

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE revolutionary movement is spreading far and wide in Europe. One after another German Princes, and Grand Dukes and Dukes are being compelled to vacate their thrones. Holland appears to be fully possessed by the new spirit. The Belgians, who have passed through a period of tribulation, misery, and suffering, might have been expected to keep their heads cooler. But even their activities have forced their sovereigns to postpone their entry into the capital. That revolutionary risings are sympathetic or infectious, is no new experience. When Charles I. was being brought to the block in England, revolutionary attempts were being made in the southernmost parts of Europe. Two centuries later, the foundation of the second Republic in France synchronised with attempts at liberation in various countries. Such movements seem to be infectious like diseases, or catching like fashions. Russia was paralysed by the revolution, and even to-day we do not know what portions of that vast Empire will hold together. In Germany, it appears to proceed methodically. So far we have heard only of abdications and depositions. The excesses, which are generally associated with revolutions are not in evidence. If this continues to be so, it will be a new experience, and the German revolutions at least will have a place by the side of the glorious but bloodless revolution of 1688 in England.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD wholly approves of the position of the Moderate party in connection with the reform scheme and welcomes the formation of distinct parties on this question. He says, "the days of meaningless compromise, declarations, patchworks of the opinions of both and acceptable in reality to neither, have passed;" and adds: "I have the fullest trust in the Moderate leaders. They have still a great contribution to make to Indian political liberty. Their attitude to the Montagu report is intelligent, consistent and wise, and they will have enormous influence in modifying it in the right direction and in reaping from it a rich harvest." Mr. Macdonald sees little reason for a demand for a definite time-limit by which the Congress has set so much store. "Indian public opinion," he says, "will settle that if it be worth its salt. That kind of guarantee is always elusive."

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THE *Deccan Ryot*, the accredited organ of the backward classes in the Maharashtra, accepts wholeheartedly the compromise arrived at by the Moderate Conference as regards communal representation. The non-Brahmans, it says, "may in all probability find their adequate representation secured by adopting the principle of the system recommended by the Conference. If the experience of the next few years belies this expectation, the Parliamentary Committee suggested by the report will give us all an opportunity to take stock of what may have happened as a result of this measure, and, if need be, claim some other, more drastic and effective than this. This compromise will achieve many objects. The councils of the future will be representative of the Brahmans as well as the non-Brahmans in a reasonable proportion... But the greatest of its advantages will be that it will frustrate the attempts of those who desire to exploit the non-Brahman agitation, which is in fact as genuine and patriotic as any in the world, for the purpose totally foreign to it of wrecking the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme which opens up to India the road to national self-respect. In accepting a compromise like this, the Moderate party has evinced a wisdom which will be very useful in making reforms successful, and the non-Brahmans will, in accepting it wholeheartedly, equally prove that their patriotism is even stronger than their communal sentiment, provided the bigotry of the advanced politician does not threaten both communal as well national interests."

To the extreme communalists, who will not be satisfied with anything short of communal electorates, the *Deccan Ryot* has a word to say: "We have always held, and we hold even now, that in the case of communities which command a sufficiently large number of its own voters and whose relations with the other communities are neither close nor cordial on account of racial or other deep-rooted causes, the only remedy is separate communal electorates. For instance, the Europeans in India cannot be properly represented except through their own electorates. Possibly, the Indian Christians may claim similar treatment on nearly the same ground. The depressed classes will hardly be properly represented by persons chosen by an electorate in which they will practically be non-entities. But the case of the great non-Brahman Hindus is somewhat different. They are placed at a disadvantage by the social system of the Hindus, and the Brahmans have got a very long start in the race of political life. They therefore, rightly claim special representation for a sufficiently long period during which they will learn to stand on their own legs. But to hold that nothing short of special electorates will at all satisfy the non-Brahman claims is going rather too far."

CONTINUING, the paper adds: "Another very important consideration is that the safety of the reform proposals is as much a necessity as the security of non-Brahman representation; and if we are to get the second best only without jeopardising the reforms in any way, we ought to prefer it to the first best—we mean, of course, separate electorates, even for non-Brahman Hindus—accompanied by a very real danger of the reforms being whittled down to nothingness. At any rate if reservation of seats in plural constituencies is to form an essential part of the scheme and if the non-Brahmans will be given the advantage of this reservation, the scheme must be supported at all costs by every patriotic Indian, although he may hold that separate non-Brahman electorates would be still better." And the *Deccan Ryot* appeals to the non-Brahmans of the Madras presidency to accept the compromise proposed by the Moderate Conference with enthusiasm, as it has been accepted by the non-Brahman leaders in the Maharashtra.

THE All-India Christian Conference "welcomes with emphatic approval" the reform proposals "as indicating the best line of progress" towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Administrative capacity being distinct from the ability to carry on responsible government, it recognises the necessity of training in the latter art and therefore, commends the method of compartmental transfer of power. The enlargements and omissions which it suggests in the scheme run on the usual lines: responsible government to be introduced into the Government of India with a

division of reserved and transferred subjects; the Imperial executive council to be half European and half Indian; the president and vice-president of the legislative councils and assembly to be elected; the executive councillors without portfolios to go; adequate representation to be secured to backward communities and influential minorities; the annual recruitment for the I. C. S. to be 50 per cent. in India and 25 per cent. of the annual recruits for commissioned ranks in the Indian Army to be Indians. The conference asks for the setting up of separate communal electorates for Christians in each province, wherever feasible, and suggests nomination in other provinces. Its general attitude to the question of communal representation is expressed thus: "The attainment of single national solidarity in the whole country, irrespective of creed, race, and caste, should be steadily kept in view by the people and the Government at every stage of progress. Communal representation, we maintain, is clearly necessary at this stage; but we desire that, whatever the method of its application may be, it should be avowedly worked as a concession to the expediency of situations which are bound to be overcome."

THE U. P. Government deserves the congratulations of the public for undertaking a programme to double the extension of primary education in the course of the next five years as shown in their recent resolution. The rigid rule of distance, laid down in the proposals of the Piggot Committee, has been finally abolished, and the district boards are given full liberty to open new schools in accordance with local demand. They are authorised to grant exemption from fees according to their discretion, and it has been also suggested that the children of the very poor should be provided with school books free of charge. The total expenditure on primary education, according to the scheme, will be increased from Rs. 30 lakhs in 1918-19 to Rs. 62 lakhs in 1923-24. During the interval, the total number of schools will be increased from 10,197 to 19,130, and of teachers from 19,510 to 33,860. It is also proposed to increase the number of training classes from 250 to 530. We do not think, however, that the minimum pay of Rs. 8 for untrained teachers and of Rs. 10 for trained ones is sufficiently attractive to secure adequate numbers of suitable recruits. Having removed almost all the impediments in the progress of primary education, the local government has undertaken the whole responsibility of the financial burden for the next three years. As remarked in the resolution "it remains for members of the boards, both collectively and individually, to carry out of the programme."

DR. GILBERT SLATER of the Madras University has, in a thoughtful article to the *Times of India* reviewed the seriousness of the food situation, and rightly blames the Government of India for their apathy in the matter. His suggestions for com-

mandeering stocks of large quantities of rice available in Rangoon market, by fixing the maximum price, by cancelling contracts affected by the fixing of prices, already entered into by the 'rapacious' merchants of Rangoon, and such other means of checking profiteering, deserve immediate consideration. As a last resort, he urges the desirability of subsidising the import and distribution of Burma rice by the Madras Government, but he feels that immediate action in the direction indicated by him would avoid such a necessity.

IT would appear that some persons in Bombay are preparing themselves for an organised resistance to the proposal to bid farewell to Lord Willingdon. This movement for a public recognition of the outgoing Governor's services is, the *Bombay Chronicle* assures us, nothing but a "piece of singularly ill-advised officiousness" on the part of "a handful of gentlemen, the main object of the existence of most of whom is apparently to kowtow to officialdom and hang about the purlieus of the Secretariat and the Government House". and is due "to the assiduous subservience of those who constitutionally revel in toadyism." Elsewhere we publish a letter in which the Prof. Kanitkar describes how in the Poona Municipality Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Tilak's lieutenant, within a few days of his becoming president of that body, did not lend countenance to but himself initiated with the Collector, without the knowledge and much less the sanction of the other members, a movement for presenting an address to Lord Willingdon. The address, read out to His Excellency by Mr. Kelkar himself, has the following words:

"We have learned to look upon you as a sincere sympathiser with higher political aspirations of the people of this country, and Your Excellency has let no opportunity escape to prove that noble sentiment by your active advocacy of this cause with the authorities in India and England."

Mr. Kelkar here does exactly what the *Chronicle* objects to, *viz.*, passes a testimonial on the whole record of administration of a retiring Governor. Add to this the fact that the Nationalists generally are pledged not even to countenance by their presence a meeting associated with Lord Willingdon, and then his capacity for "sycophancy" and "toadying" will be revealed in all its magnitude. But is it not possible that when a Kelkar or a Bomanji is moved to accord public recognition to Lord Willingdon's sympathies and acts, it may be due to something other than the "assiduous subservience" of a toady?

THE *Hindu* is in a mighty passion against those who regard it as an uncompromising opponent of the reform proposals and asks why it should be "precluded from suggesting improvements on the basis of the scheme." We are sure all will be glad to have the co-operation of the *Hindu* in having the scheme improved, but one should have thought that those who are of the deliberate opinion that "it is impossible to modify and improve"

the scheme and that "it cannot consequently form the basis of discussion" would be precluded by their convictions from "suggesting improvements on the basis of the scheme." We are sincerely glad that the *Hindu* does not let its convictions, though still unshaken, interfere with its effort to improve the scheme, since we are more concerned with the enlargement of the reform proposals than with the *Hindu's* convictions. It is worth while to note by the way that the *Hindu* regards that the pronouncement of last year must be accepted by Indians as it fixes the maximum limit to which the British public may possibly go.

IT would appear that the reasoning of the *Hindu* is that one may condemn both the principles and the details of the scheme as radically wrong, one may declare that it is not susceptible of improvement, one may hold that no amount of safeguards that it is humanly possible to devise can prevent the mischief, one may say that it is not worthy to form even a basis for discussion, one may call for its abandonment, and yet one may be as far as possible from rejection. We must confess that to our view the distinction between the two positions does not appear to be so great as evidently it does appear to our contemporary. And we cannot understand why the scheme should not be rejected if it is so miserably inadequate in all its features and thoroughly retrograde in the principal feature of provincial reconstruction, "bringing about," as it apparently does, "a state of things worse than the present." The only explanation seems to be that *Hindu* has a superstitious horror of the word rejection, and if it is so anxious to dissociate itself from the rejectionists, be it so.

THE *Hindu* thinks that the differences between the two wings of the National party arise chiefly from the difference in the tactics adopted by them to secure an improvement in the scheme which both of them desire. If there is any tactical advantage in declaring that the scheme will be unacceptable to the country unless it is modified, there can certainly be no advantage in the attitude which the *Hindu* now assumes, that India by reason of her dependent position can only accept and has no right to refuse any reform that may be offered her; that at best she can only beg for a little more. Does the *Hindu* expect that the "slave psychology," as the *Bombay Chronicle* would put it, exhibited to the British statesmen in all its nakedness, will induce them to sanction maximum improvements in the scheme? This doctrine which the *Hindu* has recently discovered is in direct conflict with the attitude of those who would regard the scheme as unacceptable until improvements are introduced into it. It is unnecessary to examine here the alleged superiority of the latter position, from the standpoint of strategy, over the Moderates' position, since the *Hindu* does not share either of them.

### THE ARMISTICE AND AFTER.

WHEN the terms of the armistice were being discussed among themselves by the Allies, the basis on which they proceeded was that the enemy should not possess the power, even if he had the will, to renew the war. That basis has been made firm and secure by the conditions which have been imposed upon the enemy Governments. In considering the details of the armistice, attention must be fixed upon one central fact, and that is that all the surrenders of the submarines, destroyers, ships of war, &c., are only of a provisional character, the final settlement, and what may be described as the adjustment of the account, taking place at the Peace Conference. These surrenders as also the withdrawal of the enemy forces from certain regions serve a double purpose. First, they make sure that the enemy will be in a hopeless position to resume warlike operations, if he happens to disapprove of the terms of peace offered to him; and, secondly, they furnish guarantees to the Allies about the reimbursement of their losses to the invaded territories. The surrender of submarines and merchantmen, the handing over of guns, and the evacuation of all the provinces to the left of the Rhine, the creation of a neutral zone to the right of that river, its occupation and administration by the Allied powers—all these provide for the two objects indicated above, so that if the Germans intended to bring the Allies to the Peace Conference for creating differences between them and thus obtaining advantages for themselves, they would be completely disappointed.

All the nations engaged in the war have practically regarded the signing of the armistice as the conclusion of peace. The detailed provisions have, of course, to be yet settled. But so far as military operations are concerned, they are definitely ended. The war had assumed such great proportions, it has disturbed so many departments of human activity, that after-war problems will and have become as complex and difficult as those connected with the conduct of the war. Especially, the problems connected with social and economic reconstruction will tax the energies of the administrators and statesmen of all countries. That the proportion of the numbers of the two sexes has been seriously disturbed, and that women are outnumbering men in all the belligerent countries has become patent to every one. The employment of women in various professions creates a new factor in social economy. The organisation of production during the terrible times of the war, when every unit of human energy and every unit of raw material was made to yield the utmost results possible, cannot be given up and will be fully availed of for the purpose of recouping the immense loss of wealth caused during the last four years. When people talk of a century or a generation as the period necessary to make up the loss and a terrible dearth of capital during all these years, one is inclined to

doubt the correctness of such an estimate and to remark that the important lesson of the war in the matter of production has yet to be properly learnt.

In the sphere of politics, the results are sure to be even more far-reaching. They would have been so in any case. But the outburst of revolutionary activity in Europe will enlarge their proportions and lead to a complete reconstruction of European society. That militarism of the Prussian type is dead and buried goes without saying, and that too for the simple reason that old Prussia is destroyed and the Hohenzollerns are in exile. We should be sorry, however if the better aspects of German life disappear along with it. The efficiency, organization and thoroughness for which the Germans stood, constitute an important asset for any nation, and the world would be the poorer for the loss of it along with the brutalising tendencies of Prussian militarism. In the same manner, the reduction of armaments and military expenditure would be one of the questions to be discussed. Along with that, however, must be considered the question of universal military training. The best method of destroying militarism is to make higher militarism—its training and its discipline—universal. The world is now going to be organised on an industrial basis, and we believe that these qualities are even more useful for industrial purposes. The transformation of Germany from an unequal and imperial federation into what we hope it will be, an equal and a free partnership will bring about a complete change in the political organisation of Europe, especially when it is taken along with the dissolution of Austria and the disintegration of Russia. With all the outward show of democratic institutions, Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Russia was the home of autocracy. That has been overturned in Russia, Austria and Germany, and the revolutionary movement, which has now been started, bids fair to bring within its sweep all the smaller autocracies of Europe. When this has once been accomplished, then will be the time to think of a League of Nations. If revolutionary spirit has accomplished its purpose at all and real democracies have been established in all the countries of Europe by the time the delegates of the Peace Conference meet at Versailles, the difficulties of final settlement will not be great. The principle of self-determination may find full scope, the map of Europe may be rearranged so as to bring together all the people belonging to the same nationality under one jurisdiction, and these free nations may join together in a great federation to bring about their peaceful advancement in all directions.

### THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

#### I.

THERE is no denying the fact that the Industries Commission's report must be taken as having fallen flat with the general public when compared

to the excitement created by the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. This is not solely nor even primarily due to the authors of the latter being very much more distinguished than those of the former. Though the technical character of the report may have something to do with the lack of general interest in the Industries Commission's report, the chief reason why the general public shows such an indifference to its conclusions is due to the strong wave of the political unrest which is passing over the country, and under whose influence many people have come to the conclusion that unless and until Indians are allowed greater control over the country's affairs, including its industrial development, the recommendations of all commissions or committees are not to be of any value, even when they are supposed to be made solely in the interests of this country. "Commissions and committees may make the strongest of recommendations," thinks an individual belonging to that majority, "but of what practical utility can they be, if we are not allowed a free hand in putting them into execution." I do not desire either to justify or criticise the present attitude of the majority of persons taking interest in public questions. I merely want to draw the attention of the reader to the existence of such a public attitude.

Latterly, there has grown the habit of prejudging reports of commissions and committees, on the basis of the terms of reference, or on that of the past history of the personnel of the bodies or on the manner in which questions are drawn and witnesses examined. Taking the personnel first, one cannot help saying that it would have been much better if the Industries Commission had as its head some eminent English scientist who had no former prejudices about the capacity of Indians, and who had broad views about the scope of the development of Indian industries. It would not have mattered much even if such a person did not possess the experience of this country as Sir Thomas Holland did, or was not as efficient an administrator. While I am prepared to give due credit to the President for trying to keep as open a mind as possible when examining witnesses, it would be too much to expect him to forget all his past experience of work done as the head of the Geological department and his past likes and dislikes, which were bound to be strong in a man with his strong personality. Any report coming under Sir Thomas' signature was sure to be examined in a spirit of distrust, with the result that while all good points were likely to be taken only a slight notice of, the points of omission or the actual flaws were sure to be exaggerated. The name of Sir Horace Plunkett, the father of I. A. O. S. and the Irish co-operative movement, as a member of the Commission, did evoke a feeling almost of enthusiasm, as he is recognised by students of agricultural and industrial economics as a gentleman with broad liberal views on these questions, and there is no doubt that if he had been able to work on the commission his

personality would have impressed itself in many of the recommendations. This, however, was not to be, and the Commission had to work without his assistance, which thus robbed the report of the glamour that the name of that great and good man would have undoubtedly given to it. The names of the other English members were hardly likely to inspire much confidence in the minds of the general public. Mr. Low was selected as he was understood to be a sympathetic officer in the C. P. and at Simla, while the grounds of Mr. Chatterton's nomination were not easily understood. The Indian members were perhaps the best that could be got for such a work. There were three industrialists, two from Bombay and one from Calcutta, while the national element could not have been better represented than by the Hon'ble Panditji. Two of the industrialists, Sir R. N. Mookerji and Sir Dorab Tata, are not politicians in the sense in which that term is used at present in this country, and Sir Fazulbhoj has been known as a moderate in national politics; and yet these are the three men who have each in his own field rendered great service to the industrial development of the country. It would be difficult to find men better qualified to give advice about the future development of large industries in this country. The Panditji, though not an industrialist, is a keen student of the history of the growth and decay of the Indian industries, and he has rendered a distinct service to the country by putting forward his views in a separate note. If each of the Indian industrialists or the Hon. Mr. Malaviyaji had to write the report himself, we would have got a document marked with the individuality of the writer. In a joint report, however, we have to be satisfied with platitudes and general propositions couched in safe language, and this is true not only of the present report, but of almost all reports of commissions and committees. Years back Mr. Stead tried to have a photograph of a cabinet by having the photograph of one member taken on the body of another. The result was a single photograph showing some marked feature of one or two strong characters, the rest being goody-goody daub. Reports of commissions are machinery of a similar nature. Where an attempt is made to smooth over the angularities of each member of the commission, the report is bound to be such as no member can object to and yet one about which no member can say that it thoroughly represents his views. The present report is no exception to the general run of such reports.

The terms of reference excluded the tariff question from the scope of the Commission, and thus shut off the most important factor on which the correct evolution of the problem of the industrial growth of the country depends. The reasons given in the Government of India's resolution of 19th May, 1916, may be valid enough for not taking any action regarding protective and preferential tariff, but they are not at all valid concerning a preliminary inquiry into the necessities and probable results of

a tariff duty—either protective or preferential. If two or three economists like Prof. Lees-Smith ( who has studied the economic conditions of the country ) Sir Dinshaw Wacha or Mr. Burjorji Padshah had been put on the commission especially for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity of levying tariff duties for the development of industries, they could have easily furnished their inquiries and prepared their report on the subject during the time that the other members were doing their part of the work. If this work had been done, and the report of the Commission had included their findings about the fiscal policy to be adopted in the interests of the indigenous industries, Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's work on the Peace Conference would have been rendered much easier. As it is, he will have no complets well thought-out data to go upon when he is asked to give his opinion on the various problems of economic reconstruction that are sure to be brought up for solution at the Peace Conference. Even the Government of India, who will have to 'brief' him in this as well as other matters, are not, in the absence of a thorough inquiry, in a position to give him a correct lead on this subject. If they attempt to do so, it will be something like the "blind leading the blind." It is not yet too late to depute along with Sir S. P. Sinha two additional representatives one a strong business man, and the other a sound economist to assist him in dealing with financial and economic problems.

There is an introductory chapter in the report giving the term of appointment of the Commission, the programme of tours, the methods of inquiry adopted and its scope and finally, the usual acknowledgments. It seems from the paragraph regarding the scope of inquiry that the commissioners have practically ignored the first term of reference which is as follows: "Whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry can be indicated." It is difficult to understand the exact scope of the term "commerce" as used in the sentence. Government could hardly have expected this Commission to make inquiries with the various branches of trade and commerce wherein Indian capital can be profitably employed. The commissioners seem to have been of that opinion in so far as they did not make inquiries into "commercial" possibilities of the country, and they were undoubtedly right in the line they took. They are, however, wrong in failing to make thorough inquiries into and let forth their recommendations regarding the possible profitable industrial openings for Indian capital. That there is sufficient idle money in the country to meet the requirements of all new possible industries seems to have been taken for granted by Government. This however, is neither the place, nor the occasion to test the correctness of that assumption.—What I want to point out here is the fact that the commissioners have not remained satisfied by saying that the report is not intended to be an industrial survey of

the country, but later on they go on to say (probably to show the absurdity of the above-quoted term of reference)" but the reader must not expect to find in this report the practical information which would enable a particular industry to be started... Still less must he regard it as an Industrial *vade mecum* to guide him by short cuts to fortune." The commissioners are sadly mistaken if they think that by thus casting ridicule on the hypothetical reader—which by the way is not good taste—they will be able to free themselves in the eyes of Government and the public from the responsibility of their having omitted from their inquiries or recommendations, one of the most important matters referred to them by Government. They have quietly passed on this duty to the proposed imperial and provincial departments of industries without giving them any hints or instructions as to the best method of carrying on their work. After referring to Lord Morley's despatch of 29th July 1910, as Lord Morley's dictum of 1910—and thus unconsciously showing the respect in which he is held by the *writer* of the report,—the commissioners give us the gladsome 'tidings' that "since then, the views of Government and of the public have been further modified under the stress of war necessities which have led to a still more definite adoption of the policy of state participation in industrial development and to the grant of state assistance to several industrial undertakings, of which the scope is not in every case limited by the possible durations of the present war." Let us all hope that the change in the views of the Government will continue, even though the war has now ended happily for all of us.

L. S.

### THE LIBERALS AND THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

THE Indian Liberals may well congratulate themselves on a satisfactory solution of the vexed question of the representation of backward classes and important minorities. The compromise, recommended at their conference, has met with a wholehearted approval of the non-Brahman leaders in the Maharashtra. On this question differences of opinion have in the past revealed themselves between the Progressives and the champions of the masses; and, in fact, the former are not without internal differences of their own; but the differences, such as they are, have always been those of detail, there being a fundamental unity in their general outlook on this important question. It cannot be said with reason and truth that the Liberals have ignored this question; they have always kept it in front of them and have ever been anxious to do justice to the claims of the backward classes who form the masses of this country. As it happens, to a large section of the advanced politicians in this part of the country the word self-government bears a restricted sense; before their eyes the expression

only raises visions of a rule from which the foreigner is blotted out, but they are not the visions of a rule in which all the elements in the conglomerate population of this country have their due share. I will not say that these advanced politicians consciously wish to establish an oligarchy; but it is true that many among them only think of some sort of indigenous rule when they talk of self-government. They hardly ever think in terms of representative or democratic government. The cosmopolitan nationality which the Liberal wishes brought into existence and helps to create is foreign and repugnant to their ideas; they uphold caste distinctions and wish to preserve the system of *चतुर्वर्ण्य*, which has given rise to endless divisions amongst us. Any measure of social reform, calculated to break down these caste barriers, is bitterly opposed by them, as, for instance, the bill introduced by Mr. Patel. Mr. Tilak's paper resists this bill with a fury and a violence which only remind one of the old days when Mr. Tilak seemed to make it his life's mission to oppose social reformers like Ranade and Agarkar. That the Radical in politics is an ultra-Conservative in social matters is a root-fact in the affairs of the Deccan of which due note must be taken by all. The Liberals can never be oblivious of it, and in all their schemes of reform they have always provided that the power, now to be transferred to the people for the first time, should be widely diffused. How best this can be done is, even among them, a source of a divergence of opinion to a certain extent. But to all of them it is a supreme consideration, overriding all others, that in the scheme of franchise that comes to be ultimately adopted justice should be done to all the sections of the population. An illustration of this is to be found in the memorial which the Deccan Sabha recently sent to Government embodying its views on the reform proposals. In this memorial the Deccan Sabha expressed itself as generally opposed to the institution of separate communal electorates, "in the belief that adequate representation can be secured to the various communities by other modes of election;" but if these other forms of protection are found not to answer, it would even be prepared, the Deccan Sabha declared, to support sectional election, to do justice to all the communities and interests being the primary consideration which outweighs all others.

It must not be imagined for a moment, as some uncharitable critics love to represent, that the Liberals are prompted to have the franchise arranged in this manner as a concession to the leaders of the backward classes, in order to conciliate them and win their support. The particular arrangement arrived at may be, and indeed must be, the result of negotiation, but the principle of it is as much the concern of the Liberals as that of the leaders of the backward classes. And if any among the Liberals really thinks to use this move for the narrow party purposes or to assume the rôle of a dispenser of eleemosynary aid, to which reci-

ipients can lay no claim, I must say he has not imbibed the true Liberal spirit; but such exceptions must be rare. Some sort of protection is necessary to the masses not only in their interest, but in the interest of the society in general, and the Liberals, fully recognising this fact, have made it a principal plank in their platform. I have spoken above of the narrow party purposes which, if we cannot afford to scorn them, must at any rate be given a very subsidiary place; but there are broader party purposes which require, in my opinion, a linking of hands between the Liberals and the leaders of opinion among the masses. Their ideals and interests, to take a long view of the matter, coincide. Both stand to gain by making a common cause; the gain will be not only in a due apportionment of political power, but in an enlargement of their outlook, an enrichment of their ideas, and an ennoblement of their ideals. The Liberals have always stood for justice and equality; but just because their practical endeavour has till now been confined to the higher layer of the society (mostly, let us say—for the work, e. g., of Mr. Devadhar and Mr. Joshi among the depressed classes renders an absolute proposition unjust) their notion of society itself is apt to become cramped. The social reformer must widen out the scope of his activities, and probably his sphere of ideas as well stands in need of broadening. To him the accession of strength and gain in spirituality would be immense, I doubt not, if he threw off his reserve and isolation and sought the co-operation of the enlightened among the backward communities. The leaders of the backward classes themselves suffer from a narrowness of mind peculiar to them. They are prone to be petty in their aims and pettifoggery in their methods—placing the little communal concerns before and above the national ones, imagining wrongs everywhere and discounting the good intentions and acts of all. The defects on both sides are largely a result of their surroundings and will be rectified by properly utilising the opportunities for constructive work which are afforded by the reforms. That is why the Liberal prizes the reforms so highly. It is to be hoped that both the parties, keeping their eyes firmly fixed on the larger issues, will recognise a community of interests and unite their forces against social reaction, which will be in future their common enemy. Misunderstandings have in the past arisen between them; the Liberals, I know, have been unjustly attacked, not always in decent style; but, I am proud to say that they in the mass have borne the attacks with patience and without bitterness, recognising that those who suffer from social injustices in their persons may be excused if they become impatient with those whose desire to remove the injustices is not at all proportioned to their ability to do so. Let me also add that the Liberals on their part have not always shown themselves sufficiently alive to the needs and the grievances of the masses and have not kept themselves

abreast of their movements. May these things be of the past—suspicion and paltriness on the one side and too great a detachment and inactivity on the other, and may both of them conjointly work out the higher destiny which opens out to this country under the new regime.

S. G. V.

## FRANCHISE IN THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.

(Concluded from last issue.)  
CANADA.

By the British North America Act of 1867, the legislature established in Canada consists of two Houses of Parliament, differently constituted. At present, the upper House or the Senate is composed of 96 members nominated by the Governor-General for life. The members should not only be natural-born or naturalised subjects of the Crown and be of 30 years of age, but should also possess 'a freehold within the province they represent to the value of 4,000 dollars' and 'personal property to the value 4,000 dollars.' In addition to these, residence qualification is also required. In the case of Quebec, a special provision is made that 'he must have his real property qualification in the *electoral division* for which he is appointed or be resident within that division. The lower House or the House of Commons consists of 235 members elected for a period of five years. At present, we find that every 30,819 persons are represented by one member. Quebec is always represented by 65 members, while the representation of other provinces either increases or decreases in the same proportion to their population, as the number 65 would bear to the population of Quebec. The privilege of returning a member for any fraction over one-half of the requisite number entitling the Province to a member is also conceded. As regards the qualifications of members and voters, it is simply laid down that all laws in force concerning the persons to be elected to vote or sit as members of the provincial assemblies, shall apply to the election of members of the House of Commons representing the several provinces.

Excepting Quebec and Nova Scotia, all the other provinces have adopted a uni-cameral form of government. In these provinces, the upper House consists of members nominated for life. The composition and franchise of the legislative assemblies are slightly different. In Ontario, the legislative assembly is composed of 111 members elected for 4 years by a manhood suffrage. The legislative assembly of Quebec consists of 81 members elected for 5 years on suffrage which confers the privilege to male British natural-born or naturalised subjects who are (1) either owners or occupants of immovable property of the value of 300 dollars in any municipality which enjoys the privilege to return members to the assembly and of 200 dollars in other municipalities, (2) "tenants paying an annual rent for immovable

property of 30 or 20 dollars in such municipalities, provided the real value of the property according to valuation rule is 300 or 200 dollars respectively" (3) teachers in institutions under the control of commissioners or trustees (4) retired farmers or proprietors receiving rent of 100 dollars (5) priests, and other ministers of religion (6) persons earning 300 dollars a year. In addition to these sons of farmers and proprietors of land receive recognition under certain special circumstances. The assembly of Nova Scotia contains 43 members elected for a period of 5 years, and the franchise is extended to all British subjects "assessed on real property valued at 150 dollars or on personal and real property together valued at 300 dollars; tenants yearly of similar property; sons of foregoing persons or of widows in possession of enough property to qualify as stated above and actually residing on such property; persons having an annual income of 250 dollars." In March 1918, a bill recommending the extension of franchise to women was introduced. In New Brunswick, the assembly is of 40 members elected for a term of 5 years on a liberal franchise. In the case of Manitoba, the legislative assembly consists of 49, elected for 5 years on manhood suffrage. Recently, women have been enfranchised, and no objection is raised for their being members of Parliament. The provincial assembly of British Columbia is composed of 47 members elected for a term of 4 years, 'every adult, male or female (British subject) having resided six months in the province, duly registered, being entitled to vote.' The Prince Edward Island has an assembly of 30 members who are elected for 4 years 'half by real property holders, and the remainder by manhood suffrage.' Residence qualification also is usually required. The province of Saskatchewan has an assembly of 62 members elected for a term of 5 years. In 1916, women were given the franchise. In Alberta too women suffrage obtains.

Newfoundland also has two Chambers. The Legislative Council has at present 17 members nominated for life. The House of Assembly consists of 36 members elected for 4 years by manhood suffrage. The Colony is divided into 18 constituencies for electoral purposes. The population of New Foundland in 1916 was 252,836.

### NEW ZEALAND.

The constitution of New Zealand also provides for two Houses of Parliament. The members of the upper House or Legislative Council are 24 in number and hold their seats for seven years only. Provision has been made for an elective Legislative Council, which will come into force in 1920. For purposes of election to the House of Representatives, the country is divided into 76 districts on the population basis, each having as nearly as possible the same number of inhabitants. These districts are, for the purposes of European representation, adjusted once in five years. For Maori representation, the whole Dominion is divided into four districts, each district returning one



Maori member. All this brings the number in the House of Representatives to 80, and their term of office is three years. Though the qualifications for registration are the same for both sexes, only men registered as electors are eligible for membership of the House of Representatives. Every adult person of either sex, if resident for one year in the Dominion and one month in the electoral district, is eligible to be a voter. No person can register on more than one electoral roll. For Maori representation, every adult Maori resident in any Maori electoral district can vote. The Maori electors are not required to register. In 1914, 76 European members were returned by 616,403 electors of whom 280,346 were women, and 4 Maori members by 18,621 voters. There was one European member for every 14,421 persons and the proportion of European electors to population was one to every 1.8 persons. The population of New Zealand (exclusive of Maoris) in 1911 and 1916 was 1,008,468 and 1,099,449 respectively.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

The legislature of the Union of South Africa also consists of two Houses. The Senate comprises 40 members, 8 of whom are nominated and 8 members for each province were elected by the two Houses of the provinces sitting together (before dissolution after the Union). Their term of office is 10 years. After this period, the Parliament is expected to make provision for the constitution of the Senate. If it fails to do so, the election will be jointly by the provincial Councils and the members of the House of Assembly of respective provinces. The election of the senators is to be according to the principle of proportional representation. In the composition of the upper House, the evils of nomination, as in Canada, as well as direct election, as in Australia, have been avoided, and the principle of provincial representation has been observed. The senators must not be less than thirty years of age; must be British subjects of European descent; have resided for 5 years within the limits of the Union; be qualified as voters in one of the provinces. In the case of elected senators, ownership of immovable property of the value of not less than £500, is also required. The principle of provincial representation is also at work in the composition of the House of Assembly. It is composed of 130 members elected for a term of 5 years and provision for the increase in the number of members is made in proportion to the increase in the population (European adults only). The calculation adopted is almost the same as in the case of Australian quota. The only difference is that the number of European male adults is divided by the number of members of the House of Assembly, as constituted at the time of the establishment of the Union. But the maximum number fixed is 150. The qualifications of Parliamentary voters, as existing in the several Colonies at the time of the Union, hold good in the election of members to the House of Assembly in corresponding provinces. The qualifications of members are that they should be British subjects

of European descent, qualified as registered voters and should have also resided for five years within the Union.

The provincial Councils established after the Union are all elected for 3 years, consisting of the same number of members as the colony is represented by in the House of Assembly. In any case, it is provided that the number should not be less than 25. The provincial council of the Cape of Good Hope province consists of 51 members, representing voters who are qualified to vote, whether white men, Indians or Natives, as occupiers of property worth £75, or receiving a salary equivalent to £50. The Natal Council consists of 25 members, elected by voters, who have a property qualification of £50, or paying £10 rent per annum, or having an income of £96. For all provinces the electorates are the same as those for the House of Assembly, and the members are elected on the same system as members of Parliament, only without the restriction as to European descent.

R. S. R.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### MR. KELKAR AND LORD WILLINGDON.

SIR,—The Poona 'Nationalists' are a class apart, and their mentality must be studied by all with the greatest care. This can be best done at the present time by watching their doings in the Poona Municipality. All the executive and directive power in this body is now in the hands of the so-called 'Nationalists', and Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Tilak's lieutenant, is its president. How have they used their power? Their coming into power almost synchronised with the departure of Lord Willingdon from Poona, and during the few days, when they had the out-going Governor with them, they did nothing else but to seek out opportunities to come into contact with him however slight it be, and to load him with honours *in the name of the people*. Mr. Kelkar requested him to be gracious enough to pay a visit to the Influenza Hospital, set up and maintained while Mr. Kelkar's predecessor was in office, and to perform the ceremony of closing it. A closing ceremony is very unusual, but the Nationalists were so bent upon hobnobbing with the Governor, that when they had nothing to show to him, they improvised even patients, it is said, and had their heart's desire gratified by bringing Lord Willingdon to the hospital and shaking hands with him.

Then they must present an address to His Excellency. To such a proposal no reasonable person could object, but the 'Nationalists', who at one time seemed to be hammer and tongs against him, exhibited such an indecent haste in pronouncing a favourable verdict upon him that at the municipality's meeting they cut an unspeakably sorry figure. When the question was broached at the municipal board meeting, Mr. Kelkar, who pressed the proposal of presenting an address with unsuspected warmth, was asked if he was irrevocably committed to it; and Mr. Kelkar had to admit that in his interview with the Collector he had led the latter official to look for such an event, although his word was not definitely pledged. The members did not make any trouble on that score. But a further difficulty arose. It appeared that the Governor could not receive the address either in the Town Hall or at the station or in any other becoming manner; he could only receive it in his carriage, while passing by the municipal office. This seemed to some members somewhat derogatory to the muni-

cipality; and when they questioned Mr. Kelkar if the procedure could not be improved upon, he showed such an anxiety to have the address given *any way* that the proposal made by some members in this behalf did not receive adequate attention. And Mr. Kelkar's wish was gratified, and the address was presented to the Governor at his hands.

There is nothing blameworthy in Mr. Kelkar's desire to present one of the most sympathetic Governors of recent time with a suitable address, though the way he carried out his wish was not the most appropriate. But my point is this. To most Nationalists, on this side, Lord Willingdon is an *anathema maranatha* since the Bombay War Conference, and the newspapers, with which Mr. Kelkar is connected, also have the same policy. His party has avowed not to attend a meeting at which Lord Willingdon may preside. Such was the binding character of this vow that the Hon'ble Mr. Belvi, when a similar pledge was taken at a Belgaum meeting, thought it necessary to get a release from the pledge so far as the Legislative Council meetings were concerned. All other meetings, associated with Lord Willingdon were taboo to Mr. Belvi, all the meetings without exception to the other Nationalists. And Mr. Kelkar, on whom the prohibition should sit not the lightest but the heaviest, because laid on behalf of his chief, himself goes out of his way to invite Lord Willingdon to a hospital and initiates, and carries out in unseemly haste, the movement to give him an address on behalf of the city! This is consistency indeed! Such is Deccan politics.

—Yours, etc.

K. R. KANITKAR.

## SELECTION.

### NON-BRAHMAN SUPPORT TO THE MODERATE CONFERENCE.

The following is an extract from the *Deccan Ryot*, which is the organ of the Deccan Ryots' Association, founded two years ago to safeguard the interests of the masses in the Bombay Deccan :—

We shall best illustrate the spirit of the Conference by calling attention to the way in which it dealt with the very difficult question of communal representation. Those who like use, hold that it is the crux of the present political problem in India must find in its solution by the Conference the sure test by which to judge its real value in the public life of this country. The demand for communal representation, especially in the Madras and Bombay Deccan, is beyond doubt extremely strong. But one reason why it has assumed a form so dangerously near a bitter opposition to all progress is that the fears of the Non-Brahmans, based upon the experiences of the past, have been sought to be laughed at, trifled with or interpreted into a sinister desire to hamper Indian constitutional progress. If our political reformers had from the very beginning tried to deal with the problem, and sought to allay the reasonable fears entertained on the score of unequal representation by suggesting fairly acceptable remedial or protective measures, it would not have been impossible to conciliate the large communities whom sheer necessity had driven to take up an apparently hostile position. Compromise is the soul of practical statesmanship. The Extremists have never shown that they care to possess it. They distrust the ruling British, and therefore, wish to wrest power from them. Equally do they distrust their own countrymen of the Non-Brahman communities and wish therefore, to keep them away from the sacred precincts of political power which they are desiring to turn into a monopoly of their own. The Moderates as a party never hitherto existed and though individuals of Mr. Sastri's or Mr. Paranjpye's type have tried to offer a solution, there was no body of political opinion worth the name which could be relied on to press for any reasonable measures, for the securing of

representation to all communities. That made the situation difficult for the advocates of electoral protection. We are glad that the Moderate Party, at its very first assembly, has seen the necessity of admitting the existence of an honest and strong demand for special measures to give the suspicious communities an assurance that their representation must and will be secured. The Joint Report suggests nomination as the means to do it. The Non-Brahmans and the Moderates agree to reject it and to insist upon *election* as the only means to do it. Then of the two methods of doing this, the former prefer separate communal electorates. And we hold that where absolutely necessary, as for example, when minorities like the European community in India find it impossible to secure any but a very few votes in the general register, or communal differences are extremely acute or of a very definite type, separate electorates may have to be adopted beyond what is proposed by Mr. Montagu's Report. The Moderate Party recognises this by implication when it says that communities which secure separate electorates should not vote in the general elections. That is one step in the right direction. It does not, however, apply to the major communities or groups of communities which constitute the Non-Brahmans. What of them? The Report does not contemplate any special measures for them on the ground that they are numerically strong enough to secure representation through general electorates. The Non-Brahmans have rightly contended that numbers alone do not count, and they have been beaten in open elections in spite of their numerical strength. Between these two views, the Extremists and Mr. Montagu for once in their career agreeing together to deny any special measures for the protection of their interests and the Non-Brahmans themselves convinced of the urgency of sanctioning communal separate electorates, a compromise had to be effected by the Conference at Bombay. A few Non-Brahman (including the depressed classes) representatives of the Bombay Deccan and Coimbatore attended it with a sincere desire to find a *via media*. It may not be right to publish any detailed account of the attempts made in the subjects committee and outside. For a few sad hours those attempts had wholly broken down. But thanks to the spirit of compromise on both sides and to the ceaseless efforts of the Deccan Moderates headed by Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, the lost hopes were revived and the Conference agreed to recommend to the Government the institution of plural constituencies with reserved seats for communities or groups of them in the Bombay Deccan and the Madras Presidency and elsewhere who are at present demanding electoral protection. As Sir Narayanrao observed in placing this proposal before the Conference, it was a compromise agreed to by all the leading members of the Moderate Party and, as such, accepted by the Conference itself. We need hardly point out that the advocates of communal representation who also agreed to this compromise fully bore in mind the comparative superiority of separate electorates to the accepted proposal exclusively from the view-point of the communities themselves. Nor do they "withdraw an hair's breadth" from the view they have hitherto propounded regarding the fallacies underlying Mr. Montagu's criticisms of separate electorates. As far as they can see, no distinct minority in the country will be fully satisfied with anything short of them. But the Non-Brahmans who, though in a majority, are absolutely entitled to electoral protection and who are denied it by the Joint Report, may in all probability find their adequate representation secured by adopting the principle of the system recommended by the Conference. If the experience of the next few years belies this expectation, the Parliamentary Committee suggested by the Report will give us all an opportunity to take stock of what may have happened as a result of this measure and, if need be, claim some other, more drastic and effective than this. This compromise will achieve many objects. The Councils of the future will be representative of the Brahmans as

well as the Non-Brahmans in a reasonable proportion. The Brahmins who wield mighty influences in the electorates will have an opportunity during the next few years to show that they will exert their strength to get into the Councils men who will not only be Non-Brahmins but will be such as command the confidence of the communities whose fears have at present got to be allayed. But the greatest of its advantages will be that it will frustrate the attempts of those who desire to exploit the Non-Brahmin agitation, which is in fact as genuine and patriotic as any in the world, for the purpose, totally foreign to it, of wrecking the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme which opens up to India the road to national self-respect. In accepting a compromise like this, the Moderate Party has evinced a wisdom which will be very useful in making reforms successful and the Non-Brahmins will, in accepting it wholeheartedly, equally prove that their patriotism is even stronger than their communal sentiment, provided the bigotry of the advanced politician does not threaten both communal as well as national interests. We are confident that, if the Moderates make the securing of this safeguard an essential part of their programme, the Non-Brahmins in the Bombay Deccan, and we hope also in the Madras Presidency, will be willing to await the results of the compromise until the statutory period of revision comes.

#### THE LATE DR. DEVA.

Under the heading 'A Patriot's Death,' the *Searchlight* of Bankipur, has an obituary notice on the late Dr. Deva, from which the following is extracted :

"Dr. Deva will be remembered in these parts as one of those selfless and devoted workers who came to Champaran with Mahatma Gandhi as volunteers and served the Province in that capacity for nearly a year. Dr. Deva came to Champaran about the time when the Champaran Agrarian Committee was about to sit to record evidence, but he had been keeping himself fully informed about the affairs of Champaran from the very beginning of Mahatma Gandhi's visit. In fact he had been ready to join the band of volunteers in Champaran whenever his services were required. During the sittings of the Committee his advice and opinion were constantly sought by Mahatma Gandhi and after the report of the Committee had been submitted and it was decided by Mahatma Gandhi to open schools in Champaran, Dr. Deva was of course the first to offer his services for six months. He was in a way in charge of all the three schools established there and used to be visiting them. During his stay in Champaran he used also to give medical relief gratis to the people. In this way he spent six months from December to May. Just when he was about to take leave of Champaran an incident occurred which deserves to be noted here. One of the schools which is located at Bhitiharwa near the Terai was burnt down. Dr. Deva happened to be there at the time. He and Mr. S. L. Somanji, B. A., LL. B., a Vakil from the Bombay Presidency who had been in charge of that school, at once decided to erect a pucca building for the school, and no sooner was the building burnt a pucca one began to be erected and, strange as it may seem, they saw the building completed in about 3 weeks' time. Those alone who saw the hard work, including that even of a coolie, which the above-named gentlemen and the Appaji (Mr. Appa Randive), the right hand man of Dr. Deva whom he had brought from Dhulia, can know and realise the fire that was within him. At the time of his departure from Bihar, Dr. Deva promised to return here about the first week of November, and a regular programme of public work was drawn up by him. But, alas, how little did we dream at the time that he was not destined to see the Province again! Bihar is grieved to lose such a tried and trusted friend and offers its condolences to his aged parents and younger brother and other members of his family, and above all to the Servants of India Society which has suffered so grievously by his death."

#### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE find that the *Hindu* has been still repeating its old cry that the changes in provincial Governments, recommended in the joint report, are reactionary; it still maintains that the powers of the legislative councils as a whole will be curtailed if the reforms come into effect, and that the popular party will thus suffer. Mr. Kunzru effectively answered this criticism in our issue of August 8, and in view of the sedulous attempts that are being made in certain quarters to discredit the scheme on this count, we reproduce below the following extracts from Mr. Kunzru's reply:—

For instance, the *Hindu* of Madras has argued that while the Morley-Minto councils did enable the people to exercise some degree of control over legislation "in all essential departments of administration" and to defeat, in a few cases, legislative measures that they did not approve of, under the plan of responsible government proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, "this right of opposing successfully obnoxious legislation brought by the executive in the provincial councils, will be effectually taken away." The existing provincial councils have been frequently described as gilded shams and glorified district boards. Over and over again, it has been pointed out that the non-official majorities provided in them are illusory. They may prove effective occasionally, but the elements which compose them combine so seldom that they are practically valueless. In any case, it has been said, they do not ensure control over a single department of administration. But now they are suddenly held up to our admiration. The principle underlying their constitution is apparently great enough for our purposes! Can anyone, who does not regard fairness as an encumbrance in politics, compare for a moment the Morely-Minto councils, which as a rule only gave opportunities for criticising the executive, with the Montagu-Chelmsford councils, which will make the popular will supreme in many important departments?

\* \* \*

#### CONTINUING, Mr. Kunzru says:

But apart from the balance of advantage being in favour of the remodelled councils, is it a fact that in a single instance they will deprive us of a particle of the power vested in us at present? To say that, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, legislation on reserved subjects can be withdrawn from the cognizance of the "Provincial Council" is *technically* correct, but in reality highly misleading. It is true that certified bills will not be voted on by the "Provincial Council," but no more will provincial Governments have power to convert them into law simply by means of an executive decree. They will go to the grand committees, where the elected representatives of the councils and nominated non-official members will be in a majority as in the existing councils, and where the elected element will be stronger than in many of the councils at present. The power of blocking unpopular legislation, to which the *Hindu* attaches, so much importance, will not thus be lost to popular representatives in the new regime, but will only be lodged in the grand committees instead of in the councils; and there, judging by the composition of the grand committees, it can, if anything, be called into exercise somewhat more easily than at present.

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