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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE War situation continued to be eminently satisfactory from the Allied point of view. It may be summed up as being retreat along the whole line. Considerable portions of France have been reoccupied by the Allies, important coast towns have been taken, Bruges has fallen, and the work of the liberation of Belgium is going on apace. Indeed there is an unconfirmed report which says that the Germans propose to retire to the Dutch frontier and take up a defensive position on a straight line. Whether all this means a complete military collapse of Germany or these territories have been evacuated by the enemy with some ulterior motive, is more than one can say. But even the worst pessimist will have to admit that the military power and prestige of Germany have been seriously shaken.

IN his reply to Austria President Wilson says that the basis of January address would not be made applicable to Austria. It was necessary to go further. The different nationalities that make up Austria must themselves decide what would satisfy their aspirations and the conception of their rights as independent nations. Meanwhile the Emperor Karl has issued a decree proclaiming the federalisation of Austria and excluding from its operation the town and territory of Trieste to which a special position is assigned. Hungary is to be dealt with separately. The latest report is that Hungary is to be independent of Austria although the dynastic union will not be distributed. This was to be expected in view of the bitter racial animosities and the predominance of the Magyars in Hungary. All these events are following each other in such rapid succession that there is hardly

time for one to take stock of the situation as it is modified by each successive change. Everything depends upon the negotiations for peace which have been shown above to have reached a critical stage.

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FOR the moment, however, all interest centres round the negotiations for peace. Further exchanges of 'Peace Notes' between America and Germany have taken place. Germany does not accept the principle of unconditional surrender which President Wilson, in effect, demanded. Germany wants discussion, it would appear, even about the details of evacuation. In regard to the President's query about the authority with which peace is to be concluded, the German reply makes out that the present government is constitutional and possesses the confidence of the people. Germany protests against the charge of brutality and cruelty, defends certain actions as justified by the necessities of defence, and claims to have such cases tried by a neutral commission. So also, it has been unofficially urged that submarinism was justified by the prohibition of sending food stuffs to Germany and thus starving her non-combatant population. Whether official or unofficial, such explanations are not likely to satisfy the Allies in their present mood, and unless President Wilson is prepared to relax the severity of the terms implied in his last reply, or the Germans are ready to yield, the prospects of peace may be said to be receding out of view. For the moment the military party in Germany does not appear to have been altogether crushed, and the Allied press is of opinion that there are evident marks of its influence on the last reply from Germany.

* * *

MYSORE stands easy first among the progressive Native States of India. The address delivered by the Dewan at the Dasara session of the Representative Assembly reviewed the administration of the past year and chalked out lines of future work. Turn where we may in this address, we come across signs of progress and development. The extension of the franchise and the grant of larger rights to the Representative Assembly, the permanence of the Economic Conference, the regular holding of the District and Taluka Conferences, the reorganisation of the Secretariat, the starting of new railway projects, the development of education—these and a host of other activities are sure and certain marks of progress all round.

The excise policy of the State attracted our special attention as it shows what a Government determined to effect reforms can achieve. During the year 34 arrack shops and 346 toddy shops were closed, the hours of sale were further restricted, steps were taken to remove shops located in prominent places, and the principle of local option which had been found to have worked satisfactorily was proposed to be extended. Here is the difference between a Government that acts and one that merely indulges in pious wishes. In British India we require any amount of agitation for the purpose of effecting a single one of these reforms!

* * *

COMING from one of the ablest and most patriotic Dewans of Native States, the remarks of Sir M. Visvesvaraiya in regard to the Council of Princes and the joint deliberation between it and the Council of State deserve all the considerations we can give to them. We are in agreement with Sir M. Visvesvaraiya when he speaks about the difficulties in the way of the proper working of the Council of Princes. So also we agree with him in the view that the resources of a united India can alone enable its constituents to participate in the world's progress after the war. But we are afraid the Dewan Saheb is not on surer ground when he proposes that the representatives of Indian States should take part in the deliberations of the Government of India on those matters only which are of common interest and should keep out of the representative assemblies of the Government of India on other points. This system of 'Ins and Outs' was at one time proposed as a possible solution of the Irish difficulty, but had to be given up. No federal constitution provides any such expedient. Indian States must secure full and adequate representation in the future Parliament of Federated India on the principles recognised by all federal constitutions. But the preliminary condition for such a consummation is the establishment of responsible Government in Indian States. Sir M. Visvesvaraiya did not, or could not on account of his official position, emphasise that point; so long as public men in British India and statesmen in native states fight shy of this point, no real solution can be found of the problem of the representation of Indian States in the constitution of the British Empire.

* * *

THE Convocation of the Mysore University, which took place on Saturday last, has set the seal of completion on the first State University in India. In his speech H. H. the Maharaja referred to the need of the development of women's education, the necessity of maintaining a high standard in examinations and the desirability of emphasising the physical, moral and social aspects of University education along with the intellectual. A distinguished gathering was present on the occasion, and the Convocation address was delivered by Sir Asutosh Mukherji with which we propose to deal later.

THE Government of Bombay have done a very wise thing in deciding not to take declarations of loyalty from superior servants and as a corollary to this from teachers in aided schools and professors in aided colleges. The people of India as a rule are loyal to the core whether in the service of Government or otherwise. So a mere declaration of loyalty it would be not difficult or inconvenient to any one to make. But when such a declaration contains a clause to the effect that the declarant is 'bound not to take part in any agitation or meeting of a political or quasi-political character against the Government in India, or against any measure or action of such Government'—and this is the third clause of the declaration of loyalty—, it becomes a serious matter. It means that even the ordinary rights of citizenship of a teacher in an aided school would be at the mercy of a petty executive officer of Government. When the system of these declarations was started about six years ago in this Presidency, the Deccan Education Society of Poona fought hard against the third article and ultimately succeeded in securing exemption from subscribing to that article in the case of its life members only. There the matter rested for some time. Early this year an attempt was made to extend the system to professors in colleges. We understand the members of the staff of a Bombay College protested vigorously. In the meanwhile, the elasticity and the mischievous character of the third article was demonstrated by a circular issued by the Director of Public Instruction who interpreted attendance at a political meeting to be 'taking part' in it and allowed Headmasters to attend political meetings provided they undertook to spy upon their own pupils! In these circumstances, Government seem to have reconsidered the whole question and decided to stop this system. An act of bare and tardy justice has been done. All the same Government of Lord Willingdon deserves to be congratulated upon having courageously dealt with the question at this time and removed a grievance acutely felt by a large body of persons engaged in rendering most valuable service to society.

* * *

THE Bhandarkar Oriental Institute which was formally inaugurated by H. E. Lord Willingdon last year, may now be said to have begun its work in right earnest. The fine collection of Sanskrit MSS. at the Deccan College which Government had promised, has now been transferred to its building and various sub-committees have been formed to take charge of the different branches of its work. By paying a parting visit to the Institute on Tuesday last, Lord Willingdon, who is the first President, showed his appreciation of the work expected of the Institute and the high regard he entertains for Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Lady Willingdon also had accompanied His Excellency on the occasion.

* * *

IF the sentiments which found expression at the meetings of the European Association and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta with reference to the reform scheme are a measure of the considered opinion of the non-official European community in India about the constitutional development of this country, no impartial critic can be blamed if he says that the reputation of that community for sanity, level-headedness and instincts of British love of liberty and progress has not been enhanced by the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at those meetings. It is human nature that people should strive to safeguard their own interests in any constitutional changes that may be contemplated, and the European community would be perfectly justified in claiming an adequate representation in the new legislative assemblies. But it is simply ridiculous that non-official Europeans in India should speak of maintaining the British character of administration in this country and should in the same breath, oppose all attempts, however moderate, at constitutional progress, initiated by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is clear that to the spokesmen of the European community, the maintenance of the British character of administration in India means the retention of power in the hands of the bureaucracy and a refusal to allow the children of the soil to participate effectively in the framing and execution of governmental policy. It is a thousand pities that our European fellow-citizens have not yet come to realize the tremendous change that is coming over the world and over the population of this country, and that they fail to recognize the need to move with the times. Mr. Welby was anxious that non-official Europeans should uphold British ideals in India, and by that he meant the maintenance of the *status quo*. It is an edifying interpretation of British ideals that their European exponents in this country should fly in the face of every principle of liberty and progress enunciated by English and American statesmen. He and the Hon'ble Mr. Ironside deplored the utter lack of interest shown by their brethren in the administrative problems of the country, and that is exactly the secret of European opposition to all political progress in India. The average European, official and non-official, rarely looks beyond the immediate present and the narrow interests of his class, and to him even ordered and steady progress is catastrophic change to be resisted at all costs.

THE Bengal Chamber of Commerce reaffirms its opinion that the present is not a suitable time to consider such a vast subject as is covered by the Montagu-Chelmsford report. It holds that the proposed changes are premature, and ought not to be forced upon an unwilling people who have shown no fitness for them. Further advancement in agriculture and commerce will, in the opinion of the Chamber, benefit India far more than political development; and it ignores the fact that this

progress itself requires the liberalization of political institutions and the further fact that the masses for whom it presumes will themselves not be content with the existing state of things. The Chamber views with apprehension the proposals for the rapid and progressive reduction of the European element in the public services and wants Government not to travel beyond the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. All the criticism which the Chamber has condescended to pass on the reform scheme,—it does not regard the proposals even worthy of discussion—and the speeches made by its members, are pitched in this key, and we venture to observe that they have made it impossible for all right-thinking people to take them seriously. Our European brethren in India would have been expected to offer their co-operation in the difficult task of promoting the political development of the country along sound lines. But their attitude has proved most disappointing. It is more obstructive than helpful. The European community is sadly out of touch with popular feeling and the immediate requirements of the country. It has learned nothing from the war and seems to be blissfully ignorant of the powerful forces which are at work outside and inside India. We hope the community will bring a better frame of mind to bear upon the consideration of political problems which so vitally affect the destinies of the people of this country.

* * *

WITH deep regret we have to record the death of Mr. Krishna Natarajan, the son of the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*. He was a promising young man on the threshold of life, and passed away on Wednesday last after a few days' illness, the infection of which, he caught while working as a volunteer to take medical relief to the poor labouring people at Parel (Bombay). Both in life and death he has set a fine example of the spirit of social service, and our hearts go out to the bereaved father in the great calamity that has befallen him.

* * *

LADY CHELMSFORD'S stirring appeal on behalf of the miserable lepers in India, is another instance of Her Excellency's interest in the social welfare of the people of this country. What the Mission to lepers, founded by a philanthropic Irish gentleman some years ago, has been able to do in alleviating the suffering of these unfortunate persons, is very little when compared with what remains to be done. To extend the benefits of this organisation to all and rid the community of a real source of danger, Her Excellency has appealed to the Indian public for help. We hope this appeal will meet with the success it deserves, and the auxiliary committee formed, will spare no efforts to stamp out the awful disease ere long.

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THE MODERATES' CONFERENCE.

THE ancient poet classified arrogance according to its causes, the arrogance of caste, the arrogance of wealth, the arrogance of birth, the arrogance of beauty, etc. Modern life has thrown up another form of arrogance, the arrogance of numbers. In these democratic days, the fact that in a controversy you are on the side of the majority fills you with self-satisfaction. Your wisdom is indubitable. You have an undoubted charter to admonish and instruct, no matter how young; you may belabour the adversary, no matter how old: you may remind him in season and out of season of his duty to his country, of the divinity of the people's voice and even of the requirements of modesty that a man should fall into line with his community. In the current dispute between 'nationalists' and 'moderates' in India, the 'moderates' suffer under the added disadvantage that they have but recently discovered themselves and have as yet no organisation. For some time past, they have been ill at ease in the bosom of the one party that engrossed politics content to remain in enforced silence when they differed from the majority and to be denounced as "unpatriotic" and untrue to their party whenever they broke silence. Their dissentient opinion could not take rank as independent judgment. Their views could not form a school of thought. Their aims and methods could not crystalize into those of a party. In such a condition, they could do no good to themselves or to the majority.

Now that they have gathered courage, to call themselves by a separate name and avow unpopular views unabashed, those that have passed beyond the first stage of surprise and indignation ask, "what, after all, is the outstanding difference? When both parties demand modifications of the official scheme and are further agreed as to the most important of them, viz, the changes to be made in the Government of India, why should they go into different camps? Has not the Special Congress effected a reasonable compromise between the advanced and moderate view-points? If the 'moderates' desire the separate embodiment of their views, does not the report of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council come as near such embodiment as they could wish?" If, in spite of these powerful pleas, the 'moderates' hold a Conference in Bombay they are adjured in the name of unity to pass resolutions approximating as nearly as may be, to those of the Special Congress and the Moslem League,

We are not of those who will reject the preferred hand of friendship from any quarter, or remember for ever the threat of disciplinary consequences to those that desired to remain within the fold, though they decided to keep aloof from a particular session of the Congress. But we wish earnestly to find out what causes of agreement have arisen which were not already in evidence

before the special session. In the first place, we would acknowledge, in fact we have done this already in a previous issue—that the resolutions of the special session were not, in fact, as harsh or uncompromising as it had been feared they might be. Some would ascribe this to the natural good sense of Congressmen which recoiled from the excesses of certain so-called leaders. Others say, that the secession of the 'moderates' brought the main body of Congressmen to a sense of the grave risks attendant on an extremist attitude. There are others, yet, who would give the credit to the dominating influence of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and only in slightly less degree to that of the President of the session, Mr. Syed Hasan Imam. Perhaps there is something in each one of these theories. However it be, we must record our satisfaction that our worst fears were belied. Let us also be thankful for the recognition made in 'nationalist' quarters that the report of the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, supposed to have been under "moderate" auspices, is in many essential matters in agreement with the resolutions of the special Congress. A slight demurrer, however, should be put in at this stage to the implication contained in this acknowledgement. The demands for liberalising the Government of India, for fiscal autonomy, for elected Presidents of the Legislative Councils and certain other modifications had all been made from the very beginning, by 'moderate' leaders repeatedly. The *Servant of India* in particular, had been vigorously advocating these changes in the scheme, and its editor may justly claim the credit of having been the first to give point and direction to the attack on the third formula. Why, then, do certain critics profess to be agreeably surprised at these signs of a progressive and courageous patriotism in the camp of "moderates"? It was in spite of these signs of patriotism that they were once denounced and held up to ridicule as sellers of their birthright for a mess of pottage, but now it is on account of these very signs that they are claimed to be really of the Congress persuasion, though by mistake they strayed out of the fold. But it is easy to make too much of criticisms of this kind between rival parties. The disposition to dwell on the agreement in preference to the disagreement has returned after a period of mutual recrimination, and it is cause for gratulation all round.

We cannot allow, however, that the necessity for the Moderates' Conference no longer exists. For one thing, they have not yet had their say as a party on the subject of reforms. The non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council are, in no sense, a branch of the party. In the second place, the 'moderates' cannot acquiesce in the judgment passed on the Reform scheme as a whole by the Special Congress—a judgment which was clearly unfavourable, though, in the first part, it admits some good in the scheme. In the third place, there are specific propositions adopted by

the Congress to which the 'moderates' cannot agree. We are not willing to make much of the inconsistencies which must be found in all programmes which are the result of compromise or to erect every trifle into a cause of quarrel. If we may generalise our criticisms on the Congress resolutions, though there is danger of exaggeration in so doing, they seem to grant certain cardinal principles in theory, but to deny them in practice. For instance, when once the need of training in the exercise of responsible government is conceded, what is the object of reducing the period of training from six years to three? When once you agree that certain subjects should be reserved, what is the object of restricting the legislative and financial powers with regard to them? When once it is granted that periodic commissions should settle the stages through which we shall progress to responsible government, what is the object in stipulating that the process should culminate in six years as regards the provinces and in fifteen years with regard to the whole of India? When once the Council of State and the Grand Committee are accepted as means of carrying out the will of the executive, what is the object in requiring a clear half of these bodies to be elected? It is no good to be in two minds on these vital points. Then, is it wise in our own interests to insist on the same degree of autonomy for all the provinces alike and for the same degree of popular power in the Government of India as in that of provinces? An instance of a crudity which should have been avoided is resolution 13, which requires that the question of franchise and allied questions should be decided by the House of Commons; while the demand that fresh taxation in the Provinces should be imposed by the provincial Governments as a whole, is the result of a mistaken interpretation of the provisions of this scheme. More criticism of this kind is possible. But sufficient has been indicated in vindication of the Moderates' Conference to be held on the 1st and 2nd of next month. There is only one more observation which we will permit ourselves to make before taking leave of the subject. The resolution conferring the franchise on women has our support, that is, as a matter of principle. We, however, venture to doubt that the resolution represents the considered opinion of the country or any considerable section of it. Was the best mind of the Congress put into the consideration of this topic? That it should have found acceptance so easily is proof of the anomalous state of public life in this country. When all persons interested in public affairs are ranged in opposite camps devoting meticulous attention to possible and impossible differences of view, a change of the most enormous significance which has had to wait in England for the uprush of liberal ideas in the wake of the great war, is accepted without serious question by the Indian National Congress on the first occasion that it is brought up. If any legislature had done so in India, it would be a fit occasion for the Governor to dis-

solve it with a view of finding out how far the constituencies wished for the change.

THE PIONEER ON THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS' COMMITTEE REPORT.

II

IN our leading article of last week, we endeavoured to answer the *Pioneer's* criticism of the demand made by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India. Our point is, that if provision be not made in express and unequivocal terms for the beginning and gradual progress of popularisation of the Central Government, the spirit of the Cabinet's declaration of last August will not be completely fulfilled, and by failing to comply with the requirements of the present political situation in India, the whole purpose and intention of the mission of Mr. Montagu will be in part frustrated. We are no alarmists by any means, but it is part of our duty to apprise Government beforehand that their treatment of this demand will be the touchstone by which India will naturally and justly test the sincerity of their wish to set her people firmly on the high road to full Self-Government.

The *Pioneer* objects to the proposal of the non-official members that the Indian half of the Secretary of State's Council should be elected by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislature. It says, "A seat upon that body carries heavy responsibilities and requires special qualifications. In these matters, the non-official members are not likely to be the best judges." In the first place, the force of this criticism is greatly weakened by the proposal of the non-official members that the council should be purely advisory. In the second place, the heavy responsibilities and special qualifications are so many and so various that, while the Secretary of State may be the best judge of some of these, the non-official members are the best judges of others and these others are by no means the least important. Under the arrangement preferred by the *Pioneer*, the efficiency of the Council of India would be one-sided; under that advocated by the non-official members the efficiency will be full, and therefore real. The *Pioneer* welcomes the appointment of Babu Bhupendranath Basu. If this is a good thing, we want to have more of it and to make it sure. A possible criticism is that while we have dropped the method of election for the office of Minister in the Government of India and Provincial Governments, we believe in it for the Council of India. The answer lies by the difference in the conditions under which members of the Council of India and Ministers respectively have to work. The latter are to be controlled by a popular House of Legislature and the Viceroy or Governor cannot help choosing those who will be most acceptable to it. It is possible, on the contrary, for the Secretary of State

to choose men with a view to their amenability to his wishes more than their capacity to represent the people of India.

We are a little amused to find the *Pioneer* arguing that the presence of the head of the Government or his official nominee in the chair of authority in the Legislative Council "tends to raise the tone of the debate, to add to the dignity of the Council and to enforce proper compliance with the rules of procedure." We question everyone of these statements. The tone of the debates will be higher, because more free and more truly reflective of the popular feeling when the constraining presence of the official is removed; the dignity of the Council is best maintained by its having a president of its own: as to rules of procedure, which will be largely the Council's own hereafter, they will be better complied with when the presiding authority is not embarrassed by executive responsibility or handicapped by official experience so inimical to the spirit of toleration and fairplay to critics and advocates of the "other" side. Besides, who will support the idea of the official President, unless he is absolutely dead to the necessity of the popular House of the Legislature developing as soon as possible a jealous concern for their privileges and complete independence?

Touching the proportion of the Indian element in the Civil Service, the non-official members can never hope that the *Pioneer* of all organs of opinion in India will appreciate their point of view. Indian public opinion has declared itself with singular unanimity, since the publication of the Report of the Public Services Commission. It will not be satisfied with less than one-half of the annual recruitment to the whole *Cadre* of the Service. Nor will it tolerate any addition to the salaries, allowances or pensions of this Service. In fact, if Indian opinion were to have its way, it would effect a reduction in these items of the Indian Budget. We may pass over the *Pioneer's* characterisation of this attitude as "ungenerous," merely expressing a wonder that that epithet should be used of the tax-payer by those who may be said without much exaggeration to regulate their own emoluments in actual practice. But we must challenge the contention of the *Pioneer* in this connection that "India has incurred obligations which it is for her faithfully to fulfil." It is an irony of things that England should read to India a lesson in the faithful fulfilment of obligations. But what are the obligations of India to the Civil Service which she has still faithfully to fulfil? Let the *Pioneer* state those obligations categorically quoting chapter and verse. If they are proved, the representatives of the Indian tax-payer will be found ready to bleed him to death to fulfil them, so ready as to teach people of the *Pioneer* class if they are teachable at all, how to fulfil obligations faithfully and honorably.

In a former article, we have stated our views with a frankness which might be described as blunt on the question of the Indian element in the

commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. The action of Government in this matter, which the *Pioneer* proclaims to the world that it supports, has been barely sufficient to justify the claim that the racial bar is removed. Justice to the Indian demand is still as far as ever. From the time of the Court of Directors, there has never been a lack, whether in England or in India, of the draftsman's ability to dress up empty nothings as boons and concessions for which the people of this country, should be eternally grateful.

The *Pioneer* asks with all the persuasion of a mentor whether the political classes in India would relax their hold on the substance of reform "to grasp at shadows." Would it be comforted by our assurance that we prefer the substance to the shadows? The *Pioneer* apparently believes that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme offers to us the substance, while we have caught mere shadows in the non-official members' report. In its article of two columns and more, the *Pioneer's* resistance of our fresh demands is nowhere based on the ground that what is asked for is a mere will-o'-the-wisp or a mirage. On the contrary, the fear throughout is rather that we are asking for *something substantial*. If shadows could content us, the fine sentiments and professions of official despatches would long ago have made India a paradise of contentment and satisfaction. The trouble is, we hanker for the substance. The *Pioneer* knows it and is unhappy.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN NATIVE STATES.

How the Reform Scheme affects the interests of the subjects of Native States has been already noticed in these columns. The scheme, for the first time, in the constitutional growth of the British Indian Empire, establishes an organic connection between the Ruling Princes and the chosen representatives of British Indian subjects. It is, therefore, necessary to examine how far the proposals pertaining to Native States are in consonance with the ideal of responsible government contained in the pronouncement of August 20, which is the foundation upon which the whole frame-work of the scheme is based. The ideal which the distinguished authors have painted in this Report is one of federation. "Looking ahead to the future we can picture India to ourselves only as presenting the external semblance of some form of federation. . . . In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too would wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service without loss of individuality." This is undoubtedly a fascinating picture of India's full advancement. When this goal would be reached, it is difficult for any man to foretell. But it is enough for our purpose to realise that in the federal ideal of India the Native States are to occupy a substantial position,

The history of any federal government which has existed and thrived up till now, unmistakably shows that the component parts of such an organisation have essentially similar political institutions and political ideals. The federation of autocratic and democratic units, has never been witnessed in the history of the world. The strength of a commonwealth, mainly lies in the equality of status, in the uniform measure of political freedom, and in the common form of government. Without these no federation can prosper and inspire strength in the body politic. If, therefore, the Native States are to be indissolubly connected with the destinies of British India, and if this ideal of a self-governing partnership in this vast Empire is ever to be realized, the Native States must accept the ideal of responsible government which the illustrious authors of the Report have endeavoured to set up in British India. In view of furthering this happy consummation of a federal union, the basic improvement of the Native States ought to have been provided for by the distinguished authors of this Report. They ought to have recommended responsible government as a worthy ideal for the Native States, if not in the interests of the subjects of Native States, at least with a view to secure the realization of their noble conception, so graphically described in this Report.

Such a course was obligatory by the terms of the pronouncement of August 20. This pronouncement has been declared binding on his Majesty's Government. Its terms clearly lay down that "the policy of his Majesty's Government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." We have been advised to read very critically the words of this announcement, which we are told, were weighed and deliberately used after mature thought and with a full sense of responsibility. We give credit to the Secretary of State for India for all this wisdom and circumspection, when he made this pronouncement in the House of Commons. This pronouncement nowhere limits the introduction of responsible government to *British India*, but the word is *India*, and India has been defined so as to include Native States also. The qualifying part 'as an integral part of the British Empire' clearly and unequivocally points out, that when this announcement was made the idea that India includes Native States along with British India was fully before the eyes of those who drafted this announcement. The distinguished authors of the Report have reaffirmed this statement in Chapter X. They say "It is impossible to deal with the constitutional position in British India without also considering the problems presented by the Native States. *India is in fact as well as by legal definition one geographical whole. The integral connection of the States with the British Empire* not only consists in their relation to the British Crown, but also in the growing interest, in many matters common to the land to which they and the British

provinces alike belong." The significant import of the word 'India' and of the expression 'an integral part of the British Empire' would be quite obvious from the elucidation quoted above from the Report. It is therefore, quite patent to any one who reads this solemn pronouncement of August 20, that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government, at the time of making this announcement, to declare the ideal of responsible government as applicable both to British India and to the Native States. It is, however, a matter of intense regret and disappointment that the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy, who were responsible for this declaration of policy, should have assumed a halting attitude in making their recommendations about the Native States. Conscious of their solemn announcement, they should never have shirked the duty of recommending this ideal to the Native States as forcibly and earnestly as they have done in the case of British India. We are entirely at a loss to account for the lukewarm attitude of the illustrious authors, in regard to the question of Native States. Consistency, if not statesmanship, required a balance of mind in urging the necessity of this ideal simultaneously for all parts of India. When the whole Empire is vibrating with common sentiments and common aspirations and with the instincts of an enlightened patriotism and imperial responsibilities, the ideal of future advancement and future greatness must be the same for all its component parts. To discriminate between British India and Native States in this respect and try to introduce unwarranted limitations to this ideal is highly impolitic and detrimental to the solidarity of this Empire. We, therefore, strongly urge, if not on any other ground, at least on the score of the announcement, that it is the duty of the paramount power to recommend responsible government to Native States, and to use all its influence to encourage the acceptance of this ideal by ruling Chiefs and Princes in India. The paramount government would never be blamed by any of its critics, if it recommends to its feudatories what is considered to be the wisest and the best policy of modern civilization.

Defence, Tariffs, Exchange, Opium, Salt, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs are admitted to be matters of common interest to British India and to the Native States alike. The revenue derived from many of these sources, a considerable portion of which comes from the pockets of the subjects of Native States, is appropriated solely by the paramount power. Decisions of policy, bearing on these matters, sometimes prejudicially affect the subjects of Native States. This has been a standing grievance under which the dumb 70 millions of his Majesty's Indian subjects are still labouring. The Report provides for joint deliberation on matters of common interest, between the Council of State and the Council of Princes. If we look to the composition of the Council of State we find that nearly two-fifths of its members are elected by the British

Indian subjects. The British Indian subjects can under this constitution even, claim to influence the policy of Government in connection with the above matters of common interest. But the composition of the Council of Princes, has absolutely no popular element in it. The Council of Princes cannot in any sense represent the subjects of Native States. There is hardly any community of interests between the subjects of Native States and their Princes. The questions, which this mode of joint deliberation proposes to solve, directly concern the material well-being of the subjects of Native States.

If the British subjects have the right to express their opinions on matters of common interest, we fail to see how the subjects of Native States could be denied this privilege when their own interests are vitally involved. The non-inclusion, therefore, of the elected representatives of the subjects of Native States in the joint deliberations has been highly unfair, and thoroughly unjustifiable. But there is another great danger which may prejudice the interests of the British Indian subjects. The present reforms do not provide for full responsible government, or even a measure of the same, in the Government of India. The Council of State is a body in which the bureaucracy is allowed to enjoy a dominant share. The voice of the bureaucracy will always prevail in matters of tariff, defence and policies connected with the railway administration. The representatives of the people in the Council of State shall not have a potent voice to control the policy of Government in regard to defence, tariffs exchange and railways. The joint deliberations in these matters of common interest with the ruling Princes, instead of giving support to the representatives of the people would only go to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy. Very few members of the Council of Princes will, by their own personal fitness and ability, be in a position to discuss thoroughly the intricate questions and the details connected with these matters. Fewer still will be those who can muster courage to oppose the bureaucracy and openly side with the representatives of the people. The ruling Princes would not be responsible to their subjects. So long as responsible government is not introduced in the Native States, the ruling Princes representing their States, cannot be accountable to their subjects for any opinion expressed by them in connection with these matters. These Princes by reason of their inability and incompetence, by reason of their subordinate position, would more often than not, play into the hands of the bureaucracy, and thus prove a source of hindrance to representatives of the people. This organic connection therefore, of the ruling Princes and the representatives of British India is attended with potentialities of great mischief and danger to the full development of national prosperity. The Post War Reforms would consist substantially of economic development. Tariff, exchange and

railways will play a prominent part in the industrial regeneration of this country. The popular representatives of the Council of State will have to fight every inch of their ground against the bureaucracy to control tariff, exchange and railways so as to make them entirely subservient to the interests of the people, in opposition to the foreign capitalists and monopoly-holders whom the bureaucracy will endeavour to protect. In this uphill work, can it for a moment be believed that autocratic Indian Princes will support the national cause, unless they are made amenable in their own turn to the advice of their own subjects? And is such a result possible unless responsible government is introduced in the Native States? It is, therefore, of supreme importance to British Indian subjects, to insist upon the introduction and adoption of responsible government in the Native States, before the ruling Princes are given the privilege of joint Councillors with the chosen representatives of the people.

The special session of the Congress has not considered the bearing of Chapter X of the Reform Scheme on British Indian interests. Nor has the Moslem-League cared to devote its attention to this aspect of the question. We appeal to all British Indian statesmen to consider these proposals in the light of their own self-interest, if not in the interest of their brethren in Native States, emphasising the necessity of the adoption of responsible government by the rulers of Native States before they are allowed the privilege of joint deliberation with the Council of State. The Moderates' Conference is to be held shortly, and we commend the following resolution to the consideration of this body during its sittings in Bombay:—"That this conference is strongly of opinion that the paramount power should recommend the ideal of responsible government to the Native States, and that it should encourage the Ruling Princes to accept this ideal, by conferring the privilege of membership of the Council of Princes and the right of joint deliberation and the selection to the Imperial War Conference only on those princes who have shown their willingness to co-operate with his Majesty's Government in the policy—announced on August 20, 1917." Such a resolution would be welcomed by all the subjects of Native States and would advance British Indian interests also.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 12th, 1918.

TRADES UNION CONFERENCE.

THE most interesting event of the last week has been the Trades Union Conference at Derby. It was believed that the solidity of the Trades Union Movement would be jeopardised by a resolution brought forward by Mr. Havelock Wilson, the seamen's representative, in favour of a separate

Trades Union Parliamentary Party. There has, for some time, been a feeling among the older and more Conservative Labour men that the views of Labour were not properly represented by the Parliamentary Labour Party as at present constituted. It will be remembered that, in the early part of this year, the basis of that Party was greatly enlarged by the admission of the intellectual element so strongly represented by the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party. The Trades Unionist leaders under the pressure of war conditions have had to consent to the withdrawal of many of the rights, privileges, and powers that the Unions have secured during long and arduous campaign covering more than two generations, on the understanding that these would be restored to them after the war. The thoughtful among them are now beginning to realise that it is almost impossible for any government to fulfil such an undertaking when peace is declared, for the economic life of the nation will have been entirely altered, and, in any case, so much will depend upon the manner in which peace is made. At the same time the Trades Union leaders have observed that in the absence of those members of the Union of the front, who have grown up in Trades Union conditions and under Trades Union discipline, the younger and more inexperienced men who are left behind, and are engaged in "protected" occupations, are frequently exercising a sense of irresponsibility and indiscipline resulting in unsettlement of vital industries at a critical period of the war and jeopardising the interests of the Trades Unions thereby. The leaders have never been very strongly attracted by socialist ideas. They represent labour in its more conservative aspects and are strongly nationalist in their views. Many of the younger men, on the other hand, have been brought up on a pabulum of socialism largely, it must be admitted, ill-digested, and use the language, if not the spirit, of internationalism. There is naturally, too, certain amount of jealousy aroused at the thought that the Labour Movement may come under the control of the intellectuals, who will call the tune, though the Trades Unions pay the piper by supplying the party funds. It is also felt that many of the Labour Party leaders are coquetting, far more than is appreciated by the mass of the workers, with pacifism, which is regarded as the great heresy. It was therefore, expected that at Derby the risk might be run of splitting the Labour Party by the secession of large sections of its most influential elements. The sound practical sense and spirit of compromise of the British worker, however, has prevailed, and in spite of the challenges flung by one side to the other, and the controversial resolutions put forward, the Conference has closed on a note of unity.

COMING GENERAL ELECTION.

Though Mr. Havelock Wilson and his followers, who are demanding a five years' boycott of Germany after the war, to be increased for every further German atrocity, have been defeated at

the Conference, they claim to have secured a substantial victory. They attribute their defeat to the use of the block vote, which means that the entire strength of Union is recorded as in favour of or against a resolution, no matter how large the minority within the Union may be. They allege that great masses of the rank and file, and especially of those at the front, are entirely with them and are opposed to internationalism in its pacifist sense. Whether this is so or not cannot be judged at the present time, but the dispute between the two sections of the Labour Party may be to some extent solved by the result of the general election, which is now more and more thought to be inevitable some time in November. The party leaders, for tactical reasons, have not wished for an election at the present time or even during the war. A considerable section of the Labour Party does not want an election, because it neither wishes to strengthen the hands of Mr. Lloyd George nor to weaken him. The Liberals do not want a khaki election. The Conservatives have other reasons of their own. It is, however, generally recognised that, with the completion of the new electoral roll, it will hardly be possible to avoid an appeal to the new and enlarged electorate. Peace will presently have to be made, and if it is to be made in the name of the British people, then it must be by a government representative of a Parliament much more fully representative in its turn of the people than is the present moribund Parliament.

On the other hand, it is difficult to see upon what the Government will go to the country. It is hardly likely that the issues will be by a peace by victory, on the one hand, and a peace by negotiation, on the other. Those who hold the latter view are almost certainly in a relatively small minority.

THE REFORM COMMITTEES.

The personnel of the Committees to go out to India has not yet been published, but it is believed they will have a common chairman whose name is very familiar to you, and who has the reputation of being a capable and broad-minded man. The candidature of Sir John Hewett is being unblushingly promoted by the Indo-British Association and its satellites, but their efforts are unlikely to be successful. The news that is filtering through from your side with regard to cleavages in the National Party is very dispiriting, and it renders the position of the workers for India here more difficult than ever: but I have written a good deal on this before and will not labour it now. I should however, like to direct your readers' attention to the following remarks of Dr. Beland, the distinguished French-Canadian member of Parliament, who was in Belgium when the war broke out, and has recently been released from internment in Germany. His words addressed to the people of Canada seem to have an application to the people of India also:—

"I am not here to justify or condemn anyone, but I believe that there has been too much extreme

talk on one side as well as on the other. That should cease altogether. Let all elements in the nation bear with each other. The greatest public virtue is tolerance. What is tolerance? It is the sacrifice of one part of a man's extreme opinions for the common good. I may be just as confident that I am right and that you are wrong, as you are confident that you are right and I am wrong. Let each of us sacrifice a small portion of our extreme opinion, and we are on common ground and can work together in harmony and with a single aim for the public good."

THE LATE MR. A. S. SORABJI.

Next Saturday a memorial meeting under the auspices of the London Indian Association will be held here to pass a resolution of regret and sympathy at the premature death in Johannesburg of Mr. A. S. Sorabji, whose work in South Africa as a prominent fellow-worker of Mr. Gandhi, and here in London for a considerable time among the student community, as Hon. Secretary of the London-Indian Association, when Dr. Jivraj Mehta returned to India, have been greatly appreciated.

DEATH OF SIR RATAN TATA.

The death on Thursday evening last, at St. Ives, Cornwall, of Sir Ratan Tata, has been announced, and the funeral, which was largely attended, took place at Brookwood, near Woking, on Tuesday afternoon. Sir Ratan, who was living until recently at his beautiful house at Twickenham, had been in failing health for some time, though in the early part of the year it was hoped that the improvement which then showed itself might continue. Those hopes, however, have been frustrated, and the sympathy of all will go out to Lady Tata in her bereavement.

REVIEWS.

THEISTIC IDEALISM.

THEISTIC IDEALISM by James Lindsay, D. D., Pp. xi, & 530, 1917. William Blackwood & Sons. 12s. 6p. net.

THIS recent book by Dr. Lindsay is a very illuminating and a very powerful plea on behalf of idealism which is focussed in the central conception of God. Dr. Lindsay has availed himself of the most up to date literature of the subject including very recent books and magazine articles which have not yet been incorporated in any history of philosophy. Dr. Lindsay's style is very charming, the only defect, if at all, in the book being a not very judicious breaking up of paragraphs. Excepting this defect, we commend the book very highly to all the readers of philosophic thought, who wish to keep themselves abreast of most recent views on philosophy. Dr. Lindsay's book is a veritable encyclopædia of philosophic names and opinions, and we very often find therein names, which have not caught the ears of philosophic students. Dr. Lindsay's other works are famous, most prominent amongst which, to our mind, is his very illuminating "Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion."

Laymen could hardly find a better usher than Dr. Lindsay to the great philosophic minds that have moved the world; academic students of philosophy could hardly find a richer source for philosophic inspiration than in Dr. Lindsay.

In the book under review, which is to be understood as a comprehensive introduction to the fundamental problems of metaphysics, Dr. Lindsay first places idealism on the sure foundations of logic and psychology. The three chief categories of thought, viz., substance, causality and finality, all point in his opinion to the existence of God. The God of theistic idealism is not a god who is limited in power or in knowledge according to certain modern points of view, but he is a god who is omnipotent and omniscient and whose fore-knowledge is absolutely compatible with the freedom of man. Dr. Lindsay as a thorough-going Christian divine is a believer in the doctrine of creation, though he tries to interpret this doctrine in the light of most recent philosophic and scientific contributions to thought. Dr. Lindsay's chapters on the philosophy of nature and the philosophy of science would afford very good material for thought to those scientists who find themselves pent up in the *ne plus ultra* of science, and who are unaware of the great ocean of science which surrounds the little speck of knowledge which man helplessly calls science. In these chapters, we see the same kind of inveighing against the pretensions of science to absolute and final knowledge as we find in Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism* or in Karl Pearson's *Grammar of Science*. In Dr. Lindsay's book there are two very good chapters on history and art as a philosophic system of idealism could look at them. Dr. Lindsay's final conception about the relation of the human soul to God is expressed very much like the conception of Atman in the Upanishads, when he points out that the conception of Self and God are reached in the systole and diastole of the life beating in the universe. When the pulse of the universal life has come to a contracting point, we reach the corruption of the soul; when, on the other hand, this expands so as to reach the whole of reality by means of thought, we have the conception of God. Dr. Lindsay's book, we may say, is a very good corrective to the irresponsible talk among the militant Christians who would find in Indian thought nothing but pantheism, and in pantheism, nothing beyond a sum total of despair, pessimism, and the doctrine of the denial of God—atheism!

R. D. R.

SELECTIONS.

In the course of a letter to the *Indian Patriot* in defence of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Dewan Bahadur P Kesava Pillai writes:—

And they are all swearing against the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry as an "objectionable" person. One may wonder that this gentleman is assailed on one side by the *Hindu*, the Brahmin organ under the heading, "The Rewar

-of Virtue," and on the other side by the *Justice* paper, the anti-Brahmin organ. The *Hindu* has done more than anybody else to alienate "the moderates" by its extremely pert but offensive and graceless attacks, and true to its cult held Mr. Sastry and the venerable Surendranath Bannerjee, and Dr. Sapru and Mr. Setalvad as undesirable persons in the Committee; and several no doubt, applauded these sentiments against Mr. Sastry. Now, Dr. Nair's followers are also singing a chorus of anathemas against the Brahmin who said that "the indigenous Brahmin oligarchy is better than a foreign British bureaucracy," and who would go against "communal representation." Mr. Sastry was accused by that clever "extremist", Mr. C. Rajagopala Chariar of Salem, as throwing a *bait*, to those that would have "communal representation" to attend the Conference of moderates in Bombay!

Now Mr. Sastry is more or less a party to the representations of the Madras Congress Committee, which have upheld the non-Brahmin claims for representations, on a territorial basis and special interests. The non-Brahmin voters will be in a vast majority, and if the number of Brahmins to be elected by the general electorate be *limited* in each group, non-Brahmin representatives will, of course, get into the Councils in numbers. No Brahmin wiles can then succeed. Mr. Sastry is not so bad as is painted by his enemies among "the extremists" and the "non-Brahmins", who do not hesitate to hurl stones at him, though *they live in glass houses*.

Mr. Sastry is a level-headed and cultured man who has acquired wisdom enough to treat undignified and indecent personal attacks with indifference and pity, and has self-respect, patriotism, optimism, commonsense and sound information of the constitutional systems in the civilized world, to do signal service for his country in the committee. Few Brahmins are as free from Brahmin prejudices, as Mr. Sastry. And it is a thousand pities, that such a public man, who has made sacrifices in life, is attacked, traduced, slandered and calumniated, in and out of season, by comparatively small men.

By all means let Dr. Nair get in, and plead for communal representation as he considers best: but to ask for Mr. Sastry's removal, as a thing agreeable to non-Brahmins in general, is a gross perversion of truth. Mr. Sastry's removal will be disastrous to the Congress cause, say what the *Hindu* may. And even the progressive and self-respecting non-Brahmins will be better served by him than by Dr. Nair, or any of his school or following.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE weather reports that are being received from different parts of the country have almost the same story to tell. The rains have failed, and crops are withering for lack of moisture. It now appears pretty certain that we are in for a long spell of adverse economic conditions. A liberal distribution of Takavi advances to agriculturists has become necessary, and is reported to have been undertaken by certain local Governments. It will not be wise to exaggerate the gravity of the situation and of the prospects, but it will be equally dangerous to minimise it and to fail to take the necessary precautions in time. The appointment of a special food stuffs Controller recently announced by the Government of India did not, therefore, come a day too soon, and no more effective scheme than the one decided upon by Government, could have been devised for the distribution of available stocks of food grains. Only concerted action, planned by the central Govern-

ment in consultation with provincial authorities, and carried out under a special officer, can succeed in such a matter in this vast country, and we are glad that satisfactory arrangements for supplying food stuffs to deficit provinces from the surplus of other parts have been made, and that every effort will be made to see that the poorer classes in the community will get their food as cheap as they possibly can under the circumstances. Another measure which is essential in this connection is the restriction of the exports of food stuffs to the lowest limits, and Government contemplate doing what they can in this direction as well.

MANY a sin is committed, and any amount of inconvenience is caused to the people in India by British administrators in the name of efficiency. Some times, however, this efficient administration furnishes the best illustration of how not to do things. While the manner in which the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force was organised would serve as a good instance, the story of the University company of the I. D. F. in this Presidency beats all record. Here we have a Vice-Chancellor, who is as enthusiastic as any body, a Chancellor, who is keen on its being developed into a battalion, but somehow or other they find themselves in a position of utter helplessness and matters do not seem to move at all. If the arrangements in regard to this company were defective last year—and they were so in all conscience—it could be said that it was the first year, and no one had any experience. Well, we are now in the second year, and things have gone from bad to worse. Last year, students began their training in September. We are in October, just now, and we understand, no orders have yet been received! So the vacation cannot be utilised for the training in camp, and precious time during the working term will have to be sacrificed. The worst of it is, that Principals of Colleges, who have to do with the students, have no definite information on any point. It is a sight to see the Principals being worried by the students with all sorts of inquiries and the former explaining their position in an apologetic tone. We wonder whether this is an instance of British efficiency or of the seriousness of the authorities concerned in regard to the University section of the I. D. F.

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