the support of the blind ought to be a national and not a local liability, and at any rate the contribution from the national exchequer must be largely increased to the relief of the local ratepayers, but even if it should turn out that the State could not bear a larger share of the burden, it was earnestly pleaded, that local bodies be compelled to devise schemes for the provision of the blind, it being feared that only the more progressive municipalities would discharge their duties in this connexion if the measure was a purely permissive one.

## NON-CO-OPERATION.—II.

EVER since the time when Turkey drew the sword against the Allies, the Indian Mohammedans have had an uneasy suspicion in their minds that an Allied victory would not leave her as she was before she entered the war. They deplored her action, but their hearts continued to feel for her. When a loved one goes wrong, however intensely we may regret his conduct, we do not sever all connection with him and leave him to suffer the consequences of his actions. On the contrary, we are impelled by our feelings not to forsake him in his difficulties and to save him from the ruin that might otherwise overtake him. The Mohammedans realised Turkey's mistake, but this could not extinguish the intense affection they felt for her as the symbol of the greatness of their faith and civilisation. It is not surprising, therefore, that when they perceived that their fears regarding her fate were likely to come true, the protests of even the more emancipated amongst them against her dismemberment should have been religious in form. The feeling that a crusade was being carried on against her made them envisage the situation as a conflict between the cross and the crescent and roused their religious fervour.

The hold of Islam on the minds of its adherents cannot be doubted. It has held its own against time and science in a way in which formal Hinduism and Christianity have failed to do. But, as we ventured to point out in our previous issue even at the risk of being misunderstood, in spite of the reality of the religious sentiment in the lives of Mohammedans, it will be highly unwise to lay too much stress on it. Uncompromising insistence on it may injure their case and alienate from them the support of those who sympathise with the Turk as a fellow-Asiatic and regard the terms offered to Turkey as a violation of the principle of nationality.

This policy has already placed the Mohammedans in an awkward position. It has made them appear as opponents of Arab independence. It does not seem that there is much love lost between the Arab and the Turk. Their relations in the past have not been very friendly. Yet it appears that Indian Mohammedans desire that the Arabs should be subjected to Turkish rule again. It may be thought that Sherif Husain is a tool in the hands of Great Britain to execute her nefarious designs against Turkey. His subjects may be expected then to be in revolt—open or concealed—against him. But this does not appear to be the case. Even if the testimony of his son Abdullah be dismissed as false, there are other circumstances which strengthen the belief that he and his people are of one mind. The disturbances that have occurred in Syria and Mesopotamia afford proof of the hostility of the Arabs to the English and the French, but they do not give the slightest indication of a desire on the part of the Arabs to return to their old allegiance. The pan-Syrian Congress

which seems to have been the mouthpiece of a large majority of the population of Syria, did not vote in favour of its reinclusion in the Turkish Empire. It offered the crown to an Arab and a son of the King of Hedjaz. The same story was repeated in Mesopotamia when Emir Abdullah was proclaimed King. The injustice and humiliation to which Turkey has been subjected by the Allies may have provoked bitter resentment among the Arabs, but there is no evidence that they are willing to return to their old allegiance. They prefer independence to alien, even though it be Mohammedan, rule. And they do not stand alone in this respect. Egypt was till lately a part of the Turkish Empire. It is practically in open revolt against the authority of the British. The conversion of Turkey into a European protectorate appears to have inflamed Egyptian feelings and added fuel to the fire, but who will say that the Egyptians are willing to recognize the sovereignty of the Caliph?

It may be remarked in passing that on the showing of the Mohammedans themselves, the independence of Arabia does not appear to violate any of the tenets of Islam. We understand that the Moslem claim on behalf of the Khilafat is based on the command of the Prophet that all non-Moslems should be turned out of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. And Arabia is under a Moslem ruler, over whom no Christian power is to exercise supervisory authority. It has been argued some times that in accordance with the commandments of Islam, the strongest Moslem power is entitled to the possession of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, for it alone can guarantee protection to the pilgrims to the holy shrines in Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia. But we are not aware that this argument, which makes religion indistinguishable from politics, has ever been advanced by any of the leading figures in the Khilafat agitation. Nor is the recognition of Arabia as an independent State an infringement of the Prime Minister's famous pledge. He stated distinctly in the very speech in which he appealed to the Indian Moslems for support, and which had the approval of the Labour leaders that, in the opinion of all the leading statesmen of the Empire whom he had consulted, America, Mesopotamia and Arabia were "entitled to the recognition of their separate national conditions."

It is still open to the Mohammedans to retrace their steps, and we earnestly hope that they will. It has been their desire for a long time to promote the solidarity of Islam and to knit closer the bonds that unite the Moslems. They seem to think that unity of faith may well be accompanied by unity of control in secular affairs. However little they may be conscious of it, this is not the principle of freedom. It is imperialism under another name. It prejudices them in the eyes of non-Moslems. They will strengthen their position considerably if they ally themselves frankly with the forces of nationalism and agitate for the freedom of the Arabic-speaking peoples. They are justified in denouncing

the mandate as a pretext for annexation and in demanding that Mesopotamia and Syria shall not be made appendages to the British and French Empires. But it is not possible to take the same view of their opposition to the recognition of Arab nationhood. Probably both history and geography require that Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia should form one kingdom, but whether they are united or kept separate, enlightened reason should not oppose their desire for self-rule. The Arabs have a distinguished past. They are the makers of Moslem history. They have produced a civilisation of which any nation may be proud. Their claim to govern themselves should not, therefore, be denied, and under their rule Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia may well be a source of much greater strength to Islam than they have been hitherto.

### SOME OBJECTIONABLE RULES.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

IN this article I propose to examine some of the draft rules recently published which seem most open to objection. There are others which are less open to objection, but as they are not of any constitutional importance they would be passed over.

#### CORPORATE ENTITY OF MINISTERS.

The Joint Select Committee of Parliament, in their session last year, recommended that the ministers in a Provincial Government should be recognised as a corporate entity. This is what they said: "In these circumstances they think that it should be recognised from the commencement that ministers may be expected to act in concert together. They probably would do so; and, in the opinion of the Committee, it is better that they should, and therefore, that the fact should be recognised on the face of the Bill." Accordingly, the Committee speak in their Report of the Governor acting with ministers as a counterpart of the Governor in Council, and they discard the phrase "the Governor acting with the minister in charge of the subject" which was the language of the Bill as it originally stood. It is worth while quoting one of the passages in which they use the amended phraseology as it has a significance which will appear presently. Dealing with clause 36 under Part IV., the Committee write: "In the provinces officers serving in a reserved department will be controlled by the Governor in Council, and in a transferred department by the Governor acting with ministers, but in both cases alike the personal concurrence of the Governor should be regarded as essential in the case of all orders of any importance prejudicially affecting the position or prospects of officers appointed by the Secretary of State." In pursuance of this recommendation, the Act as it finally took shape speaks of the Governor acting with ministers, *e. g.* see sections (1) (d) and 3 (1). Some of the rules made under the Act, however, revert to the discarded phraseology of the Bill and speak of "the minister in charge of the department" or "the minister con-

cerned" thus suggesting that the Governor might sometimes deal with each minister in isolation. Now, it is clear that if the ministers representing the popular side are to have full weight in the Government and impress their character on it it is necessary that the Governor should not have it in his power to deal separately with and override each of them. The fact that the Governor belongs to the executive council and votes there gives that body a certain weight as compared with the ministers deliberating together, but without the Governor. The backing of the legislature gives ministers their peculiar strength. Nevertheless if each minister were left to deal with the Governor or the executive council by himself he would find himself unequally matched. Hence the necessity of recognising ministers as a corporate entity. The Joint Committee have ruled that the Governor should not set aside the advice of his ministers except in cases analogous to those in which he would set aside the decision of his executive councillors. The full benefit of this statesmanlike provision will not accrue unless the rules in their detailed working frankly recognise the collective character of the popular side of Government. The published draft rules cannot be said to do this to an adequate degree. In practice perhaps the Governor will deal with each minister separately in minor matters, but the rules appear to contemplate the Governor acting with a single minister even in matters of consequence. The first example shall relate to the same topic as was dealt with in the passage already quoted from the report of the Joint Select Committee. It is rule 10 under section 45 (a): "The authority vested in the local Government over officers of the public services employed in a province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the minister in charge of the department." What is the justification for this complete reversal? Nor is this an isolated instance. Rule 9 (1) runs: "When a matter appears to the Governor to affect substantially the administration both of a reserved and a transferred subject, and there is disagreement between the executive council and the minister concerned as to the action to be taken, it shall be the duty of the Governor, after due consideration of the advice tendered to him, to direct in which department the decision as to such action shall be given: provided that, in so far as circumstances admit, important matters on which there is such a difference of opinion shall before the giving of such direction be considered by the Governor with his executive council and ministers together." Again sub-rule (2) of the same rule has: "In giving such a direction as is referred to in sub-rule (1) the Governor may, if he thinks fit, indicate the nature of the action which should in his judgment be taken, but the decision thereafter shall be

arrived at by the Governor in Council or by the Governor and minister, according as the department to which it has been committed is a department dealing with reserved or a department dealing with transferred subjects." It is obvious that if the Joint Select Committee had had the drafting of these rules, they would not have used this singular number "minister" in a context in which the expression "the Governor in Council" occurred, and it is hoped that their attention will be drawn to the matter so that they may alter the rule so as to carry out the intention of the Act. Rule 26 has the correct phraseology, but there is a slight lapse in rule 28.

#### DISALLOWANCE OF RESOLUTIONS.

The next rule to which the Indian public would object is the one dealing with resolutions, whether in either house of the Indian legislature or a local legislative council. The Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, has power to disallow a resolution or any part of a resolution on the ground that it cannot be moved without detriment to the public interest. Those familiar with the subject will observe that the expression "without detriment to the public interest" appears in the place of "consistently with the public interest" and is probably an improvement. But the general position with regard to reductions remains the same as heretofore, notwithstanding that this power of disallowance has been grossly abused in certain provinces, notably in Madras in Lord Pentland's administration, and the abolition of this power was one of the points on which all Indian politicians laid emphasis. The case for the Government is that if there were no restriction a certain class of members would bring forward resolutions which it would be undesirable to discuss for various reasons. In the analogous case of a question on an undesirable subject, a member of the Government may decline to answer. A resolution, once it is allowed, would be spoken to by the mover and mischief may be done before Government could do anything. There is such a risk no doubt. On the other hand, the executive could use the power of disallowance so as to avoid the exposure of their mistakes or a condemnation of vagaries. The true principle doubtless is to remove all restrictions on the power of members to move resolutions. We should press strongly for this. Failing it, however, a proviso or explanation should be added so that the phrase "detriment to the public interest" may not be so interpreted as to include inconvenience or embarrassment to the Government or their officials.

Under the new rules, a member may move the adjournment of the business before the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, but every such motion is made subject to the consent of the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be. Such consent, however, shall not be refused except for reasons which would justify the disallowance of a resolution. This rule has been attacked with a

special virulence as giving a right with one hand and taking it away with the other, for it is feared that the very urgency of the matter may preclude the possibility of obtaining the previous consent of the head of the Government, and it has been further argued that the Governor, not being a member of his legislature, might conceivably be far away from the place of meeting and difficult of access. This objection may be obviated by the Governor delegating this power to a member of his Government during his absence. As to the urgency, it would rarely be so great as not to allow of a day's interval for the request being made to the Governor for his consent to the motion. The privilege is intended for cases in which the usual notice of a week or ten days may be impossible. It might also be possible if the consent of the Governor were not required for a member to take advantage of the new rule for bringing forward resolutions under a doubtful plea of urgency which either had been disallowed under the ordinary rule as to resolutions or might be expected to be so disallowed. If the consent of the Governor should be required in ordinary cases it should be required in these cases of urgency, but our objection is to this power of disallowance altogether.

It may be explained here why the Governor is brought in to settle the precedence between Government business and private business, to fix the time for regulating budget discussion, and so on. In the House of Commons Government is in possession of the whole time of the House, and it is the Premier and the Leader of the House who between them apportion time to private motions, etc. With the growth of our business this apportionment will become both necessary and stringent. In our half-developed Indian constitution there is no Premier or Leader. On the contrary, the division between ministers and executive councillors makes it difficult to vest the discretion in any of them. The Governor, being actual head of the executive and a sort of mediator-general between the two halves of Government, may be regarded as the most suitable authority to perform this and similar functions, till we evolve a Premier or a Leader of the House.

#### THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

The third important rule which requires amendment is rule 34 under Part III, Finance Department. This provides for the creation of a Finance Department in each province to be controlled by a member of the executive council. It is difficult to see why the Finance Department should not be controlled by a minister if he is competent. We know by experience that it is only a few even amongst the members of the Indian Civil Service who acquire any special knowledge of finance, and it is not always these that rise to be executive councillors. Besides, it is probable that most taxation measures will be for the benefit of transferred departments and it is always an advantage to have these proposed by



the head of the Finance Department. We should, therefore, suggest that the Governor should have the discretion of appointing any member of his Government to this office, whether a member of the executive council or a minister.

The provision against treating in the rules as to corrupt practices is no doubt in accord with the practice of Great Britain. But it may be difficult to work it in a country in which great distances may have to be travelled by voters before they can reach the polling stations. Where communications are in a primitive condition and may occasionally become impracticable, where people are divided into mutually exclusive castes, and hotels are almost unknown, for some time at least relaxation in respect of this provision may be necessary.

The last rule to be mentioned here is that relating to the qualifications of candidates for the Legislative Assembly. By requiring that a candidate should be an elector in the constituency for which he seeks election or in some provinces in a constituency of the same communal description and by prescribing for electors to the Legislative Assembly a higher and more restricted franchise than for local legislatures, candidature is closed to some persons who may otherwise be competent to sit in the Legislative Assembly. I am barred out in this way. The Southborough Committee recommended that candidature for the Assembly should be open to anyone who could be a candidate for the local Legislative Council. It would be desirable to adopt that recommendation subject, of course, to the necessary exceptions.

Critics of the rules have blamed the Moderate members of the Advisory Committees for their share in their making. It is not right to disclose the proceedings of the Advisory Committees. People forget that the Committees were only advisory, and that the Government of India who were charged with the duty of framing the rules under the Act were not bound to accept their recommendations, even when they were unanimous. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will forward to the Secretary of State and the Joint Committee a full report of the proceedings of the various Advisory Committees so that these authorities may be placed in possession of the suggestions and criticisms made by non-officials in this country.

### SUBJECTS OF INDIAN STATES.

IT is a matter of intense regret that the subjects of Indian States are proposed to be excluded from the franchise, equally with lunatics, idiots, convicts and women, by the draft rules framed under the Reforms Act. We fail to see the reason of such exclusion. If we look to the past history of Indian legislation there is no justification to accord such differential treatment to the subjects of Indian States. The Government of India (Amendment) Act of 1916 has made an addition to section 63 of the Act, by which any person who is a ruler

or a subject of any State in India is made eligible to be nominated as a member of the Legislative Council. The Act of last year in no way affects this provision. We, therefore, fail to see how any objection could be taken to a ruler or a subject of an Indian State, either to become a voter or a candidate if he otherwise fulfils the necessary conditions laid down by the rules. The amending Act of 1916 has further made subjects of Indian States eligible for civil and military appointments. Lord Islington, the then Under-Secretary of State for India, stated before the Joint Committee that the then Government of India were very strongly of opinion that both civil and military appointments should be thrown open to subjects of Indian States and that it was inadvisable to attempt discrimination. After this broad and statesmanlike policy was enunciated by Government and sanctioned by Parliament, it does not behove any statesman now to attempt such a narrow distinction as is proposed in the rules. The circumstances since 1916 have been every day strengthening the conviction that it is highly desirable to find a place for the Indian States in the constitutional development of British India.

Lord Southborough's Committee made no distinction between British Indian subjects and Indian States subjects, either as regards registration as voters or eligibility to stand as candidates for the new councils. They very wisely said in their report: "While mentioning disqualification of persons who are not British subjects, we have recommended that this bar should not apply to the subjects of Native States in India. There are many persons who, though technically subjects of Native States, reside in British territory with which their interests are identified." The Government of India, however, in their dispatch of 5th March took a very narrow view of the matter and recommended that the subjects of Indian States should be treated as aliens in respect of domestic affairs of British India. The Selborne Committee did not endorse this view of the Government of India. They left the question of conferring the franchise on the subjects of Indian States if otherwise qualified to the discretion of local Governments. We now find that the Government of India have come round to this position and have in the rules published in the *Gazette of India* on 8th May 1920, stated "that the local Governments may direct that subject to such conditions as may be prescribed, a ruler of any State in India, or rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State or any class of such subjects shall neither be ineligible for election nor disqualified for registration by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects." The question, therefore, at this stage is left entirely in the hands of local Governments. We further find that the Government of Lord Ronaldshay have availed themselves of the discretion contained in this rule to make subjects of Indian States eligible for election or registration if otherwise qualified

just as British Indian subjects. In these circumstances, a very strong case is made out for the Bombay Government to follow in the footsteps of the Bengal Government. In Bengal there are only two Indian States of Koochbihar and Hill Tipparah, while in the Bombay Presidency there are not less than 350 Indian States. Out of 611 States in the whole of India, Bombay Presidency alone possesses more than half the number. The question, therefore, of the admission of the subjects of Indian States has a peculiar importance so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned.

In one constituency such a distinction is sure to prejudicially affect a large number of people. In the election of fellows of the Bombay University, graduates who are subjects of Native States or who are residing in Native States are allowed to vote and take part in the election. But under the present rules, graduates of seven years' standing, who are British subjects and who reside in the Bombay presidency are alone entitled to vote. We do not think that territorial residence or mere accident of birth makes any difference in the interest which a graduate is expected to take in the welfare of his *alma mater* or the problems concerning the University. The Madras Government has extended its franchise to graduates of the Madras University, in whichever part of India they may be residing. It would thus be sheer injustice to many graduates of the Bombay University who are subjects of Indian States if they are denied the franchise, when as a matter of fact the University itself does not consider any such distinction necessary in the administration of its affairs. We, therefore, very earnestly appeal to the Bombay Government to modify the rules, at least in the case of this constituency.

On general principles, there is hardly anything to distinguish between a British subject and an Indian State subject. The States are so intermixed with British territory in this Presidency, that by reason of contiguity, past history, common language, common religion, common race and creed and by reason of blood relationship, there is perfect identity of interests. To regard an Indian State subject as an alien, as compared with the British Indian subjects would be the height of absurdity. If we take into consideration the commercial centres of the Presidency, such as Karachi, Ahmedabad and Bombay, hundreds of Indian States subjects are found to be engaged in trades and industries and have vested rights. If the test of British citizenship is rigidly applied to them, many influential and monied men in Bombay and Ahmedabad would be excluded for no fault of theirs and by the mere accident of birth, from participating in the advantages of the coming reforms. It is not irrelevant to note in this connection that by reason of a long-standing custom amongst the Hindus and Mohammedans, women are sent for delivery to their parents' homes. Many people are thus born in Indian States though they are brought up and educated in British India and carry on their business and earn

their livelihood in British territory. Why should such people be excluded from privileges of British Indian subjects merely for the accident of birth, though virtually domiciled in British India? We, therefore, appeal to H. E. Sir George Lloyd to remove this iniquitous distinction and to liberalise the rules, so as to include subjects of Indian States.

The rulers and subjects of Indian States have been rendering immense service to the cause of India in the matter of protection and defence. The British Indian army is considerably recruited from the Indian States. Outside India and in the colonies they are treated as British subjects. They enjoy the protection of their suzerain just as their fellow British Indian subjects do. In the African Order in Council of 1889 the term British subject is defined as including not only British subjects in the proper sense of the word but also any person enjoying Her Majesty's protection and in particular subjects of the several princes and States in India in alliance with Her Majesty residing and being not the parts of Africa mentioned in the order.

In the future political fabric, Indian States have obvious common interests in Customs and Railways, Posts, Telegraph, Currency and Tariff. It is, therefore, unwise to accentuate differences between Indian States and British India. A distinguished writer has very pertinently asked: "What is the true line of policy to be pursued not only now but in the future? Surely not to exaggerate and pervert the points of difference between British India and the Native States, but to conserve and strengthen the points of agreement in the development of common interests. We cannot get rid of the Native States if we wish to; no intelligent man wishes to. Our obvious course is, therefore to weld them more closely into the constitution and to increase their part and responsibilities in the governance of India."

Some people ask: If men born in Indian States but residing in British India are desirous of enjoying the privileges of British citizenship, why should they not acquire domicile? In the first place, the acquisition of domicile now will be of no avail, so far as the elections of November next are concerned. And, in the second place, they fear, and not without reason, that to style themselves formally as British citizens and thus cut off, so to say, their allegiance from the Indian Chiefs, might expose them to active displeasure of the princes and entail practical hardships; for it must be remembered that even if they ceased to have any official relations with the Indian States as their subjects, they cannot but have dealings with their relations and friends in the States. It is therefore unjust to require of the men born in Indian States that they should sever their relationship with the States if they wished to be regarded as British citizens.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

## A LETTER FROM LONDON.

( FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT. )

LONDON, JUNE 3.

### THE SITUATION IN IRELAND.

THE situation in Ireland is to-day so extraordinarily bad that it hardly seems as though it can become worse, save by an open outbreak of rebellion. The greater part of Ireland (including wide districts of Ulster) has definitely declared for Sinn Fein which is in authority practically everywhere except in the extreme North-East. Sinn Fein volunteers keep order outside election booths, and Sinn Fein is the real master of the situation. So bad is it from a constitutional point of view that Sir Horace Plunkett has been moved once again to write to the *Times* urging an immediate settlement, if we are not to face an utterly intransigent Ireland that will be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence, and that will proclaim a Republic which will be put down by force of arms. He points out that when (and if) the Irish question is at last settled, it will be found to have included those outstanding grievances—the religious, the economic and the political. The first was met chiefly by Catholic emancipation and the abolition of tithes; the second by the removal of the commercial restrictions and by agrarian legislation, so that to-day Ireland enjoys an unprecedented prosperity; the third grievance involves the acceptance of the not very abstruse proposition that a country must either govern itself or be governed." He thinks that those who have proved themselves incompetent to govern Ireland should hesitate about laying down hard and fast conditions upon which she should be allowed to govern herself.

### SIR H. PLUNKETT'S VIEWS.

He next comes to what he conceives to be the outstanding fact of the situation. At all costs the Empire must be preserved. Any attempt to strike at its heart would be resisted by Ulster and to the very death by Britain. Indeed, this last fact was emphasised with no undue solemnity some months ago by Lord Haldane at the National Liberal Club. Yet the majority of Irishmen, as we have seen, have gone over to Sinn Fein, which strikes at the Empire's heart by demanding (and, in fact, establishing) an independent Republic. Sir Horace does not regard this demand at the present time as Sinn Fein's last word, though he thinks it may be if the present rulers of England adhere to their Irish policy. So far, he says, Nationalist Ireland has been asked to accept what everybody knows she will not take. So far as the Coalition is concerned, it does not appear to have any alternative policy. Sir Horace Plunkett accordingly proposes one. He holds that the immediate and direct concession of complete national self-government, restricted always and only by the necessity of maintaining the strategic unity of the United Kingdom, is the quickest, the easiest, the surest road of Irish peace. He urges that the Ulster Unionists should be called upon to join in

the offer to Sinn Fein of a united Ireland, ranking with the free nations of the British Commonwealth when he is confident that the army of occupation can be safely withdrawn and the Irish question will have been settled. So far, whilst taking note of the Ulster fact, he says, the British Government have ignored what he calls the Irish fact. But Sinn Fein is effectively taking over the executive and judicial functions of government. It has become the *de facto* Government in three quarters of Ireland, and virtually possesses treaty powers. Time is with it—and tide. "Six months hence," declares Sir Horace, "it might refuse an offer that, I firmly believe, though I cannot speak for it, it would now accept. Of this much I am certain. If Britain and Ulster jointly offered, and Sinn Fein accepted, the status of a self-governing Dominion, Ireland would no longer be cursed with the Ulster difficulty or England with the Irish question." But can Ulster be conciliated or morally coerced? Is not Lord Birkenhead Lord Chancellor, and is not Sir Edward Carson the master of the Government in Irish affairs?

### THE HUNTER REPORT.

The Hunter Report with the accompanying documents, which are now being widely discussed, is to be debated in Parliament a week hence. Already one notes a clearly-defined cleavage of opinion, which is put into pictorial form by the publication in the *Daily Sketch*, under the heading "Which is to Blame," of the portraits of General Dyer and Mr. Gandhi. The reactionary papers, especially in the provinces, regard Dyer as the unfortunate victim of unscrupulous politicians attempting to placate revolutionary agitators, and to this view great strength has been added by a highly provocative letter to the press by the Archbishop of Simla on the eve of the publication of the Report. At the same time one has to note with regret the usual weakness of organisation displayed by Indians in using the Congress Subcommittee's Report too late to be effective for propaganda purposes. For weeks we have been awaiting its arrival in this country for circulation, with a well constructed analysis and a comparison of its merits with those of the official Committee's effort, and an explanation of its defects that would carry understanding, if not conviction. Nothing, however, was done till too late. Mr. Horniman's book was too *ex parte* and unofficial to do any real good in the way of helping to formulate public opinion, and the field has thus been left open to the official documents, with the very natural consequence that, apart from the Minority Report, the Indian side receives secondary consideration. The *Daily News* makes the singular error of partially discrediting even this by a suggestion (since corrected by a correspondent) that all the Indian members of the Hunter Committee were officials. There will undoubtedly be a powerful attempt on the part of Anglo-Indians, militarists, and other reactionaries, to rehabilitate General Dyer or defend Sir Michael



O'Dwyer, which to-night's Amritsar meeting, to be addressed by Messrs. Patel, Lansbury, Neil Maclean, M. P., Barnes, M. P. (Major, not George Barnes), Lees-Smith and Horniman, and Miss Normanton, will do little to prevent. I do not think this reactionary attempt will succeed. But I do not think that it will fail, not so much because many people will think that, in the difficult circumstances in which he found himself, Dyer's action will be regarded as inexcusable, but rather that it is desired not to reopen a sore which would prevent a reconciliation of the two peoples.

#### TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA.

It is very difficult to know in what respect it will be possible to enter into trade relations with Soviet Government, for which purpose M. Krassin is now here. Though reports are conflicting, they seem to indicate more or less that Russia has practically nothing to export, except stolen gold, which France claims as security for the immense sums invested in Russian Bonds by her economic peasantry. The French peasant's thrift, and also his greed, are proverbial, and it is doubtful whether any Government in France could survive a betrayal of his financial interests. Our Government has received strong warnings of the trend of French opinion in this matter, not the least important of which was the protest lodged in Sweden by France against the introduction into that country of a part of the gold reserve, either for payment of Russian purchases in Sweden, or for propaganda purposes. It is even suggested that if goods were brought to this country from Russia for barter between the Soviet authorities and the British Government, they would be liable to be seized by British and other creditors of Russia, a possibility that M. Krassin is said to regard with not unnatural anxiety. To-day's *Times* contains a long and remarkable report on the present economic situation of Russia, by a Member of the Council of the People's Economy, dated last March. It certainly is one of the most striking indictments of the Soviet Régime that has appeared anywhere. The chief reason for the economic catastrophe lies, in the opinion of this expert, in the general loss of capacity for work in all classes of the population owing to the deprivation of the individual of all incentive to work; the remuneration of work so inadequately that the payment does not cover living expenses; hunger, privation and illness; the absence of personal security; the appointment to responsible posts of people without adequate qualifications, simply because they happen to belong to the Communist Party; the deliberate sabotage of the Soviet Government by the whole population, carried out in every branch of national life, in so far as it manages to escape detection and punishment; military operations, which prevent 3½ millions of the population from engaging in productive work; constant changes in the personnel of the Government, as well as in the existing laws which often, contradict each other, provoking

constant inter-departmental friction and loss of time. The author quotes M. Krassin as to the opinion that, under the most favourable circumstances, the restoration of railway communications in Russia may possibly begin, by 1928, if taken in conjunction with the partial revival of iron producing and metallurgical industries in 1927, which is hoped for, provided that the maximum amount of help from Germany is obtained. Other experts are said to be even more pessimistic.

It is no wonder that Mr. Lloyd George and others, who have made special studies of the subject, declare repeatedly that unless the League of Nations, by its appeal to the imagination of the peoples of Europe and America, becomes a living reality, far worse wars than any we have yet known will speedily come to destroy what remains of Western civilisation. The astonishing thing is that naval and military experts in large numbers are predicting the coming of the warfare which, as the *Nation* very rightly remarks, will prove that the war of 1914-18 was not after all a "War to end all war," but the "War that ended all civilised war." Thus Major-General Swinton, one of the inventors of the tank, in taking part in a public discussion quite recently, spoke as follows:

"I imagine from the progress that has been made in the past that in the future we will not have recourse to gas alone, but we will employ every force of nature that we can; and there is a tendency at present for progress in the development of the different forms of rays which can be turned to lethal purposes. We have X-rays, we have light rays, we have heat rays. Mr. H.G. Wells, in his "War of the Worlds," alludes to the heat rays of the Martians, and we may not be so very far from the development of some kind of lethal ray which will shrivel up or paralyze or poison human beings if they are unprotected. . . . The final form of human warfare, as I regard it, is germ-warfare. I think it will come to that and, so far as I see, there is no reason why it should not, if we mean to fight. In that case, perhaps the tanks would not be such a great panacea, because short of previous inoculation, it would not be possible to stop the progress of diseases simply by putting men into steel or any other type of enclosed vessels."

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER'S ALLEGATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I have wired to the *Times*, London, as follows: "The telegraphic summary of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter to you, containing a gross libel on the Indian members of the Hunter Committee, has caused surprise and disgust. He knows me and also my family with its unbroken record of steadfast and active loyalty. In another connection he spoke highly of my loyal ability, straightforwardness and great trustworthiness. He must know that my class could not have had the remotest connection with the disturbances."

Sir Michael is reported to disapprove the composition of the Committee as none of the European members had ever exercised administrative or executive authority in an Indian province, and the Indian members were of the very class which was largely responsible for creating the situation that led to the disorders and which in several cases actively participated in the rebellion. This is what the Government of India have said on the point: "The question of the composition of the Committee received the most careful consideration, as Government were determined that it should be a body of command-

ing weight and high judicial experience, in which perfect confidence could be reposed by the public, both at home and in India." (Vide para. 22 of the Government of India's dispatch.)

The summary contains misleading allegations. To select only one. For example, it is said that in Lahore there are several witnesses of high position and reputation who were ready to depose that the outbreaks were the result of an organised conspiracy, but they were not given an opportunity. The Government case was presented to the Committee by the Government Advocate, the Assistant Government Advocate and the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government. Obviously they would not be interested in denying this opportunity, and the Committee never refused to hear evidence on any important point. The question whether the outbreaks were the result of an organised conspiracy was the crucial point for investigation before the Committee.

It need hardly be pointed out that a mere expression of opinion that the character of the disturbances, in the deponents' opinion, was such as to lead to the inference that they must have been the result of an organised conspiracy stands on a different footing from a statement of facts, independently of the disturbances, proving the existence of an organised conspiracy. Also it may be safely presumed that officers of the Government, specially those of the Criminal Investigation Department, and the Lieutenant-Governor would have knowledge of those facts.

The evidence heard by the Committee is before the public and this is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself deposed before the Committee:—

Q.—In your statement at page 10 you indicate the view that there was an organisation, a wide-spread organisation. On the 15th April, your suggestion is that the whole country was involved. Do you still adhere to that or not?

A.—There were similar and simultaneous outbreaks in various parts of India as far apart as Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta.

Q.—The suggestion is that these disturbances at Ahmedabad and Calcutta and Bombay were part of one organisation. Do you adhere to that suggestion or do you wish to modify it?

A.—I still think there were certain people connected with those parts who were behind this organisation. I will not say it for a certainty, but I think there were certain phases which showed that unless there had been some organisation, all this could not have occurred simultaneously, but I have no positive proof of this.

Q.—Where was this central organisation?

A.—I have no proofs of it, but I am strongly inclined to believe that it did exist. There was some organisation (vide para. 16, Chapter 2 of the Minority Report). The Governments of Bombay and Delhi soon after the disturbances appointed two British officers of experience to investigate the point and their reports negated the theory of an organised conspiracy. It would hardly be playing the game to make wild and unfounded statements touching the honour of men of unsullied character and reputation to influence in one's own favour the course of a Parliamentary debate when those attacked are not in a position to rebut them in time. In the case of a man of the position of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the offence would be seriously aggravated. Though it was my painful duty to impugn certain measures of his Government, for him personally I entertained sentiments of high regard and though *prima facie* I am afraid there is little reason to doubt the material accuracy of the telegraphic summary to the *Pioneer*, I prefer to withhold my final judgment till I have read the full text of Sir Michael's letter to the *Times*.

Srinagar, June 19.

SULTAN AHMED.

### THE JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—We rejoice in and admire our friend Kingsley Williams' boldly expressed condemnation of the Jallianwala Bagh atrocity. In one point, however, we cannot agree with him, and that is in his suggestion that the numerous Englishmen who view that episode as a blot on the name of their

country will do well to signalise their abhorrence by subscribing to a scheme to perpetuate its memory. However innocent of such an intention the promoters of the scheme may be, the inevitable result of acquiring the site as a permanent national memorial will be to keep alive the bitterness and resentment which the massacre has aroused. We, therefore, deprecate the scheme, just as much as we deplore and consider harmful the use made of the Cawnpore Memorial Gardens and other similar practices in which we English have unhappily set an example and given a precedent for the present scheme. Is there not a worthier and more beneficial way in which Indians and Europeans alike may express their detestation of the policy of frightfulness exemplified at Amritsar, namely by subscribing to a fund for the widows and orphans and dependants of the victims of that policy?—Yours, &c.,

C. B. YOUNG,  
RUTH YOUNG.

Baptist Mission,  
Delhi, June 17.

### SELECTION.

#### NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA.

A MEETING of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India was held on Saturday, June 12, in the hall of the Indian Association at Calcutta. In the absence of the Chairman, the hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Vice-Chairman, presided over the meeting.

The proceedings lasted for four hours and the following resolutions were passed:—

#### I.—HUNTER COMMITTEE REPORT.

##### THE MAJORITY REPORT.

(a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India have read with deep disappointment the Majority Report of the Hunter Committee whose conclusions are in the main unsupported by the weight of the published evidence. The Council regret that the majority have supported the declaration and continuation of martial law in the Punjab without justification, and that they have condoned in most cases the atrocities that were perpetrated in deliberate disregard of the canons of civilized government. The Council feel constrained to say that the Majority Report lacks the authority that should have attached to a State paper treating of such grave and far-reaching issues as were raised by the recent deplorable events in the Punjab.

##### THE MINORITY REPORT.

(b) The Council endorse the conclusions of the Minority that there was no rebellion in the Punjab, and their condemnation of the declaration of martial law, and its prolongation without even a colourable excuse, as well as of the ruthlessness with which it was administered entailing cruel hardships upon large numbers of innocent persons and wantonly causing humiliation to the people by bringing home to them their utter helplessness.

##### SECRETARY OF STATE'S DESPATCH.

(c) While appreciating the Secretary of State's dispatch for its condemnation of some of the worst horrors of last year and its repudiation of the doctrine of military necessity that made them possible, the Council must express their sense of strong disapproval of the awarding of a wholly inadequate punishment to General Dyer and of none as yet to the several other officers who were guilty of unpardonable excesses. The Council would earnestly urge that the Government should take immediate steps for the suitable punishment of all officers, military or civil, of whatever status, who were guilty of, or condoned, gross abuse of power and indisputably failed to maintain 'the standards of conduct' which, as the Secretary of State's dispatch says, "no civilized Government can with impunity neglect, and which his Majesty's Government are determined to uphold." The Council believe that without such punishment neither will the enormity of their conduct be brought home to the offending officers nor will the national self-respect of India be vindicated.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER. . . . .]

(d) The Council record their emphatic protest against the high encomium bestowed upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer both by the Government of India and his Majesty's Government; in the face of the admission that 'his Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism', their criticism of the 'application of martial law procedure to certain trials' which, it is admitted, 'must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question and the avowal that with the general question of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab, his Majesty's Government are not now immediately concerned'. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's opinions of the educated classes of India and of even 'legitimate and constitutional political agitation' have been publicly expressed and are on official record, while his responsibility for the declaration and continuation of martial law and the manner in which it was administered cannot be gainsaid. He even accorded 'unqualified approval' to General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh, which has been disapproved by the Majority Report and the Government of India and condemned by his Majesty's Government. The praise of such an officer by his Majesty's Government has made a painful impression on the Indian mind. In the opinion of the Council the least that his Majesty's Government should do, failing any more drastic action, is to take steps to mark in an effective manner their unqualified disapproval of the policy and conduct of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and then they should in no circumstances allow him to be associated with Indian affairs in any capacity.

#### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S RESPONSIBILITY.

(e) The Council regret that his Majesty's Government, while testifying to the manner in which his Excellency the Viceroy has fulfilled his high trust and continuing to repose the fullest confidence in his discretion, have ignored altogether the responsibility of the Government of India, who, instead of exercising much needed control over the Punjab Government, gave it a virtually free hand.

#### COMPENSATION TO VICTIMS.

(f) The Council urge upon the Government that adequate compensation should be allowed to those who have suffered in the Punjab owing to the high-handed action of civil or military officers, and further that steps should be taken to revise the fines imposed upon or levied from certain areas in the Punjab.

#### SAFEGUARDS FOR THE FUTURE.

(g) The Council strongly urge that his Majesty's Government should provide for effective safeguards against a recurrence of such things as happened last year, and to this end urge among other measures:

- (i) that the introduction, exercise and duration of martial law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England;
- (ii) that martial law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions;
- (iii) that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers;
- (iv) that if courts martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting, any person not subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law, who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation, should be allowed the option of trial by a civil court;
- (v) that free and unrestricted legal assistance should be available as a matter of right to accused persons placed before martial law tribunals, and this should not be left to the discretion of, or any interference by, civil or martial law authorities; and
- (vi) that the remedy in the nature of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India.

#### APPRECIATION OF THE MINORITY.

(h) The Council place on record their warm appreciation of the ability, courage, and sense of justice which the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, Sir Chimanlal Betsalvad and Sahabzada

Sultan Ahmad Khan brought to bear upon the discharge of their arduous duty as members of the Committee.

#### RESOLUTION II.—REFORM RULES.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India are of opinion that the Draft Rules under the Government of India Act are defective and should be amended as specified below:—

(a) The prohibition of the provision of food to voters on the election day will operate as real hardship in the conditions in which election will be held in this country and will deter large numbers of voters from going to the polling stations. The definition of 'treating' should therefore be amended so as to withdraw the prohibition against the provision of food.

(b) The provision of hired conveyances in rural areas should not be deemed a corrupt practice.

(c) The discretion of Local Governments should not be restricted as regards the purposes for which they may borrow, nor should they be required to obtain the previous sanction of the Government of India.

#### DEVOLUTION RULES.

(d) The Devolution Rules should be amended wherever necessary so as to bring out clearly the corporate responsibility of Ministers.

(e) Provision should be made not only for the possible revocation or the suspension of the transfer of any subject (vide Rule 6 of the Devolution Rules) but also for possible additions to the list of transferred subjects.

(f) The Government of India should meet their estimated deficit in 1921-22 and following years by reducing military expenditure to a reasonable figure and by crediting a substantial part of the gain in exchange to their revenue account, and not by levying contributions from the provinces.

(g) In cases of emergency, the Government of India should have power only to borrow from local Governments and not to levy additional contributions.

(h) Rule 28, etc. of the Devolution Rules concerning taxation and borrowing should be amended so as to be more in conformity with the system of a joint purse for the whole Government as distinguished from a separate purse for either half of the Government.

(i) Rule 34 should be amended so as to leave it to the discretion of the Governor to select any member of the Government and not of the Executive Council only, as finance member and to provide that the financial secretary shall not be controlled by any one member of the Government.

(j) There should be a Council Secretary for Finance selected from among the elected members.

(k) The effect of the provisions of Rule 34 will be to convert finance virtually into a reserved subject, which is clearly contrary to the recommendation of the Joint Committee of Parliament, and it is of the utmost importance for the success of the new regime that it should be amended as proposed.

(l) There should be a Finance Committee of the Legislative Council in every province.

(m) As Industries will be a provincial and transferred subject, Stores and Stationery should also be provincial, and not central as provided in Schedule 1.

(n) In view of the separation of provincial finance from finance of the central government and of the popularization of the constitution of provincial governments, the provision of Schedule III requiring the previous sanction of the Secretary of State or of the Governor-General in Council for expenditure proposed to be incurred by local Governments should be reconsidered, and amended so as to increase the powers of the latter.

(o) The governor of a province should not be required to reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General a bill regulating the constitution or functions of a university (see Rule 2 (b), Reservation of Bills Rules), except in so far as Education is a reserved subject under Devolution Rules, Schedule I, Part II, 5.

#### LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL RULES.

(p) Temporary Chairman of the Legislative Assembly or of a Legislative Council should be elected by the Assembly or the Council itself, as deputy presidents are to be and should not be nominated by the Governor-General or the Governor.

(q) The Joint Committee having recommended that the Governor-General shall not be president of the Legislative Assembly nor the Governor, of a Provincial Legislative Council, the power that the rules give them of indirectly controlling or regulating the business of the Legislature is opposed to the spirit of that recommendation and should be abrogated.

(r) In particular the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, should not have the right of disallowing questions or regulations, and non-official members should not be required to obtain their previous consent to motions for adjournment for the discussion of definite matters of urgent public importance.

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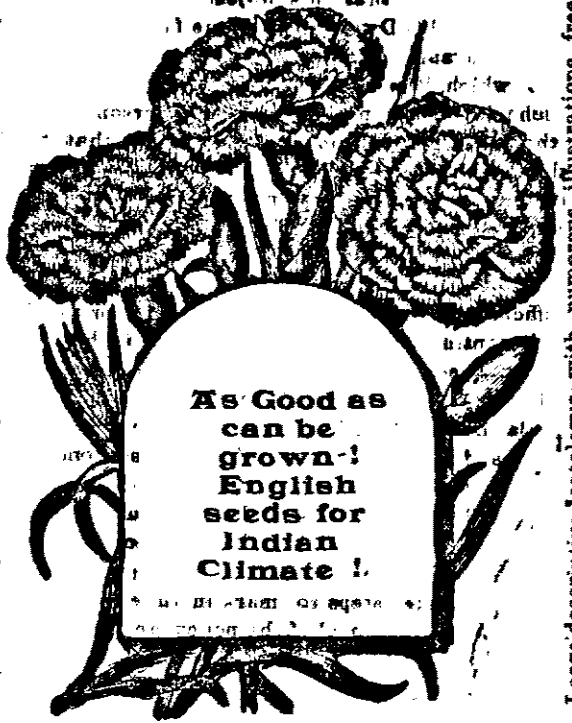
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