

## APPENDIX II.

*Extract from a speech by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated September 4, 1918.*

“ I said that I would not follow up the various criticisms which have been made on our scheme, but Hon'ble Members will probably expect something from me on the vexed question of communal representation. I cannot help thinking that much more has been read into our proposals than they were intended to convey. We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception, and not to communal representation itself. The careful reader of the report will see that we regard this as inevitable in India, and that we clearly contemplate the representation of those communities and classes and interests who prove their case before the committee shortly to be appointed to examine the question. I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India; but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. However, I am content to leave the unravelling of this important question in the hands of the committee, who will have the fullest evidence placed before them and will be free to make such recommendations as they think right, unfettered by our report.”

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## APPENDIX III.

### MEMORANDUM.

The Government of India, upon consideration of the opinions before them, have felt themselves unable to prepare plans for the composition of the legislative assembly which conform closely to the figures proposed in the report. Their difficulty is that they find themselves unable to secure the representation of certain interests which they think should find a place, unless the total strength of the assembly is raised to the (approximate) figure 117. The table which they present to the committee is accordingly framed upon that basis.

2. Before explaining the basis of the representation proposed for the various interests the Government of India wish to make clear their intentions upon one or two general points. In the first place they consider that the system of election to the assembly should, if in any way practicable, be by direct election and that the voting qualification for the assembly should be considerably higher than that for the provincial councils. Upon the information before them they are not at present satisfied that such direct

election is impossible. If it becomes necessary to have recourse to indirect election they consider that there should be a material difference of method between indirect elections to the assembly and to the council of state. Secondly they propose that officials, if otherwise qualified, should have votes in the constituencies appropriate to them.

3. The accompanying table has been based partly on population qualified by other considerations including the relative amounts contributed by the respective provinces to the central exchequer. The Government of India have found no way of satisfactorily applying the factor of education, and have therefore left it out of consideration entirely. The population factor is based on the total population of the provinces, and for the present the population of backward tracts has not been excluded. But in the absence of complete information as to the proposals made to the committee by provincial Governments and as to the committee's proposals for the provincial councils it is impossible for the Government of India to base their provisional proposal on any but a rough estimate of provincial needs. Nor do they think it possible to reduce the other factors which they have taken into account to any mathematical expression. At present they look to the Franchise Committee to make the detailed calculations upon which any scheme of representation must rest, and the figures placed before the Committee in the accompanying table should be taken as expressing no more than the net result of the Government of India's general impressions as to the claims to consideration for the various localities and interests.

4. On a few points, however, a word of explanation may be added. (1) The Government of India have not thought it necessary or desirable to adopt for the legislative assembly the proportion of seats for the Muhammadans in the Congress-League agreement of December 1916. The number of Muslim seats proposed for the United Provinces is thought to be justified by the political importance of the Muslims of that province. (2) The proportion of seats set down for European interests is higher than can be justified on any numerical basis; but strong representation of these interests is thought to be well justified on account of the stake of European commerce in the country and also to be politically expedient. The category "European interests" includes European commerce, but the proposed distribution of seats between Provinces has been made with reference to the latter only and will require further examination. (3) The further question whether the seats provisionally allotted for non-Brahmans in Madras should be included in the general Madras electorate will depend largely upon whether election to the general seats in that presidency can be expected to result in adequate non-Brahman representation.

5. For the present the Government of India reserve their proposal regarding the distribution of the nominated seats in the assembly. This matter cannot be entirely dissociated from the question of the composition of the council of state.

TABLE.

SHOWING ELECTIVE SEATS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

	General.	Muhammadans.	Non-Brahmans.	Sikhs.	City.	Landholders.	European interests.	Indian Commerce.	TOTAL.
Bengal . . . . .	5	3	..	..	1	1	3	1	14
Bombay . . . . .	5	1	..	..	1	1	2	12	12
United Provinces . . . . .	8	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	13
Madras . . . . .	6	1	3	..	..	1	1	..	12
Punjab . . . . .	3	3	..	1	..	1	..	..	8
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	6	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	8
Central Provinces . . . . .	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
Burma . . . . .	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4
Assam . . . . .	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
TOTAL . . . . .	41	12	3	1	2	7	8	3	77
European non-official community . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total elective seats . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	78

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