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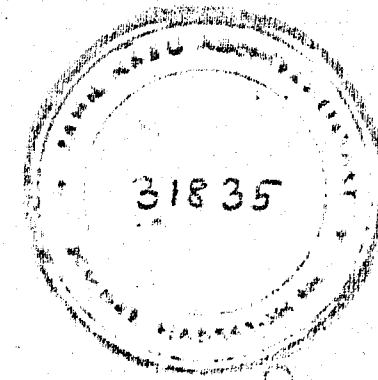
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MADRAS.

Dated 29th February, 1932.

PRESENT:

ALL MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE AND OF THE MADRAS
PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

Sir BERNARD BOURDILLON, K.B.E., C.M.G., Chief Secretary to
the Government of Ceylon, with Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN, of
the Ceylon Civil Service.

The Chairman: My first duty is to thank Sir Bernard Bourdillon on behalf of both the Committees for taking the trouble to come a 36 hours' journey to give evidence on a very important matter. I am sure I am expressing the views of every one of us present in thanking you very cordially for coming all this way.

1. There are one or two preliminaries I wish to ask in order to clear the ground. What is the population of Ceylon?—Five million three hundred thousand. The 1931 census was not taken very accurately except in Colombo and the Planting district but the figures for the rest of the island were compiled from the vital statistics of the last few years.

2. What is the area?—I cannot tell you accurately.

3. Is it thickly populated?—It varies, in the district of Mulli from 12 per square mile to about 1,100 per square mile in the Western Province. The average population per square mile is 250.

4. I want to clear one matter although it is not quite relevant. I understand the Constitution of Ceylon is not Parliamentary. It is modelled on the London County Council, that is to say, a system of departments of Government each managed by a committee?—That is so.

5. I understand that the basis of the Constitution was supposed to be universal adult suffrage?—Yes.

6. I notice that in the rules there seem to be two different qualifications. Can you explain what the qualifications are?—Yes. Perhaps, I might begin with the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission and show you where we departed from the recommendations of that body. Their recommendations were, universal suffrage, for women at the age of 30 and for men at the age of 21, with a qualification of at least 5 years' residence in Ceylon. They also recommended that we should retain the old property and literary qualification so that any persons who already possessed that qualification might not be disfranchised. During the discussions on the new Constitution there was considerable agitation amongst the Ceylonese with regard to the Indian Tamil population; that is to say, estate labour population. They were very anxious that they should not be let in upon the broad basis of adult suffrage with 5 years' residence as the only qualifying qualification. To meet their wishes—which to a certain extent it was necessary to do in order to secure their acceptance of the new Constitution—Sir Herbert Stanley suggested that it should be necessary for any person who was not a Ceylonese and who did not come in under the property qualification to take out a certificate of permanent settlement and he had to say that he was domiciled in Ceylon or that he had permanently settled there with

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[Continued.]

the intention of residing there and a result of that permanent settlement was that he had renounced any privileges which were not shared by all the inhabitants of Ceylon. There were certain privileges which had been secured for estate labour and Indian estate labour and, of course, they did not like the prospect of only getting their vote by renouncing these privileges. The Government of India also objected to the compromise by which we introduced the domicile qualification. We finally wound up with adult suffrage for men and women over 21 with the qualification of at least 5 years' residence in Ceylon. Apart from that there was the old literacy qualification with the necessity of domicile not attached to it; and then we still retain the recommendations for a sort of permanent settlement. Actually, in fact, that was employed very little because most of the Indians who registered came in under the domiciliary qualification.

7. Of 5 years?—Five years unless you could prove domicile of origin.

8. Was it not their proposal that only those people should be put on the roll who applied for it?—That is actually the fact. That was the recommendation of the Donoughmore Commission themselves, that registration should not be compulsory or automatic but that only those persons who applied to be registered should be registered. One of the objects was to prevent a sudden increase but in making that recommendation they overlooked the practice in Ceylon by which the candidates themselves go round and register the votes and the result was that actually the number of voters registered was much larger than the Donoughmore Commission's anticipations.

9. Let me understand the position. Government do not make themselves responsible for the registration?—What happens is, a man gets a registration form free. He fills that in and under the present law receives an acknowledgment.

10. You distribute registration forms to every one?—No, they have to get the forms themselves. Actually a candidate or his agent would come in and collect a thousand forms and go round to the villages and get every one to fill them in and then he would come and hand them in himself. I might explain that the candidates tried to make this period a sort of preliminary election campaign and they told the voters "When I bring the form for you to register you must vote for me". There was an impression prevailing amongst the ignorant voters that once they signed the form given by a certain agent or candidate they were bound to vote for him. At the request of the members of the Legislative Council we did our best to disturb that illusion by telling the headmen of the village to instruct the villagers that they were not bound to vote for the man who registered their names; but a number of candidates tried to strengthen this impression in this way,—the registration form contains the address to which the acknowledgment is to be sent and candidates, in a great many cases, put their own addresses and they collected the acknowledgments, made copies or photographs and sent them to the voters telling them that their names had been registered as voters.

11. Can you form any opinion as to that point, whether it would be better for the Government to do the registration, or would you leave it to the individual to make an application as at present?—Opinions differ a great deal on that point. Mr. Reid who is the Officer that drew up the election procedure and is responsible for the whole scheme and for the actual machinery, was strongly of the opinion that it would be better for the Government to do the actual registration. There are other points to decide. In the first place, it would mean, probably,—I don't say necessarily—an undesirable increase in the number of voters registered at this stage; and in the second place, it would undoubtedly lay the headman open to the charge of interfering by suppressing the registration of voters known to be in favour of

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[Continued.]

the candidates whom he himself did not favour. There is always a great deal of talk among candidates about headmen interfering and if they had to do the work of registration they certainly would be accused, rightly or wrongly (probably wrongly), of registering anybody whom they favoured.

12. Their duty would be to register everybody?—Yes.

13. And if they failed the individual should make an application to be put on the roll?—Yes. I might mention that the registration forms were sent round to all post offices and to all the headmen; they were distributed as widely as possible. The men did not have to go to a central kutchery.

14. What is the adult population and what is the number of voters?—The adult population, speaking roughly, is presumably about half the total population. We assume the adult population to be about 2,650,000 and the total number of registered voters 1,577,932, which makes about 60 per cent. of the adult population. Out of that the number of females is 399,884.

15. Can you tell me the number of constituencies?—50 territorial constituencies.

16. What is the size, on the average?—They vary: they were based on population, not on size. Actually the Limitation Commission were told that the average size would be between 100,000 and 125,000 inhabitants and without the permission of the Governor in Executive Council they were not to make a constituency less than 75,000. They had not got accurate and up-to-date figures of the distribution of the population. So they worked on the 1921 census figures and they reduced their figures proportionately and made their minimum 52,000 with an upper limit of 102,000 as they were working on the 1921 census figures of 41 millions. They reduced their lower limit also in proportion. Actually when they were dividing the country up into constituencies they got 49. They tried to keep their units homogeneous and not to break into boundaries (and never to break into Provincial boundaries). They eventually allotted 49 seats and they found one to play with and so they decided that if they wanted to give that away, they would give it to a very sparsely inhabited district in the north; but the total population of that according to the 1921 census was only 44,000 which, of course, brought them considerably below 75,000 and they obtained the permission of the Governor in Executive Council to give that one constituency to a large area of country stretching below the Jaffna Peninsula. That is actually the smallest constituency but it is not the constituency registering the smallest number of voters. There are three constituencies registering a smaller number of voters.

17. On the average, what is the number of voters, leaving that one out?—32,000.

18. An average constituency contained actually 52,000?—Yes. I can tell you off-hand: the highest was 95,000 and the lowest was 11,000.

19. How was the Limitation Commission appointed?—It was appointed by the Governor under an Order in Council.

20. How was it composed?—One High Court Judge and two Civil servants; and it had a Survey Officer as Secretary.

21. Each constituency was divided into polling districts. Upon what basis was that done?—The idea was that a polling station should not serve more than 5,000 voters and it should not have a radius of more than 5 miles.

22. Each polling station made arrangements to have 5,000 voters?—No, actually more. We made adequate provision for more.

23. Did you actually poll 5,000 votes in any one polling station?—Not 5,000.

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[Continued.]

24. Could you tell us the actual method by which the election is conducted, the way in which the votes are recorded and so on?—The actual system is this. There was no marking of the ballot paper by the voter at all. We had a special committee appointed to report on the method of the ballot and that committee advised the system which I will shortly describe. Two of the non-official members of the Council, one of whom is now a Minister, who were members of that committee dissented from the proposed method, but I think they agree now that it is in every way thoroughly satisfactory. That system was this. A colour was allotted to each candidate and inside the voting compartment there was a coloured box for each candidate with his name marked on it. We considered the idea of having the candidate's photograph on the box as well. But in order to make the system as simple as possible and also to avoid the chance of confusing the voter—as many voters might not be acquainted with the face of the candidate—we decided on the method of colour. The ballot paper was given to the voter and he put it into the appropriate box.

25. Could you describe what happens when the voter goes to the poll?—Mr. Kaufmann will describe it as he has more experience of that. (Mr. Kaufmann): Before the voter actually came to the polling station, an arrangement was made that he should come with a card bearing his number on the electoral list. He got it from the agent of the candidate. There were small rooms in front of the place where the polling station was and candidates provided the voters as they came along with a card bearing their number. If he failed to get the number there, we had a couple of clerks outside the polling station but inside the enclosure, with a full list of electors and they would give him the number if he had not got one already. The idea was that as soon as he went into the station he could go straight to his appropriate table. Actually we had a separate entrance and exit for each unit. A polling station usually had about 3,000 voters divided into three divisions, 1 to 1,000 in the first, 1,001 to 2,000 in the second and the balance in the third division. He was told to go either to the right or left, so that when he got to the station it was quite clear what his number was. Then at the table there were two clerks. There was one table for each unit.

26. Each unit having a thousand voters?—Yes, roughly. When one clerk read out the number, the other clerk would make sure that it was correct and the man's name would be skouted by the clerk who took the paper, and the second clerk ticked his name off in the list and handed to the voter something like a visiting card, a small white card with nothing on the top except the name of the polling station. He had to punch the paper or stamp it, to show that it had been issued by the election officers. Then the voter went into his cubicle.

27. There was a serial number on each paper?—There was a serial number on it. (Sir Bernard Boudillon): That is rather important. There was a number on the counterfoil and on the paper. The counterfoil is printed on the face and the ballot paper is printed on the reverse. It is important because no candidate should be able to see the number on the ballot paper days afterwards. (Mr. Kaufmann): The number of voter in the list was written on the counterfoil only.

28. That is all that is written on the counterfoil? Just the number?—Yes, but on the card itself there is no number except the serial number. Then it was punched and the voter went into the cubicle and put the paper in the box he preferred.

29. Should he not see the presiding officer at any time?—If the man's name could not be found in the list the clerk at the table put a question mark on his number card and passed him on to the presiding officer. The clerk at the table was not allowed to hold up the proceedings in any way. The number card is sent to the presiding officer. In case of a tendered vote—

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[Continued.]

that is, when a man comes up and gives his name and it is found that the person bearing that name has already voted—the matter is referred to the presiding officer.

30. As I understand it, the whole procedure except in cases of disputes is conducted by the clerks. They check the number, issue the ballot paper and then the voter goes to the cubicle and drops the ballot paper into whatever box he likes, and goes out. Is it not so?—This is done in full view of the presiding officer.

31. He would not have to show to the presiding officer that the ballot paper was properly examined?—No.

32. I understand that you had one presiding officer and two clerks per thousand electors. Is that correct?—Yes, and an assistant presiding officer. He is usually a superior and very intelligent clerk. He saw that the men did not go into the wrong cubicle. He is there to help the man to go in and come out and generally supervise the work. And if the presiding officer empowers him to do so, he can deal with any question.

33. Could you tell me the type of people you use for presiding officers on the one hand and for the polling clerks on the other hand?—The presiding officers in all cases are civil list officers. (Sir Bernard Boudillon): "Civil list officers" does not necessarily mean officers of what we call the Civil Service. A civil list officer is equivalent to what you call a gazetted officer in India.

34. Did you use any non-official people as presiding officers?—No. Where ladies performed the duties of assistant presiding officers non-official people were employed; they were very few. But all presiding officers were males. In a few cases where Muslim ladies were concerned, ladies performed the duties of assistant presiding officers, but that was in a very few cases.

35. What type of people did you use as clerks?—The clerks came from Government offices or semi-Government offices. The assistant presiding officers were generally chief clerks or some persons in responsible positions.

36. Did you have any criticism of the system on the ground that the ballot papers were not properly issued or were issued to the wrong people?—(Sir Bernard Boudillon): I think I may say, Sir, that apart from the fact that there were a few cases of impersonation, nothing that the Government has done for the last ten years has been less criticised. It was recognised as a thorough success.

37. What arrangements did you make for women? Did you provide separate polling booths for women or make any separate arrangements?—(Mr. Kaufmann): That is really decided on the basis of numbers. Supposing we have 6,000 voters for a division or an electoral district, we take 80 per cent. of the registered voters as likely to come to the polls and we work on that basis. Where the number of voters exceeds 6,000 we have separate polling stations for men and women.

38. Under what conditions?—The average number for a polling station is about 3,000. In some cases we have 4,000. When it exceeds 6,000 we have separate polling. These separate polling stations are arranged very often in the boys' and girls' school in the village side by side, so that the voters can come together and then go to their respective polling stations separately.

39. Were there any separate arrangements, like having compartments for women?—Where it is a completely female polling station, the arrangements are exactly the same as for men. Where there was mixed polling, we had a separate cubicle for women, with the same entrance. In a majority of cases they were quite separate.

40. Could you tell me how the colours were allotted to each candidate?—(Sir Bernard Boudillon): The colours are allotted on the nomination day,

29th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOURDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN.

[Continued.]

and there is no difficulty about that. When a candidate is disgruntled that he did not get the colour he liked, the colour is generally allotted by casting lots.

41. For how many days would the polling go on?—It will begin on Saturday, it is held again on the next Wednesday, and again on the next Saturday. That is, it takes a week.

42. Do you move the whole staff from one constituency to another, or what do you do?—(Mr. Kaufmann): It is a matter of arrangement. The number of the various clerks and officers available will have to be considered. They are sent from place to place within one electoral district.

43. No polling station takes more than one day?—No. In the electoral districts voting is completed in one day. The hours are from 8 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon.

44. What will be the number that go to the poll?—Approximately half the electorate go to the poll.

45. Now the method you adopted lends itself to corruption in some cases. There is no guarantee that the individual voter has put his ballot paper in the box. He may take it away with him and give it to the candidate or candidate's agent, and the latter may thus get 50 or more votes thrust into the box by another voter.—There was an allegation made to the effect that it would lead to that practice. But it was rather difficult for one to thrust 50 papers in at one time. Again, why should we deprive a man of the right to put the ballot paper into the box fearing he would give it to somebody else?

46. Your argument is that we get certain results.—Yes. But the slots in the boxes are made of such a size that they would just conveniently allow one ballot paper unfolded to go in. That was done with the idea of making it difficult to insert a large number of ballot papers at once. The presiding officer was entitled to go into the polling booth at any time just to make sure that it was all right, and he was particularly instructed to see that nobody stayed too long so as to arouse suspicion that he was tampering with the vote papers. Actually we had no complaint that that practice was indulged in. It was freely prophesied before that it would be indulged in, but I think I am right in saying that we had no complaint that it had been indulged in.

47. Would you explain the difficulties about counting of the votes? When a ballot paper was put into the box was there any means of identifying it?—Actually I made a suggestion as a safeguard against mixing up of ballot papers. Directly the papers were taken out of the box before counting they were stamped with the name of the candidate. But that has proved so far to be an unnecessary precaution. And it has been recommended that the precaution should be dropped.

48. Can you tell me whether there was any electoral campaign by the candidates?—There were two electoral campaigns, one at the time of registration and one subsequently; this is at the time of the election itself and it is a fairly active campaign. The activities varied of course with the people and the amount of opposition.

49. Could you say that every voter was in some way or other canvassed?—No.

50. In the case of the illiterate voter, how did he obtain any knowledge of what he was voting for?—Well, he would be told by the candidate or the candidate's agent. I should say in most cases most of the voters were told something. I am thinking in particular of one province where we had rather an astonishing result. That was in the North Central Province where a European was returned in a territorial constituency by 8,300 votes against his opponent's 8,000, and the European's expenses were Rs. 17. He

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did no electioneering work. He is a retired civil servant who devoted himself to the interests of the villagers and lived like a villager and he had been in the State Council before. He takes much interest in the villagers of his own backward district. He simply became a household name there. But in ordinary cases we may take it that probably anybody who came to the poll had been electioneered in some way or another.

51. Did that system put any unendurable or severe strain on the Government servants?—It did mean a great deal of extra work to be done for a few weeks, but it was got through all right. But I think it is perhaps well to remember when comparing it with things in India that the proportion of Government servants per head of the population is more there than in India.

52. Could you give us figures on that point, which is very important, i.e., the percentage of officials available to the population?—I can tell you. The total number of pensionable officials in the employ of the Government at present is just about 20,000.

53. How many are registered as civil list officers?—I shall get the figures if necessary.

54. We will give you some definite questions later on. Was the expense on the elections very high?—It was three lakhs approximately.

55. You think that the total electorate has an intelligent understanding of what the election was about?—No, Sir. They knew that they were electing somebody to the State Council, and they had some idea of what the State Council was. But we have not yet got a well developed party system in Ceylon at all. The voters had very little to do with the candidate's political convictions. It is a question of personality, local influence, whether they thought he was a good man or not. And naturally they voted for the man they knew rather than one they did not know.

56. What was the electorate before the new system?—It was on a property basis, and the number was about 200,000.

57. And it has risen to 1½ millions?—Yes.

58. Was there any difference in the candidates returned in the old and new Councils?—I have given the matter careful consideration and I should say that outside the town of Colombo, it has on the whole made very little difference. On the whole there are more of the younger men now than we would have got under the old electorate. We have more younger men in the Council than we had in the old Council. Outside Colombo I think it made very little difference. But inside Colombo it made very great difference. For each of the three Colombo seats a labour man was elected who, it is almost certain, would never have got in under the old electorate.

59. Could you tell anything about the population of Ceylon? Is it very largely industrial?—There is no industrial population at all anywhere else in the island except in Colombo, which has a considerable industrial population.

60. Sir John Kerr: Can you tell us whether the new constitution was accepted in Ceylon?—That is rather a difficult question to answer. The constitution was accepted by a small majority of the official votes in the old Legislative Council. If you are referring in any way to the increase in the franchise, I should say that the main body of opinion was against that.

61. Was there any party out to smash the new constitution?—Yes, Sir, there was.

62. Were they representing the majority of the voters?—There is a party calling itself the Liberal Party which is opposed to the constitution, and there was considerable discussion before the elections whether they

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should boycott the elections or come in and try to reform the constitution from within. Jaffna, or a portion of that peninsula, decided to boycott the elections and those seats remained vacant. But I may say, it is quite impossible to say definitely who is or who is not a member of the Liberal Party. A number of members came in with a determination to reform the constitution and the leader of the Liberal Party at the first meeting of the State Council gave notice of a list of 7 or 8 motions with reference to the constitution which have so far not been debated at his own request.

63. The rural population did not non-cooperate?—Except in the Jaffna peninsula they did not non-cooperate. The non-cooperation in the Jaffna peninsula was really the work of the Jaffna Youth League which persuaded the candidates to withdraw their nominations at the last moment. It was an eleventh hour move.

64. Apart from that, was there any complaint on the ground of colour blindness in the elections?—Colour blindness was alleged as a considerable objection but I have not heard of a single instance. I suppose there must have been colour-blind people who went to the poll and they would have put their ballot papers in the wrong boxes. But there was not any reported instance of a colour-blind man going up to the presiding officer and asking for his assistance.

65. Was there any difficulty about the coloured boxes in the evening?—By 5 o'clock it is never dusk. Special precautions were taken to avoid that. Lanterns were put up.

66. Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan: Can you tell me whether there is a large population of Muhammadans in Ceylon?—Yes. The Muhammadan population is about 313,000.

67. Have these people got any special constituency?—No. There is no communal representation at all under the new constitution. One Muhammadan was elected as a territorial member and that was largely due to the astonishing number of Muslim women who went to the polls. Actually in this constituency there are Tamils and Muslims. It is one of the Eastern Provincial constituencies. The Tamil population is slightly larger than the Muslim population and the election was fought unquestionably on communal lines. The Muslim candidate was more successful in persuading the women to register themselves. It was really a surprising number of Muslim women who went to the polls and the result was that the Muslim candidate was returned for that territorial constituency. Apart from that there is one nominated Muslim member. There are 50 territorial constituencies and the Governor can nominate 8 men. He need not fill up the full number. In drawing up the new constitution we were very careful to prevent there being any difference between a nominated member and an elected member. We have got no official bloc at all. It is of no importance to the Government that they should vote with the Government. The idea of the Donoughmore Commission was that the nominated seats should originally be used to give representation to the minority communities, but gradually, they hoped, that the members of the minority communities would come to be elected on the territorial basis and it would be impossible for the Governor to use the nominated seats for that purpose. I should emphasize the fact that a nominated member is in no way there to support the Government. He is not removable by the Governor. A candidate once having been nominated will vacate his seat in the same way as an elected member.

68. I understand there is no such thing as *purdah* among women in Ceylon?—Muslim men are very very keen on *purdah*. It is not Muslim women themselves who are so keen as their men. If I may explain this a little further, there was an Order in Council which made it permissible for the Governor to say that at any polling station reserved for women all the polling agents must be women and we received an application to do

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so in the case of this particular constituency. After an enquiry we decided not to do so, and there was no difficulty. The male polling agents were allowed to go into the polling stations for women.

69. Could you tell me what is the proportion of literacy among women?—I could not tell you the proportion of literacy. It is fairly high. It is not very high among Muslim women.

70. Could you tell me whether the Muhammadans are elected in a joint electorate? There is no reservation of seats for Muhammadans?—No.

71. What is your experience, do they send in a number proportionate to their population?—I do not follow. May I put in this way? It is unlikely that in any other territorial constituency, except this one, any Muhammadan would get a majority. The forecast before the elections was that that was the only constituency where a Muhammadan had a chance of getting elected territorially.

72. But you said that the Muhammadan population is more than 313,000?—It is very much scattered.

73. Has there been any occasion when the Muslims put in a representation?—Plenty. They have sent a deputation to the Secretary of State recently.

74. What was the result?—The Secretary of State, I think I am right in saying, said that their representation would be considered at the next revision of the constitution.

75. Could you tell me please whether you suffer from any paucity of presiding officers?—There was no difficulty about presiding officers. There was the difficulty about the clerical staff and the elections had to go over for three days. About the presiding officers there is not much difficulty. We get Public Works officers.

76. Could you tell me whether candidates are allowed to provide conveyances to the voters?—They are not allowed to hire.

77. Sir Sunder Singh Majithia: Is there any official bloc in the Council?—No. There are no official members in the Council. I and two other officials are members of the Council, but we do not have a vote.

78. Could you kindly tell me the total number of members of the Council?—There are 50 elected members and 8 nominated members and three officers of State who do not vote but have all the other privileges.

79. Could you kindly tell me whether there are any Muslim members in the Council?—Two, one elected member and one nominated member.

80. The Hon'ble Mr. Pickett: You said that in the majority of cases you had separate polling booths for women?—(Mr. Kaufmann): That was the case. The mixed polling station was very rare.

81. You had women presiding officers in each women's polling station?—(Mr. Kaufmann): Yes, and the women assistant presiding officers in some cases where the Muslim population was considerable.

82. And what about the voting clerks? Did you employ women?—Yes. A candidate was also allowed to send one polling agent for every 2,000 voters and occasionally they sent women agents.

83. Women assistant presiding officers were not always provided?—It was not always asked. Where it was the wish of the candidate that an assistant lady presiding officer should be provided, she was provided if there were sufficient Muslim women voters to justify it.

84. To whom do you go for your women assistant presiding officers?—Usually the wives of civil servants.

85. Not school teachers?—We had some ladies from the Education Department, I remember. I don't think we had teachers from the ordinary schools.

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86. Was there any difficulty in getting women officers?—No. We employed so few.

87. The polling station was the same for women?—Yes. The cubicle was separate.

88. Can you tell me the percentage of votes that was polled both by women and men?—57 per cent. polled.

89. Have you any means of knowing how many were women and how many men?—I am afraid, no.

90. It is impossible to say whether the women polled in larger numbers in stations where you had separate arrangements?—No, as far as my information goes. It made very little difference. (Mr. Kaufmann): Where we had only mixed stations, there the numbers were very small.

91. I take it that all your territorial constituencies are single membered constituencies?—Yes.

92. Do you have more than 2 candidates?—The biggest number was 6. There were 5 in another and 4 in four constituencies and there were 3 in several.

93. There was no confusion in colours when there were six candidates?—No complaint was made.

94. Mrs. Subbarayan: Did the women of Ceylon have the franchise for elections to the local bodies before they got the franchise for the Council?—No. This is the first time that they had the franchise for anything. They still, I believe, have not got the franchise on the question of local option.

95. Could you tell me whether these women came to vote because of their own keenness or because the candidates were anxious?—The educated women were certainly exceedingly keen, very keen indeed. But, I don't think all the ordinary women of the village were keen. They were brought over by the candidates.

96. But the educated women roused the interest of the uneducated women also?—I don't know about that. We have two organizations, the Women's Franchise Union and the Women's Political Union. They unfortunately had a difference of opinion between themselves just before the election which, I am afraid, rather cramped their activities.

97. As women form a large part of the population, I expect the men candidates are very keen on getting the support of women voters and encourage them to go to the poll?—Yes, very often. When a candidate goes round collecting the registration forms he would go to the house of a man and the man may be out in the field and the woman alone may be there. A great many women are caught that way.

98. Was there any difficulty in encouraging the women to go to the booths?—We can judge that from the number that polled.

99. Is it the experience of the Government of Ceylon and of the candidates that unless the candidates get the support of women they will lose?—I should say, certainly. I might mention that in Colombo the Labour Party succeeded owing to large number of women who turned up.

100. There is no doubt that in Ceylon the women used the vote when they got it?—There is no doubt that the women exercised their vote very freely.

101. Do you think that the granting of franchise to the women has helped them in their advancement and roused their interest in national affairs and given them political education?—It is too early to express an opinion. We have got one lady member.

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102. Elected?—Yes. We have got one elected lady member, the wife of the Speaker. She was elected in a bye-election.

103. Were there many women candidates?—There was none at the general election. She came at a bye-election after her father's death.

104. Her father represented that constituency before?—Yes.

105. Is it a rural constituency or an urban constituency?—It is a rural constituency.

106. Are the transport difficulties very serious as to make it difficult for women to travel about?—On the whole in most of the districts the transport facilities are very good. There are certain districts where they are bad, in certain jungles. Otherwise Ceylon is very well equipped with roads.

107. Economically, too, the women are in a good position. They inherit property from their fathers. During marriage also they get certain property?—I am not very familiar with that.

108. They enjoy ownership of property independently?—(Mr. Kaufmann): Yes, they do under the Married Women's Property Act.

109. As regards inheritance, too, they inherit property from their fathers just as their brothers do?—Yes.

110. Sir Ernest Bennett: In political questions like this we have to see what the state of the people is. How do you compare the political intelligence of the people of Ceylon with, say, Madras? Do you think that the people of Ceylon are on a higher level than the general population of Madras?—I am not familiar with the general population of Madras. I served in the United Provinces for some time and compared with that I should say, certainly. In Ceylon there is a higher standard of living. The average man is more, even if he is illiterate, educated than a man of the United Provinces. I should hesitate to say so about the villagers in the jungle.

111. Of course, you have not got any problem about castes or depressed classes and so on?—The caste feeling is very strong in parts of Ceylon. It is dying down a good deal. There were very few elections that were fought on a caste issue. But, there is a good deal of feeling between the high and the low castes.

112. The average distance which a voter had to walk to the poll was about 5 miles?—We took 5 miles as the limit of the radius of the polling area. Actually, of course, it might mean more than 5 miles.

113. It may mean 10 miles where the transport facilities are meagre?—That occurs very very seldom.

114. You said that three candidates had been returned by labour. When you speak of labour do you mean those candidates were run by any organised labour party?—Two of them are members of the Labour Party. One of them is independent labour.

115. The Labour Party is in Colombo and is it composed of organised labour?—There is a body calling itself the Ceylon Labour Union.

116. It is a political body and not an industrial body?—It is political.

117. Sir Mahammad Yakub: You have said that the population is composed of men of different castes and communities?—Yes.

118. Are there as many castes and communities as in India?—The number of castes is very much smaller than in India. About communities, the largest community is the Singhalese and the next largest is the Kandyan Singhalese. There is the Ceylon Tamil and then there is the Indian Tamil.

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There are the Moors, the Muhammadans and then there is the Burgher community and the European community.

115. Except the Muhammadans all the other communities belong to the same religion or different religions?—No. All Singhalese are, of course, Buddhists. There are the Christians and various other denominations. The Tamils are largely Hindus with a certain number of Christians.

120. You say there is one elected Muhammadan member in the Ceylon Council and he would not have been elected but for the help of his community?—Probably not.

121. Because the Muslim population happened to be large enough, he was elected on account of the votes of his own community?—My experience was that election was fought on the communal basis.

122. Because the voters thought that there was no chance for a Muslim getting to the Council the women also came out in larger numbers to cast their votes?—They did come out in larger numbers. What the reason was, I don't know.

123. There was a sort of crusade because otherwise the man would not be elected without their help?—I can't express an opinion on this. All I can say is that they turned up in larger numbers than one could expect.

124. If there were separate electorates for Muslims in Ceylon you think that a larger number of Muslim members would have been elected?—It depends on the number of separate electorates.

125. If there were separate electorates Muslims would have had a larger number?—Naturally, you would get a Muslim for each separate electorate.

126. Muslims in Ceylon are suffering because they have not got separate electorates?—The Muslims have less representation under the territorial system than they would have had if there were communal seats. It would give them a larger number of members than they have at present, but whether they suffer as a result is a thing on which we should hesitate to express an opinion.

127. Is there any difference in the qualifications of a voter and a candidate for membership?—The qualification is exactly the same.

128. There is no property qualification for a member or is the payment of some tax necessary or some literacy qualification?—A member must of course be literate.

129. There is no extra qualification?—I shall have to see the Order in Council. My impression is that there is no extra qualification.

130. Have you got any literacy qualification for a candidate?—I find here that every voter can be a candidate for membership provided he can read and write English. He must be literate in English. There are rather differences. For instance, a public servant can vote but he cannot become a member.

131. There is no educational qualification that he should have passed such and such examination?—No. He must be literate in English.

132. Mr. Burslem: The actual number of voters on the roll is perhaps a million less than the total number who can claim votes. Can you give me any reason for that disparity?—They do not take the trouble to register themselves. The registration is not automatic or compulsory. No one is registered unless he applies for registration.

133. Is the voter allowed to take the ballot paper out of the polling station?—No, it is an offence to do so under the electoral law.

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134. Mr. Radian Menon: Do I understand you to say that the members of the State Council are, in general, people elected from their own districts?—I had not been asked that question. In general, yes.

135. Is there any residential qualification for a candidate?—No.

136. Is there any limit to election expenses?—Yes, it is 30 cents per voter subject to a minimum of, I think, Rs. 7,500 or an amount equal to 30 cents, whichever is larger. It is the minimum—maximum, so to speak.

137. Are there organised Trade Unions in Ceylon?—No. There are one or two unions but I should scarcely call them organised.

138. In regard to Europeans, apart from the member for Rajapura, have any other Europeans come to the general constituency?—Yes, there is one European member elected for a planting district.

139. Is he a large employer of labour in the district?—He is. I am not aware of the size of his estate. He is one of the largest (by no means the largest) in that particular district.

140. Is he a proprietary planter?—Yes, actually he is one who takes great interest in the district, helping the agriculturists. He is rather a country squire.

141. Are there any Europeans who have been nominated?—Four; that is the maximum.

142. Were they nominated as useful individuals or in any other sense or capacity?—They were nominated. I won't say nominated to represent certain interests, but they were selected from certain interests. One is a planter and one is the present Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; and the other two are both commercial men with interests, of course, in the agricultural industry.

143. Were bodies like the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce represented in the old Legislative Council before the general election?—There was a planting member.

144. Was there a representative of the Chamber of Commerce?—There was a Commercial member, yes.

145. So that type of advantages have all been continued in the Reformed Council?—Yes, to ensure that those interests were fully represented. Bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Planters' Association, the European Association and the Ceylon Estates Proprietary Association were consulted by the Governor before making these nominations.

146. Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Have there been any complaints by Hindus of their not being represented on this new Constitution?—No. You must remember that the Indian Peninsula which contains greater number of Hindus has non-cooperated.

147. Small communities have not?—No.

148. Have there been any cases of impersonation at the polling booths?—There have been a few cases of impersonation and conviction in the courts, but there have not been many.

149. Has the new system of elections conducted to purity in the elections?—I think it makes corruption very much more difficult.

150. Kindly tell me the population of the Indian Tamils of Ceylon?—Between 700,000 and 800,000.

151. Have any of their members been elected?—Two; one is now a Minister.

152. How many Indians are there who are not qualified under the domicile qualification?—It is impossible to say actually: it is large.

153. Most of this population are serving in the Tea and Coffee estates?—Mostly on the Tea estates. There are a certain number employed in some of the Government departments and elsewhere in Colombo.

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154. May I take it that these two Indian representatives are from the planting constituencies?—Yes.

155. You said that each polling station consists of various booths; that is that there are two or three divisions into which the voters are directed?—There may be more than one booth. In each polling station, there would be compartments for 1,000.

156. Do they get through the polling?—We found that they could ordinarily register about two votes a minute or three votes a minute; that is well over 1,000. Towards the end of the day they were very slack but we found no difficulty in getting through the votes.

157. Mr. Sivaratnam: Can you tell us the constitution of the population of the Indian Tamils in regard to the depressed classes?—No.

158. The Donoughmore Commission says most of the Indian Tamils are of the depressed classes?—I think that is taken to be accurate.

159. Can you tell us what is the number?—No.

160. Out of the two Indian Tamil members, is either a member of the depressed classes?—That I cannot say. I believe they are sons of a head Kanganai. I think it is doubtful whether either belongs to the depressed classes.

161. Mr. Butler: The villagers were accustomed to have suffrage before?—No.

162. The Ceylon Commission report says so?—Yes, as regards local option.

163. It is therefore no novelty to have suffrage?—No.

164. How was that conducted?—By a show of hands.

165. Was it universal or was there a village Committee in every village?—In every sub-division.

166. And so the voters were thoroughly conversant with the idea of voting?—The voting was by show of hands. We are always asking for an amendment of the Village Committee law. The village committees have not been going on for very long and the voting by show of hands has been a farce. There is no similarity between that procedure and the procedure at a general election.

167. There was no list?—No. The people merely turned up and grouped themselves and it was most terribly difficult to count them; and it is not always possible to say that they were all entitled to vote. People may come from other villages. It is not satisfactory.

168. On your territorial basis are you satisfied that the special interests are represented?—The question answers itself when you look at the constitution of the Council.

169. The Chairman: Can you give us a rough analysis of the Council?—There are Tamil seats in the north vacant. They would have been filled but they have non-cooperated. There are 3 Tamil members one of whom represents a purely Tamil district; in fact two of them represent purely Tamil districts; and the third is an independent Labour man in Colombo. There are 2 Indians, 1 Muhammadan and the remainder are Singhalese.

170. How many of those are elected and how many are nominated?—Those are entirely elected. Out of the nominated members there are 4 Europeans, 2 Burghers, one Indian and one Muhammadan. I am afraid I forgot there are 2 European elected members.

171. Mr. Butler: Are you sure that Tamil and Labour are properly represented?—Yes, with the nominated members they are.

172. And without the nominated members?—No, they would not be properly represented.

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173. Dr. Ambedkar: What was the necessity for maintaining the literacy qualification?—It was kept in order to ensure that nobody who had already had a vote lost it.

174. Under adult suffrage he would still have a vote?—No; some European members may not have the necessary residential qualification.

175. Government would protect those who do not come under the domiciliary qualification?—Yes.

176. Then that would disappear in time?—No, not necessarily.

177. In the polling booths there are no special means of identifying the voters as being the persons who are entitled to vote?—We have only his word for it unless he is challenged by the polling agent. The Presiding Officer, if he has reason to suppose he is not the man, can make him sign a declaration. If it is a false declaration he is liable to be punished for it.

178. You have no such thing as a ballot paper as we have in India with the names of all candidates appearing on one paper?—No.

179. You hand over to the voter a plain card?—Yes.

180. And he can drop that into any box?—Yes.

181. Does not that system lead to a certain amount of confusion in counting the votes?—They are not mixed up. Every box is locked and sealed; a tape is passed through a couple of holes and brought over and sealed on the outside. For the purpose of counting, that box is opened in the presence of the candidates and all one candidate's votes are counted before the next box is opened. They are sealed and marked and put into a packet.

182. And put back into the box?—No; they are taken out and stamped with the person's name on it.

183. Before it is counted each card is stamped?—The ballot box is brought out and opened in the presence of candidates and each paper is handed to the clerk and stamped with the name of the candidate. There is one Officer who examines it and sees that it is our proper ballot paper. There are separate bunches; each bunch has a separate mark. He scrutinises that and then they are tied in bundles and kept together in one particular box under the eye of the Returning Officer.

184. On the paper there does appear some sort of mark to show it is genuine?—Yes. One mark is put in the counterfoil and given to the voter and the other is retained.

185. What test do you apply for ascertaining that he has the English literacy?—I have never known of a test being applied.

186. The mere fact that he says he is literate is sufficient?—It can be challenged. We never set them an examination. You must remember that the standard of literacy is pretty high.

187. There is no specific test?—No; he must be able to read, write and speak the English language. I do not think any candidate has ever been asked whether he could read, write or speak.

188. Lord Dufferin: In the polling for women, when it is done in the day are they any slower?—No, they are equally quick.

189. You never have two elections going on at the same time in Ceylon? You don't use the same machinery for the two?—We were carrying out on each of those days elections in two different constituencies. I actually had six elections to conduct.

190. You don't have the Council voters and the Assembly voters at the same time?—We have only got a single chamber.

191. That would make it more difficult. It would mean that the Presiding Officer would have to take a more active part in helping the voters, once here and then on to another set and back again?—That would complicate matters.

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192. You lay stress on the oath of secrecy which your presiding officers take?—Yes, and all members of the staff.

193. Do you think that in India where you have to hold two elections at the same time, if the Presiding Officer takes the oath of secrecy it will sufficiently preserve the secrecy of the ballot, if he remains in the polling booth all the time in order to help the voters to distinguish between the two sets of ballot boxes?—I am afraid I should not be prepared to express an opinion on that.

194. You do see the difficulty?—Yes.

195. Do you think an Assistant Presiding Officer is absolutely necessary?—He is very useful. You do have your two clerks heavily engaged. You have no sort of direction cards to tell them where to go and the Assistant Presiding Officer being a man of intelligence does whatever is necessary to help these people.

196. How did you apply the test of literacy to the voters in the old days?—I doubt if the test was applied. I am not sure, but I presume it was left to anybody to object to them.

197. It was left to the agent to say?—(Mr. Kaufmann): I have been present when new names have been added to the old list and I have heard the objections and have dealt with them.

198. How is the original list formed?—I don't know.

199. Mr. Chintamani: Will you kindly tell me how long your constitution has been in force?—From July 9th last year.

200. Can you say whether in this short period the anticipations of the Denoughmond Commission with regard to franchise have been fulfilled?—Can you tell me, Mr. Chintamani, what particular anticipations you refer to. I should say quite definitely that it has resulted in Labour getting a representation which it did not get before. I do not want to give the impression that there is a large Labour problem in Ceylon because there is not; but labour—industrial labour—has got representation which it had not before and I think measures for the relief of unemployment have been taken which would not have been taken in the old Council. I do not want to express an opinion whether these measures are judicious or not but I think it is certain that the measures taken would not have been taken by the old Council; and in general I should say that the increase in the size of the electorate has made members as a whole (whether members of the Labour party or not) take, possibly, a greater interest than before in what may be termed "the under-dog".

201. What effect have their recommendations had with territorial electorates? Do they properly, or otherwise, represent the minorities?—Well, they anticipated a gradual progress. It was not anticipated that it would happen in the first election but in course of time.

202. Has indirect election ever been in force in Ceylon?—Not in modern times.

203. You said that in Ceylon there is only a single chamber. Can you say whether you felt the need for a second chamber in Ceylon?—I am afraid I would rather not answer it.

204. You have given us the benefit of your views. Are we to understand that they are your personal views or the views of your Government?—What I have already expressed relate to matters of fact. I scarcely expressed any views. If I had expressed any views, they may be taken as personal.

205. Can you say whether the Ceylonese people would share such views as you have expressed?—As regards the success of the method adopted, I would say most certainly.

206. Would you also mind telling us whether your work in Ceylon has been confined to towns or has extended to rural areas?—It is confined

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[Continued.]

to Colombo. I went to Ceylon as Colonial Secretary. I have not got first hand knowledge of rural areas.

207. Would you have any objection to the publication of your opinion?—I cannot at the moment recollect anything that I have said which is sufficiently indiscreet that I would prefer it not to be published. One expression I used which I would rather qualify now. On the question as to whether the voter knew what he was voting about, I answered with a blank negative. I would rather prefer it not to be published. I would rather qualify it.

208. Mr. Miller: What was the system of voting before the new suffrage?—It was the system in which the ballot paper was marked, and the votes counted accordingly.

209. Are there depressed classes in Ceylon?—Yes, to a very moderate extent up in the north.

210. Have they any representation in the Legislature now?—The districts in which they exist are not represented at all because they boycotted the elections.

211. I think you said that the European Association nominated some Europeans for the Legislature. Is it so?—The four European members were not actually nominated by the Association. But we consulted the association in the matter.

212. So that you consider that the Europeans should have representation as such apart from representation through the general electorate?—I think it is the industries that need representation rather than Europeans as such.

213. But you consulted the European Association?—Yes.

214. It is a political body?—Yes.

215. The members in the Council now are members of the European Association?—They are. But there is nothing in their membership which implies that they represent the European Association.

216. Mr. Tambur: What was the percentage of voters who voted before the new constitution was introduced?—I am afraid I cannot tell you.

217. Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque: I take it that in reply to our Chairman's question you said that the franchise is entirely on a territorial basis, and you have no special representation of the landlords, the university, Europeans, Trade and Commerce, as such, in your Ceylon constitution. So far as election matters go, you would not recognise the interests of any classes?—There are 50 territorial seats and 8 nominated seats. There are no communal seats, no university seats, no landlord seats.

218. Is the problem of landlord versus tenant acute in Ceylon?—Not so acute as in India.

219. You have just given us the idea that the Mussalmans are rather scarce in Ceylon. Is that right?—No. They are in the eastern province and a part of the northern province. There are considerable numbers of them elsewhere, but they are very much scattered.

220. Your opinion about the last election is that so far as that constituency is concerned in which a Mussalman was returned, the election was fought decidedly on a communal issue?—I should say so.

221. Is there any indication that this communal issue will be discounted in the future elections, or are the future elections likely to be fought on the same lines in that particular district or part you speak of?—I must say that certainly they will be fought on the same ground.

222. How many towns are there in Ceylon?—That rather depends on your definition of a town.

223. Have you any municipalities there?—Three municipalities.

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224. How many towns are there with more than 5,000 population?—(Mr. Kaufmann): Quite a large number. There are three municipalities and a number of Urban District Councils.

225. What was the maximum number of candidates in any one constituency?—Six.

226. What are the general classes that come to the Council? Are they lawyers, landlords, planters? What are their vocations generally?—I could not tell you without looking at the list as to how many lawyers and others there are. But there are a considerable number of lawyer members. We have two or more doctors, an ex-Chancellor of the Supreme Court.

The Chairman: Shall I read out the list? Two engineers, one staff master, two retired gentlemen, two doctors, one bank shroff, one priest, one civil service man, 23 lawyers and 13 landed proprietors. I got it from the State Council List, from the "Ceylon Daily News".

227. Major Atcher: Would you say that the introduction of adult franchise has given great satisfaction to the people of Ceylon?—Yes.

228. In your view would there be any material difference between the general sense of discrimination exercised by the adults of Ceylon as compared with that which may be exercised by the adults in India?—I think there would be this difference that in India the constituency would be very much larger and the possibility of the candidate being known is less. The percentage of voters who know something of the candidate personally would probably be smaller.

229. Would that affect the general horse sense?—I may say distinctly it is difficult to exercise horse sense about a man of whom you know nothing.

230. You think there would be much greater difficulty in bringing even those very general issues before the people?—I should say the larger the constituency the greater the difficulty, and I would say that it is not a question of bringing general issues before the voter. It is a question very largely of personality. I could say quite definitely that in a majority of cases in Ceylon there was no definite political issue in the minds of the majority of voters.

231. You say that personality would count rather than political issues?—Yes. I think I have read something on this matter in a report, from which I may quote. It says that scarcely any voter voted for a policy. Most of them voted for the person whom they liked on account of his character, record, influence, community, caste or religion, a few exceptions notwithstanding. Those were the various things that would be taken into account. I do not mean to say that caste or religion plays an overwhelming part, but it is a man's character and influence.

232. Except for the fact that a larger number of people would have to be given that information, would it make any difference between adult suffrage over a large area and franchise given to a restricted number of people also extending over the same area?—Except that, as I presume, the restricted class would have a wider general knowledge. They are people who are more likely to know something about the man.

233. Not necessarily, surely?—That class would be more likely to have knowledge of some general issue and to be influenced by what they were told were the views of the candidate.

234. All that depends on the qualification attached to that restricted class?—Yes.

235. By having adult franchise you get away from a good many administrative difficulties in the matter of qualifications, those who should go on the roll and so on?—Unquestionably.

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[Continued.]

236. Is there any registration of births in Ceylon?—Yes.

237. For how many years has it been in existence?—For a great many years.

238. You had no difficulty in working adult franchise in ascertaining the age of a man?—There would be very little difficulty in deciding any objection on that score. We do not ask a man when he applies. The facts stated in the application for registration are assumed. But the registering officer has the power, of course, to make an enquiry if he has reason to doubt the facts.

239. You publish the list, and the agents of the candidates presumably take objection before the authorities in any cases in which the required qualification does not exist. Is it not so?—Any person who is entitled to register his name can object. I may say that in the case of one particular class of people, enquiries were made. It was the case of the Indian Tamils who claimed a domiciliary qualification. Enquiries were made as far as possible to ascertain whether they had a *prima facie* claim.

240. There is no difficulty in ascertaining about those who are on the register?—No. I may say the number of objections was very small indeed.

241. You have had only one election under the new constitution?—Yes.

242. Do you imagine that as time goes on, the electors would be better acquainted with the general issues, procedure and so on?—Yes. But there was very little difficulty this time. The smooth working of the machinery was remarkable and it was very much smoother than any of us anticipated it would be.

243. What is the average area of a constituency in Ceylon?—It varies very considerably.

244. Was there any difference in the number of people who went to the poll as between urban and rural areas?—The percentage was higher in the rural areas, I think.

244A. On the matter of staff you have not said how many policemen would be attached to a polling booth?—In any particular area the police were kept outside the polling station, merely to deal with traffic on the roads. Outside we keep the enclosure absolutely clear so that there may be every facility for the voters.

244B. You found that satisfactory?—Yes.

245. In England usually there are two policemen directing the people round?—We had our direction clerks to assist the voters.

246. Do you pay presiding officers and polling clerks something for their day's work?—As overtime a small amount is paid to the clerks. The lady assistant presiding officers were given a fee but nobody else. The others are given only the ordinary travelling allowance.

247. With regard to presiding officers, are they all civil servants?—They are civil lists officers or gazetted officers.

248. How far down the scale do they go in point of position or salary?—We actually take almost all. Perhaps a few are omitted. But, generally speaking, we call on anybody among them.

249. You do this for three Saturdays in succession?—Saturday, Wednesday and the next Saturday. There is a point I had not made clear before. We had a presiding officer who presided on Saturday, somewhere else on Wednesday and at a third place on the next Saturday.

250. At what periods are your elections held?—Once in five years.

251. You do not anticipate any difficulty with regard to the disorganization of work by taking practically all your officials for this work?—Not at all serious.

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(Continued.)

252. Supposing you wanted additional presiding officers, would there be others available? Honorary magistrates could be utilised?—We always keep certain reserves.

253. Can you give a comparative list of officers, as compared with those in India?—Yes.

254. With regard to registration, the only objection or complaint you have is that political parties organise and engineer registration in bulk?—And I should say that it is quite possible that there was a considerable amount of duplicate registration. I have to mention one point in that connection. In the first instance the registration application form contained a statement to the effect that the applicant for registration had not previously signed any application form and there was a note on the back of the form saying that anybody who made a false statement would be liable to penalty. The candidates very strongly objected to this because they thought that the mere inclusion of a penalty on the back of the form would frighten many people from applying for registration. So we finally approved an altered form in which he may say either that he had not signed a form previously or that he had sent in an application previously but received no acknowledgment. This made it possible for a person to apply for registration possibly three or four times, and it would be impossible to prove that he actually received an acknowledgment and there was a considerable amount of duplicate registration. I think nearly 5,000 duplicate registrations were discovered in Colombo alone.

255. Normally there would not be any objection to duplicate registration. Your objection was that the political parties got hold of the voters. Suppose you organise registration on a more geographical form, by streets, as it is done in villages. Could you not get over it?—There are numbers of cases of names in which you get duplication. It is impossible to be quite sure that you avoided duplicate registration altogether.

256. Even though you have the system of registration, there are quite a large number remaining unregistered?—That is so.

257. What is the percentage of those who have not been registered?—About 60 per cent. of the total number of persons who should have been registered, have not been registered.

258. Would it be possible to make it obligatory on the electors to attend some Government office and sign in an appropriate form?—It is going rather too far to make it a penal offence not to register oneself.

259. I am not suggesting that. Your main objection to this was that political parties organise the people and get papers signed by them?—Yes.

260. What would happen if the electors were made to attend at a Government Office?—That would be very strongly objected to on the ground that it would be preventing people in remote places from registering.

261. Can you suggest any means whereby the bulk of registration might be done away with?—The only means that we can think of is to make registration automatic as it were.

262. Has there been any complaint that registration has not been done automatically?—The Donoughmore Commission decided that it should not be. There was a considerable demand on the part of the candidates that it should be done automatically.

263. Has that demand died down?—I have heard nothing of it since the last election. It is quite possible that it will reappear before the next elections.

264. With regard to facilities for women voters, I understand that there was provision for this only when there was a demand from the candidate?—

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Generally these were provided only at places where there was a large Muslim section.

265. The Chairman: Do you mean to say that there were separate polling booths?—In cases where the number was very large there were separate polling booths.

266. Major Milner: For women as distinct from Muslim women?—There were separate voting compartments for women always and in some cases there were separate polling stations.

267. On what basis is a separate polling station provided?—(Mr. Kaufmann): It is a question of numbers. Wherever the numbers justified it, there were separate polling stations for women.

268. You did that without any request from anybody?—Yes.

269. Now you have a number of special interests represented by nominated members?—Yes, there are 8 nominated seats.

270. And labour is not one of these special interests?—No. There was no necessity for it.

271. Why not?—Because there are three members of the Labour party in the Council and one independent labour member.

272. Is it not laid down by law as to what nomination there shall be?—No.

273. By way of reservation?—The Governor is allowed to nominate up to eight members and he makes that nomination after the final result of the election is known.

274. In that way he will redress any sort of balance that may have to be made up?—That is the idea.

275. There is only one labour member representing Colombo?—There are three in Colombo and one from outside Colombo. There are other members, also who, though they are not calling themselves members of the labour party, have taken considerable interest in labour organizations in the past.

276. That may be, but the members of the labour party properly so-called are 3 in number. Are they not?—There are three members of the Council who call themselves members of the Labour party and one independent labour member. When I speak of the Labour party, I speak of the party which calls itself the Labour party. I mean we have not got really fully developed parties yet, of any kind.

277. There are, at any rate, three labour members. How many members are there who might be said to be representing capital?—Would it be fair to say that the other 47 represent capital?—No. There are 23 lawyer members in the Council.

278. Well, as a rule do they not represent capital?—I would say, not. I would say, one or two lawyer members are exceedingly keen on labour questions.

279. You referred to the group system which I think has been in vogue in some villages. Would matters have been improved if there had been an electoral list and they were grouped in geographical areas?—That is under consideration. It presents great many difficulties. But we are considering whether it would be a good thing to arrange for lists of voters as an alternative to the present show-of-hand system.

280. Dittu Bahadur Ramiswami Mudaliyar: Are there urban constituencies among the 50 territorial constituencies?—Most of the urban district councils are parts of a general constituency.

281. That I understand. I suppose you have not picked out a municipality or an urban district council separately?—There are three constituencies which are practically wholly within the Colombo municipality.

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There are two which are entirely within the Colombo municipality and one which is part of the Colombo municipality and the neighbouring urban district council.

282. But, barring Colombo, there is no urban constituency at all? They are mixed up with the general rural areas?—There are some which are purely urban.

283. With reference to the nominations of candidates for election, what is the interval between nomination day and election day in Ceylon?—Not less than 4 weeks and not more than 8 weeks.

284. Am I to understand that nominations for different constituencies can be made on different dates?—No. There is only one nomination day for the whole island.

285. You have fixed one single day for nomination for the whole island, but you are taking 4 to 8 weeks for arranging for the elections afterwards?—It varies with the places. It could not be less than 4 weeks and it should not be more than 8 weeks.

286. May I take it that the allotment of colours to candidates is done after the final withdrawal of candidates who have been nominated?—It is done when the nominations have been completed.

287. What is the time given for the withdrawal of nominations?—No candidate can withdraw his nomination after 1 o'clock which is the time fixed for the receipt of the last nomination paper.

288. I do not know whether I am clear. According to our electoral rules, a certain time is allowed for the withdrawal of such of the candidates as are inclined to do so. The final list of valid nominations is only published thereafter. Am I to understand that there is no such procedure in Ceylon?—No.

289. When is the scrutiny done?—Immediately after the nomination.

290. Am I to understand that nominations have to be made within a particular time on a particular day?—Between 10 and 1.

291. Soon after 1 o'clock scrutiny of valid nominations is made?—What do you mean by scrutiny of valid nomination?

292. The returning officer receives the nomination papers from candidates?—Yes.

293. He then has to make up a list of valid nominations. Has he not got to do that?—Directly a nomination paper is received, he has got to paste it up outside the office room.

294. When does he declare whether a nomination paper is valid or invalid?—I should have to just look up my papers to answer this.

295. I am only desirous of knowing whether the colours are allotted to the candidates after the final list of nominations?—After the list of nominations has been made out.

296. Is there any objection to any particular colour being allotted to any party as such apart from individual candidates? Has any such occasion arisen or, if it arises in future, will there be any objection to it?—It is entirely left to the returning officer. The candidates are allowed to choose their own colour if they want. If any candidate wants a particular colour the returning officer will let him have it unless another candidate wants that particular colour.

297. But if a party is running a number of candidates and instead of each member of that party applying to his returning officer to allot him the colour which his party might have decided upon having, cannot that party apply to the Chief Secretary, for instance, to allot all the members of that party the particular colour they want?—No.

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[Continued.]

The Chairman: It is not occurring in England.

(Sir Bernard Bourdillon): The only person who can allot a colour is the returning officer.

298. Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar: May I know whether the agents of candidates are seated in the polling booths?—I have got a plan* which I can hand over.

299. As regards Lord Dufferin's question about the oath of secrecy for a presiding officer, you do administer the oath of secrecy, but neither the presiding officer nor his assistant are really in a position to say how the votes have been cast?—No.

300. Except to a slight extent when the presiding officer, for purposes of checks, goes to the cubicle?—Yes.

301. Suppose there were Council elections and Assembly elections held together, by having one ballot box to the right of the presiding officer for the Council elections and one ballot box on his left for Assembly elections and the voters directed to go to one or the other. Would not this get over any difficulty?—I should say so.

302. Are there any permanently settled estates in Ceylon?—We have no land revenue.

303. Therefore the question of landholders as such does not arise there as a separate interest?—There are any number of privately-owned estates.

304. You said that Rs. 3 lakhs was your election expenses. May I know the total revenue of the island?—About Rs. 8,30,00,000.

305. Are there any Anglo-Indians in Ceylon?—There is the Burgher population which is supposed to be either of pure or mixed Dutch descent and there is a small Eurasian population.

306. Do you know their total number?—No, but their number is very small.

307. Mrs. Paul Apperamat: You have women gazetted officers in Ceylon and you are not appointing them as presiding officers in women's polling booths?—They would have been if they were available in the districts where they were wanted. Most of the lady gazetted officers are, however, employed in the Medical and Educational departments in Colombo. It is very likely that all the available ladies would have been employed.

308. Do you think there is much chance of a woman being elected to the Council?—There is one lady member elected to the Ceylon Council.

309. Do you have any reserved seats among the nominated seats for more women?—We have not so far nominated any woman.

310. Mr. Muthiah Madaliyar: You said that there was duplication of registration of 5,000 voters in the Colombo area?—About that.

311. What is the total number of voters in that area?—In the three Colombo constituencies the total number of registered voters altogether was about 150,000.

312. And you think that about 5,000 of them or 4 per cent. of the total number was duplicated?—Yes.

313. You say that 1,800,000 are enfranchised on the whole?—Duplications would be considerable. They were eliminated before arriving at the total number. It is impossible to say what number of duplications there were. About 5,000 were detected in Colombo before the list was made up.

* 314. The adult population may be taken to be roughly half of the total population and it comes to about 2,500,000—A little over 2½ millions.

* Not printed.

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315. About 1½ millions are registered?—The number not registered would be about a million.

316. These million voters are not very keen to go on the electoral roll?—They do not care about it.

317. You say that the candidates press them to get registered?—Yes.

318. Supposing it is not done, what would happen?—Their number would be very small.

319. In answer to a question by the Chairman you said that the voters may stay inside the cubicle too long. What would they do inside?—There was one instance where probably as a result of a long stay a wedge was found put in the ballot box. There were one or two instances where the ballot papers had not been put into the box, but put on the top of the box.

320. For a polling area there are 500 or 600 voters?—Yes.

321. Do you expect the candidates' agents to be able to identify all the voters?—No.

322. If false personation takes place, will it be possible for the candidates' agents to find it out?—The fact will be noticed and the danger realised only when the right man turns up afterwards.

323. How can you detect these things in time? A wrong man may come any number of times and escape detection?—If a wrong man comes two or three times I would expect the presiding officer, if he is an intelligent man, to get him.

324. Mr. Rutherford: What is the area in Ceylon which corresponds to one Indian district?—There are nine provinces.

325. These provinces correspond to our districts?—They correspond to what in Northern India are called divisions. We have nine provinces or 17 districts.

326. 17 districts with a population of 5½ millions compared with the 47 millions that we have?—Yes.

327. On the average, how many gazetted officers are there in each district?—It would vary considerably. In the provincial headquarters there will be Government Agents and one or two assistants, a provincial engineer, a provincial surgeon and a few agricultural and irrigation officers.

328. Would you give me a rough estimate of the number of these gazetted officers?—I cannot say anything offhand. There will probably be about nine to ten.

329. In the provincial headquarters there will be more?—If a district is a headquarter district there will be more. In provincial headquarters there will be about 20.

330. You say that you have about 20,000 Government servants in Ceylon?—Yes.

331. Is the rate of pay higher there than in India?—20,000 includes all the clerical services. Out of that number, about 5,500 are teachers and about half of the remainder will be educational, medical and police officers.

332. Will all these 20,000 officers be drawing more than Rs. 50 each?—It is difficult to say that.

333. In this presidency we employ as polling officers men drawing Rs. 50 and even less?—A considerable number of this 20,000 are police officers.

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334. Can you give us an idea of the number of officers of all grades available for this work?—I could get that information if you let me know definitely what you want. But there is no doubt that the number of officers available will be more there.

335. You have separate boxes for women?—Yes.

336. It would be possible then to detect the proportion of females?—Yes.

337. Do you have a system of identification there?—No.

338. If a voter comes and says that he is so and so, who is there to identify him?—The village headman was deliberately kept out of the election as far as possible.

339. So there is no system of identification of voters?—No.

340. And the presiding officer has only to exercise general supervision?—He has no definite duties.

341. Dissanayake Venkataswamy Naidu: Who gets these 5 nominated places?—2 seats are filled by Burghers, 1 by a Hindu and 1 by a Muhammadan.

342. For the preparation of electoral rolls, village officers have been excluded?—Yes.

343. And all these rolls are made up at the instance of the respective candidates?—That is the exact thing.

344. If the district and village officers were engaged in the preparation, etc., of the roll it would not add to the administrative work or any extra expenditure?—It would add to the administrative work. If that was done by the officials, they would have to go round to register everybody. It would add considerably to the work.

345. Would it not add to the smooth working of the system of voting if that expenditure was incurred by Government?—It was the definite recommendation of the Donoughmore Commission that that should not be done.

346. You said that a voter will take about 2 minutes to put in his vote. I don't think so. I said that the polling officer will have to put in three ballot papers in a minute.

347. May I know the total number of votes recorded at a particular polling station by an officer? My idea in putting this question is to know how many sections a chief Polling Officer would be able to administer?—We regarded three units of a thousand as normal—about 3,000 votes.

348. Working between 8 A.M. and 5 P.M.—1 hour 8 to 5.

349. With an interval of one hour?—No.

350. You do not have an interval?—No.

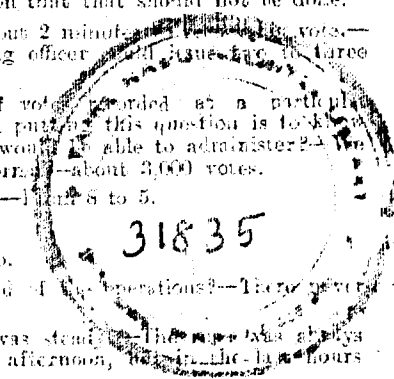
351. There is not much rush at the end of the operations?—There never was.

352. The number of people coming in was steady?—The number was always in the morning. There was some in the afternoon, but in the last hours there was practically no voter.

353. Mr. Sarter: I understand that you have property qualification for the vote still?—Yes. I don't know how many people were registered under the property qualification, but they were very very few.

354. How do you provide for a joint family? Does more than one member have a vote?—It is an individual property qualification. As a matter of fact that property qualification is practically of no importance whatsoever.

355. The Chairman: If there is a joint family with a big property naturally one man will be registered and the rest would go in on the ordinary basis. If he was anxious to have more than one vote there is no doubt that part of the property will be made over to the other member.



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355. Mr. Scutler: I wanted to know whether one man would be registered or every man in the family would be registered?—I am afraid that question does not arise to the same extent in Ceylon.

357. When do you revise the roll?—Every year. There again, it is simplified by the fact that it is not the duty of the revising officer to add names. It is only his duty to cut out names, those who have died or have gone elsewhere. If any person wants to be registered, he has to apply.

358. Does the cost that you gave include the cost of the extra staff?—No extra staff is employed.

(Mr. Kaufmann): I might say that we have protested that it is not possible to do the work with the ordinary staff. This is a question which has not been settled.

359. Have you got any provision in your rules for the dissolution of the Council before the normal period?—Yes.

360. What is the provision?—The Governor may dissolve the Council any time, and he must dissolve it when there is a vote of no confidence.

361. As a consequence there will be a fresh election?—Yes.

362. You said you have no particular arrangement about identification?—No.

363. Suppose a second man comes up and he says I am so and so and my number is such and such. The polling officer looks up the list and finds that man has already voted?—He is given what is known as the 'tender' vote and those ballot papers are of a different colour. They are collected and kept separate for use in the event of an election petition.

364. As regards the Governor's right of nomination, is that limited by an instruction issued to him?—No.

365. He has got perfect liberty?—Yes. The only limitation is that he cannot nominate more than 8 but he need not nominate the full number.

366. Does he nominate before or after the election?—After the election. He may nominate at any time.

367. Even before the election?—He may if he wants to, but ordinarily he would not. It is important that he should nominate, if possible, before the first meeting of the Council in order to enable election to the Committees to take place and it is just possible that the nominated member will be selected as a Minister.

368. Could you tell me if there was any candidate who did not stand for election in the hope that he was going to be nominated?—I have one case in my mind where it might have possibly been the case. There was one case definitely in which I know, an European candidate was going to stand for election but he did not. He did a certain amount of electioneering. The doctors advised him that his health was not good enough. He was subsequently nominated.

369. As regards the appointment of officers for the polling work, have you considered the question of the appointment of non-officials?—It would be very expensive.

370. Is that the only reason?—I think, the general feeling was that the employment of officials was more satisfactory.

371. Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Do you charge any fee for registration?—No.

372. Do you insist upon candidates making any deposits?—Yes.

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373. What are the conditions for the forfeiture of the deposit?—If a candidate fails to poll $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total number of votes. Rs. 1,000 is the deposit.

374. As regards the system of coloured boxes, we are proposing to experiment with that system. You said that you had no cases of colour-blind people?—I can't say. No cases came to my notice.

375. Are there any rules for the colour-blind people. How do they drop the card?—The Presiding Officer can drop it in.

376. In the presence of the candidate?—It would be in a cubicle. Nobody is allowed to go in there.

377. Candidates' agents are not allowed to go in?—No one except the voter and the presiding officer is allowed to go into the polling booth.

378. May I know the reasons which compelled you to adopt the coloured box system. What was the condition that existed previously?—The old electorate was literate. We were dealing with a 50 per cent. illiterate electorate.

379. There was no provision under the old rules which compelled a polling officer to record an elector's vote when he said that he could not read and write?—No.

380. We have got a system in which there is a provision that if a man goes to the polling officer and says that he cannot read and write, the polling officer ascertains his wishes, as to which candidate he is voting for, and in the presence of the candidate and his agent, marks the ballot paper according to his wishes and puts it in the ballot box?—We had no illiterate voters under the old franchise.

381. You say that a polling officer could issue about 2 to 3 ballot papers a minute under this system. I should like to know what was your experience under the old system of marking the ballot paper?—I am afraid I can't give you the exact number. It would be very much lower.

382. You have got elections in the municipal areas?—Yes.

383. Have you got in municipal areas anything like multi-membered constituencies?—Yes.

384. Do you adopt this coloured box system in municipal areas?—No. At present they have got a restricted franchise. They have got some educational qualification.

385. May I take that a very much larger proportion of the population has been enfranchised for the Council purposes than for municipal and local board purposes?—One is about 4 per cent. and the other is 100 per cent.

386. Mr. Sivaram: In your State Council have the Indian and European Commerce been able to secure a place through the general constituency?—No. But one Indian elected member is to a certain extent connected with commercial interests.

387. The elected member may put forth views which may not be acceptable to the merchants outside. Do they advocate the cause of the merchants irrespective of other causes?—You mean to ask if an elected member elected to represent commercial interests would represent those interests as well as a member nominated to represent those interests. I should say so. But, I should like to make it clear that even nominated members do not consider themselves to be merely representing the interests for which they have been selected.

* The Chairman: We can't go into those details. We want to know from them about their franchise. Will you please restrict yourself to that?

388. Mr. Sivaram: I wanted to know whether he considers special representation for commerce and trade necessary?—I consider it most desirable that they should be adequately represented.

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[Continued.]

389. What is the time allowed for election in the event of a sudden dissolution?—The election has to take place within two months of dissolution.

390. The Chairman: How long do you take for the preparation of the roll, etc.? What is the total time taken to set the machinery functioning up to nomination?—Six weeks is the period during which voters have to send their applications for registration. The time for the certification of the register is not actually laid down, but it is about 3 months.

391. If you were responsible for registration how long would it take?—It will take longer.

392. It would take six months?—It would certainly take another month or six weeks.

393. You have no difficulty in getting buildings for the polling stations?—We have temporary buildings. There is not much difficulty.

394. Have you got an idea of the cost of election to the candidate?—I don't know what the average cost would be.

395. Are there any tea garden estates in Ceylon?—There is an Indian Tamil population of about 700,000 or 800,000. A large portion of that is on the tea estates.

396. And most of them come on the register?—The total number of Indians who were brought on the register this time was 100,000 and it is rather interesting that the percentage increase in the number of Indians enrolled under the new franchise was slightly greater than the total percentage increase.

397. You said that the politicians objected to the headmen. Why do they object?—Because there was always a good deal of talk that the headmen interfered to help one candidate and put down another. But, I think, we instructed the headmen themselves to explain to the villagers that they were not bound to vote for the candidates who had registered them.

398. How do you take a dead man off the roll?—That will be done by the headman.

399. How can they find out?—We first get our figures from the births and deaths register and mark the names.

400. There is a register of deaths?—Yes.

401. Sir John Kerr: How do you get the information about the change of residence?—From the headman. The revision of the roll is solely for the purpose of eliminating names and not for adding new names.

402. Major Milner: Are there any mills, factories, industrial establishments and things like that worth mentioning in Ceylon?—No.

The Chairman: Members may put any question to Sir Bernard Bourdillon about the conduct of the indirect system of election obtaining in Iraq.

403. I understand that the unit is 200 voters for the primary electors?—I think it was 250.

404. Can you tell us how the groups are formed?—They are formed on a geographical basis. In towns, the Mohallas are divided into streets by the Government officials. Then the groups are formed.

405. Who fixes the groups?—The officials.

406. Is the election conducted by ballot or informally?—I think it was by ballot. I have no actual experience of it.

407. Do you know whether there was nomination before or after?—My recollection is that there was nomination for secondary electors.

408. Did the system work well?—It was carried out in, what I may call, a rough and ready fashion.

409. There was no administrative difficulty in working that system?—There was no difficulty and it produced results.

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410. Were the results as desired by the people?—Well, there was no doubt that the Government, which was in power at the time the election took place, had a considerable following.

411. By what means?—It is the invariable habit of the ignorant elector to go to the nearest official and ask for whom the Government wanted him to vote. If he had no particular reason for not doing a thing, he will do it. If there was no sort of official business he would ask what the Government wanted him to do.

412. Major Milner: I understand that in Iraq the village notables keep the register?—There is a sort of headman system. The headman there is called a Mukhtar.

413. The rolls are made up by these people?—In the first election there was undoubtedly a suspicion that a good many of the names on the rolls were fictitious.

414. They voted by ballot?—I do not know what the method of voting was. I think it was voting by ballot.

415. Who supervises these things?—I am afraid I cannot tell you that.

416. Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque: May I know from you when this system was first put into operation?—It must have been in 1925 or 1926.

417. Can you tell us whether that system is still in vogue or has it been considerably modified?—As far as I know, the same system is prevailing. I do not know of any amendment to the Electoral Law. This Electoral Law is based to a certain extent on the Turkish Electoral Law.

418. Mr. Tambo: Did the absence of communal representation facilitate the elections?—There was considerable communal friction.

419. It did not prove to be a difficulty?—No, largely because the communal differences were strongest only between the Shi'ahs and Sunnis and they inhabit fairly well-defined tracts of the country. The whole of one electorate would be predominantly Shi'ah or predominantly Sunni. It must be remembered, however, that for the minority communities such as the Jews and Christians there was proportionate representation.

420. Do you think that this system will operate equally well here with separate communal electorates?—It is difficult to say, but I do not see why communal electorates should make any difference in regard to the operation of the indirect system. In what way do you anticipate difficulty?

421. There you did not have to organise groups on the basis of communal electorates. You had geographical areas?—Yes.

422. Suppose you had communal electorates, would you find it equally easy to work the system?—They were not single-membered constituencies. They were 4 or 5 membered constituencies with proportional representation. Take, for example, the Baghdad area, there would be perhaps 4 Muhammadan members, one Jew and one Christian. The four Muhammadans on the top of the polls would get elected, so also one Jew and one Christian. The whole electorate voted for both or all.

423. Mr. Chintamani: Are the candidates standing for election to the Council announced before the primary elections? I will explain myself. The groups of primary voters are formed months before the primary election. They may or may not know who the candidates are. What I want to know is whether the primary elections take place a little before the Council election or long before?—The grouping is a fixed grouping. It is not altered.

424. The Chairman: Mr. Chintamani wants to know how long before the election of the members is the primary election held?—Quite a short time before it.

425. Mr. Chintamani: So that when the primary elections take place they do not know who the candidates are who will be standing?—They have

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a sort of general idea as to who is likely to stand. But, as I said, there was no nomination of candidates. The secondary electors will vote for any of the five or six candidates whom they like.

426. I will now put my question in another form: Do you think the selection of a man for the Council is influenced by the wishes of the primary voters?—I should say, only slightly.

427. I should think that the primary voter simply votes for somebody he knows without any idea as to the person for whom the secondary electors would ultimately cast their votes?—I should say definitely that that is the case.

428. Mr. Butler: Will you please tell me whether the indirect system was successful in towns?—Yes.

429. It is easy to work this system in towns as well as in the rural areas?—Yes.

430. How do you make the groups in towns?—We have three or four groups in a Mohalla. It is probably easier to group in towns than in the country. But the towns may be prejudiced in favour of the direct system. From the geographical point of view, it would be easier to work the group system in the towns.

431. Villagers have to travel great distances in order to record their votes?—It would never be very great.

432. Mrs. Subbarayan: You say that women have taken no part in the elections?—They might have influenced their husbands' votes.

433. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan: Do the second elections take place immediately after the first?—I cannot say definitely.

434. Will they be held a month after the first?—I should say, it will be less.

435. Do you think that this indirect system will add to the stability of the Government to be formed after the election?—Yes. I think it will lead to stability for the reason which I mentioned, that the Government which was in power before would exercise considerable influence without using any illegitimate pressure on the voting. There was a tendency for the party in power to exercise this influence inevitably.

436. You are aware that in towns the adults outnumber the others?—No. That is not quite accurate. In this connection I may mention that in Turkey before this system was introduced there was conscription and, as people were unwilling to be enrolled for the army, the rolls then existing were not complete.

437. Mr. James: Have you got experience of the indirect election?—No.

438. What is the proportion of secondary electors to the total population?—One in 200 of the total number of voters.

439. What is the total population there?—The total population is something over 2 millions.

440. The country then must have an enormous area?—Yes. It is about 700 miles in length and about 300 miles broad in the widest part.

441. That being the case, the system of direct election would be rather difficult to practise?—Yes.

442. I wish to know the arrangements made for communal representation?—Mostly in Baghdad and Palestine there are so many Christians and Jews. These have five or six membered constituencies and every secondary elector writes down six names and, if the number of members to be elected is say, 4 Muhammadans, one Jew and one Christian, the first four Muhammadans, the first Jew and the first Christian topping the list will be declared elected.

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[Continued.]

443. Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar: In England, Government officials are allowed to stand for election?—Yes. I believe they are allowed to stand, but when they are elected, they have to resign their posts.

444. Do you think indirect election is really consistent with a democratic form of government? You do think it is a good system?—Yes.

445. You think that the direct system of election does not give you a democratic form of government?—No. That is only one broad feature of it.

446. So you do not think that the direct system was decided upon with the idea of giving a democratic government?—I would not say that at all.

447. Mr. Rutherford: You mentioned that the population is about 2,000,000. I find, however that in 1924-25 the total number of primaries was 961,000. You said that the number of officers available in Ceylon as polling and presiding officers is considerably greater than in India?—Yes. They are probably two to three times more there.

448. Will you give us a statement from the official records of Ceylon regarding the number of officers there in relation to the population of Ceylon?—I suppose you do not want me to take, for example, the headquarters staff alone. You want the official cadre in the districts together with the population.

449. The total of every department?—Yes.

450. You will give us the figures?—Yes.

451. Will you please exclude the police from the clerks and others?—Yes.

APPENDIX I.

The General Election, 1931.

The conditions in existence when preparations were begun for the holding of the first general election under the new Constitution were remarkable.

The new Constitution did not exist even in draft form; the proposed new Constitution was adumbrated generally in the Donoughmore Report and despatches. But there were many gaps in substance, to be filled as the work of implementing the Constitution in law and fact progressed. The normal plan would have been to draw up the Constitution, including the law governing elections, amend existing laws where necessary and then proceed with the executive work of installing the new Constitution by a general election and otherwise. This, however, would have meant a delay of several years and the heterodox procedure was adopted of framing the new law, of amending existing law and of implementing the Constitution in fact, all at the same time.

It was assumed that the Secretary of State would prepare and issue the chief Constitutional documents, including the election law. Experience proved the necessity of preparing these documents in Ceylon. The election law could not possibly be prepared by any person not aware of local conditions.

In order to avoid delay, it was decided to press on locally with the publication of an Order in Council to cover electoral procedure up to the preparation of the registers of voters, the rest of the documents to be prepared while registration of voters was being carried out. When it had been completed the rest of the Orders in Council providing for polling operations and the Constitution law proper were ready.

The public did not know till the final Orders in Council were published what exactly the details of the Constitution were to be, or the qualifications

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of members of the State Council, the details of the election law, etc. The public took a great many things on trust.

In framing the election law novel conditions had to be envisaged. About half the electorate were known to be illiterate. Most of the potential voters had never voted before and there was no executive machinery or trained staff except a small number who had taken part in elections where the electorate was literate, exclusively male and about 200,000 in number as against a possible 2,500,000 in 1931. Moreover, the staff and police available were insufficient in numbers.

My assistant, Mr. E. R. Sudbury, and myself had the same general ideas as to how things were to be done. Superficial, rapid work was to be eschewed and well discussed, well considered procedure devised, as being quickest in the long run and likely to prevent what was to be avoided at all cost, a breakdown in one or more electoral districts with consequent delay and administrative confusion. All contingencies that could be foreseen were to be provided for in advance, as prevention of mistakes was aimed at rather than recovery from them by heroic eleventh hour tours de force.

The registering and returning officers were given all possible help and guidance by written instructions, plans, etc., and the experience of previous elections was utilised, so far as it was applicable, and registering officers in the field were instructed at Colombo in the procedure decided upon and were afterwards visited by officers from headquarters.

Candidates, Legislative Councillors included, were greatly interested in election procedure, because, *inter alia*, they had no party system or party funds and they had to register their supporters and induce them to go to the polls. Their views were strongly expressed in the Legislative Council and the Government was not allowed to proceed without interference; but by mutual good will divergent points of view were reconciled without incurring unnecessary expense on over-elaborate arrangements, while a simple, practicable procedure was devised. The guiding principle of the officers responsible for the election was to keep down expenditure to the minimum and yet to make everything as easy as possible for ignorant voters and to protect them from canvassers and others preying on their ignorance or credulity.

In my opinion the unusual procedure adopted of acting in advance of the law would have broken down had not the officers in charge of the election been working in close contact and harmony with the Attorney General who was drafting the election law.

Electoral Districts.

A Commission defined the fifty electoral districts while the law governing the registration of voters was being prepared. As population was the main test in the delimitation of electoral districts existing provincial and Chief Headmen's administrative divisions had to be disregarded frequently. However, the Commissioners did not divide any superior Headmen's division into two or more parts in defining electoral districts. The result was that the rural people were not confused later when they had to poll. All those resident in a Korala's Udayar's or Vidane Arachchi's division could be instructed to vote at a certain polling station except in a very few cases where owing to their large size superior Headmen's divisions had to be divided into two registration areas.

However, the boundaries of these electoral districts and superior headmen's divisions were not always known on the ground especially where large tea, rubber and coconut estates existed, and *ad hoc* rough and ready definitions of boundaries had to be made on the ground as well as possible. The staff and money needed for scientific definition by surveys were not available and there was no time for such elaborate procedure.

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It is suggested however, that before 1935, an attempt be made if possible to define accurately on the ground the boundaries of electoral districts and of the registration areas within these electoral districts.

As the population of Ceylon in 1931 has proved to be about 5,200,000 and that of Colombo City about 285,000 and as the relative distribution of people does not appear to have been much altered since 1921 it does not seem likely that changes in the areas now set up as electoral districts will be needed so long as population is the main deciding factor.

Registration of electors.

The Donoughmore Commission recommended that "registration of voters should not be compulsory or automatic but should be restricted to those who apply for it". The Commissioners were probably not aware that candidates and their agents in practice carry out nearly all the registration of voters in Ceylon. In my opinion the registration should have been done by the Government Agents, a period being allowed for claims and objections as soon as the Government Agents had prepared preliminary registers of voters. I suggest that this be the system adopted if and when the election law is revised. In fact this procedure will have to be resorted to in the annual revision of registers, unless they are to be left encumbered with the names of those who have died or left the electoral districts concerned.

However, the scheme recommended was embodied in the law and provision was made for applications to register on printed forms supplied free of cost. The problem of the illiterate voter was met by allowing any person over 21 years of age to fill in a form for him. The forms were filled in by candidates' agents as a rule and were full of mistakes and omissions. But if they appeared to be substantially correct they were not rejected. In Ceylon the registration period is turned into a canvassing period and each candidate desires to register as many voters as possible, thereby flimsily imagining that he secures their votes.

The law, based on local knowledge, imposed a penalty on those who registered more than once, but the candidates resented this provision and a compromise was arrived at by which those who sent in forms were to receive post cards in acknowledgment, failing which they could send in a second form. This meant a large increase in work for the registering officers and the post cards seldom reached the voter as there is no house to house delivery in the country districts. The address given was frequently care of the candidate or his agent, the post card thus helping the candidate to secure the vote of the voter to whom he showed the official post card. But the greatest evil of this system was that it allowed canvassers to register a voter as often as they pleased, for it was easy to assert that no post card had been received. It is suggested that when the law is amended the sending of acknowledgments for registration forms be not insisted on especially as any person omitted can make a claim at the claims and objections period to have his name inserted on the register of voters. The law should not, in my opinion, promote the exploitation of the electorate.

A month before registration began, however, some 50,000 placards were displayed all over the Island giving simple instructions in English, Sinhalese and Tamil regarding registration and the public were warned not to register more than once. The result was that even ignorant people refused frequently to register more than once and that the "duplications" did not exceed some tens of thousands on this occasion. In Colombo City 4,970 duplicate applications were discovered.

The work at the claims and objections period was unexpectedly light. As about 32,000 persons were registered on the average in each electoral

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district and as most of them did not register themselves and were indifferent about the matter, and as the task of lodging claims and objections was too much for the organisation of candidates, few claims and objections were taken. Moreover, a provision of the law made it an offence to lodge frivolous objections. This provision was a boon to all concerned in a country where litigation is freely resorted to to secure success.

Some thousands of objections not based on knowledge of the fact were taken against Indian voters, but were withdrawn in all cases save two, as the objectors were told that exploratory objections might be deemed to be frivolous and vexatious.

The certificates of permanent settlement meant to enable those who were not certain that they had a Ceylon domicile, to secure the franchise was only used by a few hundred Indians. The introduction of the status of domicile as a qualification, especially in respect of nearly 1,000,000 Indians who come and go between India and Ceylon, caused a great deal of perplexity and might involve much unnecessary work and expense in future and lead to the disfranchisement of many Indians if opposition to their inclusion in voters' registers were properly organised. It is suggested that the domicile qualification might be removed when the election law is revised and the provisions about certificates of permanent settlement and that all persons resident in Ceylon for five years or longer be allowed to register as was suggested by the Donoughmore Commission.

The fifty registers finally contained 157,932 names or about 60 per cent. of the adult persons in Ceylon who are supposed to be about 2,650,000 in number.

There were 12,433 Indians registered in the Indian electorate under the old Constitution. In 1931 the number of Indians registered was about 100,574, an increase of 703 per cent., 33 per cent. of all persons of all communities registered as voters in 1931 were women. Prior to 1931 no woman had a vote.

The greatest credit is due to the Government Printer for printing all fifty registers containing 1,577,932 names and addresses in about three months. His staff worked in relays night and day during this period. Unfortunately he had to employ operators from India to do part of the work and they made many mistakes owing to their ignorance of local names. If the Government Press had not been equipped with modern machinery in 1930-31, the new Constitution would not have been introduced as early as July 9, 1931, and might not have been established by the end of the year.

The remodelling of the Government Press, though long overdue, was in fact one of the expensive tasks required to enable the new Constitution to be introduced and to function properly.

Nomination of Candidates.

When the election law is revised it is suggested that Article 31 of the Order in Council should be amended by altering the words "1 p.m." into "1-30 p.m." to bring that Article into line with Article 28 (2) which allows objections to be taken up to 1-30 p.m.

Polling Stations.

Some candidates tried to induce the Government to dot the country with polling stations as they despaired of inducing the voters registered by them to come to the polls, or of being able to convey them all to the polls should the voters have to travel any distance. The authorities fixed a five-mile radius as a general maximum for polling stations though most voters had to travel a much shorter distance. On the other hand in sparsely populated places they had to travel a longer distance.

SELECTIONS FROM MEMORANDA AND ORAL EVIDENCE.

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[Continued.]

In 1924 there were 152 polling stations for the territorial electorates, in 1931 there were 725 in all and 572 for the 37 contested seats. Most of the recurrent expenditure on elections will be on polling stations and the staff and Police employed thereat, whose travelling expenses owing to the large numbers employed, will amount to a very large sum. Probably very few changes in the sitting and number of polling stations fixed in 1931 will be required in future, though candidates may press for an increase in the number of stations.

Each station had polling booths, one as a rule for every 1,000 names on the register of voters. Proposals to have a fixed maximum of voters for each station seem to be uncalled for. If the buildings and space are available inside and around the station and if the number of voters living close by is large there is no need to set up two stations instead of one. The real object of the proposals was to reduce the size of the registration areas and to increase the number of the latter each having its own polling station, the distance which voters would have to travel being thus reduced. The proposals regarding the number of polling stations were due to the desire to take the stations to the voters as the voters might not come to the stations. But the objection to this plan was the heavy cost involved and the dearth of staff and Police.

Rent had to be paid for the use of assisted schools and even of Government land given to Clubs at a nominal rent in a few cases. The law, as in England, should prescribe for the free use of such schools, the Government guaranteeing the owners against loss by damage caused by the polling.

The erection of temporary stations was a heavy item of expenditure. In some places this expenditure cannot be avoided, but in Colombo and some other places where buildings exist, every effort should be made to secure their use for a fee. Six temporary stations erected in Colombo cost Rs. 2,880.

There were 1,524 voting compartments in the 37 contested electoral districts. They were necessitated by the system of voting by colours secretly in the compartments. Proposals to have permanent portable compartments, capable of being folded do not appeal to me. Whatever the material used, it would be likely to perish rapidly in some improvised store, while rust would attack hinges. The capital expenditure involved in making such cubicles to be used possibly not oftener than once every three or four years does not seem to me to be justifiable. Temporary cubicles made of bamboo and cadjan or jute hessian and borrowed furniture for polling stations were generally used in 1931. As part of the campaign to dot the country with polling stations, it was argued that 1,000 voters could not possibly be put through a polling booth between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. The fact that tests proved the contrary had no effect on persons trying to find arguments for the establishment of smaller registration areas. The actual polling proved that where there is no marking of papers, 1,000 registered voters even if they all voted can easily poll between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. These hours seem to be very suitable and, in my opinion, in the public interest should not be shortened, even though it was found in most cases that the voters could poll in a much shorter time. In 1931 no voter who appeared before 5 p.m. was shut out and no case has been reported of any voter appearing at a station after 5 p.m. Most of the polling stations were practically idle in the afternoon of the polling day.

Polling.

Apart from the detailed instructions issued to the election officials, rehearsals of polling were held to train the staff and the chief officers concerned exchanged views and discussed possible difficulties at conferences, doubtful points being referred to headquarters.

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[Continued.]

Some 50,000 placards in English, Sinhalese and Tamil giving simple instructions to the public were posted up all over the country a month or so before the polling. They were a great success in educating ignorant voters as to the method of voting, the secrecy of the ballot, dangers of corrupt practices, the difference between registration and voting, etc. These placards largely undermined the malpractices of some candidates and their agents during the registration period including the falsehoods intended to mislead ignorant voters.

Furthermore, the placards informed voters that the election staff would be courteous to them and nothing was more noticeable at the polls than the way in which ignorant voters obviously regarded the election staff as their friends. Voters also realised that whatever promises were extracted from them by canvassers, they were free to vote as they liked when they entered the cubicles.

The friendly, helpful spirit of the staff was reciprocated and the manner in which voters conducted themselves was most creditable. Polling agents also behaved extremely well but were almost completely ineffective as directors of personation.

The scheme of voting by colours was a complete success. It was impossible to provide primary colours where there were a large number of candidates such as five or six, especially as green and blue could not be both used as these colours are not differentiated in the vernaculars. Moreover, black is strongly objected to. White was placed fifth on the list of colours but some Returning Officers allotted this colour where there were less than five candidates which was a mistake as white is the colour of the paper used at elections. In future there will seldom be four or more candidates as no less than 18 candidates forfeited their deposits in 1931 in 37 contests at the polls.

The almost complete absence of spoilt ballot papers was the result of voting by colours. A very small number of ballot papers were placed in cubicles but not in the ballot boxes. The slots in the ballot boxes were small, the idea being to prevent malicious voters inserting any large or injurious articles in the boxes. These slots should not be enlarged. If colours were painted round the slots it would confuse ignorant voters. In the instructions to the public, voters should in future be told where the slots are and advised not to fold their ballot papers.

As there is a rush of voters in the morning the queue habit is desirable at polling stations, but barriers strong enough to ensure voting in queues would cost a great deal. In my opinion the Police can keep back the crowds and allow voters to enter the polling stations in batches. In fact the Police preserved order excellently on polling days without fuss or provocative procedure.

In future the Senior Presiding Officer at each polling station should have a copy of the complete register of voters for his electoral district, not that part of it assigned to his polling station. This will enable him to direct stray voters who come to his station in error, to their proper station.

There does not seem to be any justification in future for insisting that there shall not be male polling agents at polling stations reserved exclusively for women, where Muslim women voters are to vote. It seems to be reasonable to provide assistant lady presiding officers, even though they have to be paid, as female Government officials working without special pay are generally not available. Muslim women do not object to the presence of men at the stations; it is Muslim men who do so. Muslims who desire to vote should face the publicity of the polls. It is suggested that Article 42 of the Order in Council be amended by the insertion in the declaration on the tendered vote declaration "and I have not previously voted at this polling station or elsewhere at this election".

29th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOUDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN.

[Continued.]

When the law is revised provision should be made for the ballot paper account prescribed in other countries. It would be useful to compare the number of ballot papers issued with the number counted. Where this record was kept in 1931 the discrepancies between the number issued and counted were negligible.

Returning Officers naturally desired to hold the polls on Saturdays. The result was an excessive demand on the limited staff available, on the two Saturdays. In future each Returning Officer should spread his polls over eight days relying for the most part on local staff. The eight day period should be ample if week days are freely used for polling. In Colombo City all the polls can be held on the first Saturday, however, as there is ample staff available. By polling freely on week days some saving on travelling expenses can be secured.

Counting of Votes.

It was a mistake to have only one frank for stamping candidates' names on ballot papers at the counting of votes. But it is suggested that when the election law is amended the process of franking candidates' names on ballot papers be eliminated. If the ballot papers in each candidate's boxes are counted before the count of the other candidate's papers begins, there is no need to frank the papers.

The punching of ballot papers is quicker and cheaper than the franking of them on both sides. The die in the clippers should be changed for each general election.

The words "polling agent" in Article 46 (2) of the Order in Council are a slip. Election agent is intended. The election law should perhaps specify more definitely the documents relating to the election referred to in Article 45 (3).

Political Education.

The general election of 1931 based on adult suffrage had an enormous effect in promoting the political education of the people. No less than 57 per cent. of those registered voted and many of them travelled to the polls on foot or otherwise and not in vehicles provided by candidates or their friends. It is doubtful, however, if the majority knew much about the functions of the State Council; they knew they were electing a person to be a member of this Council.

Scarcely any voters voted for a police. Most of them voted for a person whom they favoured on account of his character, record, influence, community, caste or religion, a few exceptions notwithstanding.

It is idle to expect voters in a country inexperienced in representative institutions and procedure to act up to the standard established during several centuries in other countries and one must have considerable sympathy for the difficulties of candidates unsupported by the party organizations which exist elsewhere, in dealing with an electorate largely devoid of political and other education.

At the polls the conduct of the candidates was on the whole most creditable considering their difficulties. They, like their agents and the voters, responded to the helpful attitude of the election staff and everyone was on the side of lawful authority, whatever tactical moves in canvassing agents or others made against each other.

Would be evil doers, if there were an insignificant number of such persons, were well aware that arrangements had been made in advance for dealing with their activities.

Candidates and their agents expressed generous appreciation of the excellent polling arrangements made and the polite efficiency of the election staff at this novel general election.

22th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOUDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN. [Continued.]

It seems clear that the size of the electorate made corrupt and illegal practices on a small scale valueless, while the organization and means were not available for malpractices on a large scale, even if, as is unlikely, many of the candidates desired such malpractices.

It seems clear that there was little personation, few cases of removal of ballot papers from polling stations for sale, little undue influence and no attempts forcibly to prevent people from voting.

Whether the comparatively high standard of public conduct set up at the 1931 election will be preserved in future remains to be seen. The greatest safeguard against deterioration is the size of the electorates, which makes bribery or other malpractices to a large extent futile and dangerous to wit in a country where election petitions are freely lodged if evidence of malpractices is available.

Election Expenditure.

Every attempt was made to keep down the inevitably heavy expenditure involved in the preparation of voters' registers, polling, etc.

The registration of voters in the 50 electoral districts cost about Rs. 70,000 or Rs. 1,400 per register, the final average number of voters on each register being 32,000.

The statement annexed of total expenditure is not absolutely correct, as the accounts are not yet closed and will require a little revision. It does not include the expense of printing which was met from the Government Press general printing vote.

The most expensive item was the cost of staff at the polls though it was almost entirely composed of public officers including Police who received no pay for election work. As the whole country was covered with polling stations a great deal of travelling to such places had to be done, much of it by motor, by large numbers of officers. Expenditure incurred on travelling by rail was of course largely of the nature of a book transaction but all such expenditure has been included.

The total expenditure if all items including printing were included would probably be little short of Rs. 3,00,000.

In future the cost of a general election will be much less as the annual registration of voters will be merely a revision of existing registers and because there will be no need to purchase ballot boxes and other stores.

Some officers urge that the official election staff should be paid by bonuses or otherwise for their highly responsible work. The other view is that, like jurors, they should work without special pay, or that as Government servants they can be rightfully called on to do any kind of Government work.

In my opinion Public Officers should not be paid specially for their work at elections.

I am strongly opposed to proposals to use Local Government bodies to do election work. They will demand payment for the services of their officers, or object to doing the work of the central Government gratis. Moreover, these officers are not Government officials amenable to Government discipline.

In conclusion I would record my appreciation of the remarkably efficient manner in which Government Agents, the Registrar General, Assistant Government Agents and their staffs carried out the enormous task connected with the general election in addition to their ordinary duties. His Excellency the Governor expressed his great appreciation of the highly creditable way in which all officers connected with the work performed their duties.

T. REID.

Colombo, August 12th, 1931.

22th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOUDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN.

[Continued.]

Expenditure on registration of voters, polling, etc., 1930 and 1931.

	Rs. etc.
Amount expended during financial year 1929-30 on work in connection with the registration of voters	26,631-28
Amount expended during 1930-31 to end of May 1931 on work in connection with registration of voters, revision of registers, etc.	33,250-27
Amount expended in connection with preparation for the general election, travelling, overtime, etc. (before allocations were made to Returning Officers)	1,597-73
Cost of advertising polling notifications	7,865-63
Cost of 2,312 ballot boxes including cleaning of old ballot boxes and repairing old boxes where necessary	21,181-11*
Cost of Clippers	754-74*
Allocations made to the various Returning Officers in connection with the general election—construction of temporary polling stations, construction of voting compartments, transport of furniture, overtime to polling staff, travelling expenses of polling staff, police, etc.	1,61,979-00
	2,56,563-76
Expenditure incurred in 1929-30	26,781-28
Expenditure incurred in 1930-31	2,29,787-48
	2,56,563-76
Cost of stationery met from the Colonial Storekeeper's vote—	
1929-30	4,625-34
1930-31 (to date)	534-41
	5,162-75

NOTE.—Payments on account of stationery have not been completed. Vouchers are still coming in, but the total expenditure may not be very large.

* These will be non-recurrent expenditure.

29th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOURDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN.

[Continued.]

APPENDIX II.

Demi-official letter No. C. F. 1113/32, dated Colombo, the 9th March, 1932, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, to the Secretary to the Indian Franchise Committee.

I have the honour to forward herewith for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee information obtained from the province of Ceylon.

2. The following principles were adopted in making arrangements for polling:—

- (a) One Presiding Officer, termed the "Senior Presiding Officer" was appointed to be in charge of each polling station. This Senior Presiding Officer was in every case a Civil List Officer, that is a Staff Officer.
- (b) All male Civil List Officers of the Ceylon Government who were in the Island at the time of the Election were considered available to act as Senior Presiding Officers, with the following exceptions:—
 - (i) Certain officers holding important headquarter appointments, e.g., Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Controller of Revenue, Colonial Treasurer.
 - (ii) Returning Officers (unless in an emergency).
 - (iii) All Police Officers.
 - (iv) Medical Officers on duty in hospitals on days of polling.
- (c) The rest of the male polling staff was provided from the various clerical services (the General Clerical Service, the Customs Clerical Service, the Railway Clerical Service, etc.) and from officers of similar standing from local bodies.
- (d) One or two Assistant Presiding Officers were appointed in each polling station. These were senior clerks. The purpose of their appointment was to provide against sudden illness or other emergency incapacitating the Senior Presiding Officer and more particularly because only Presiding Officers had the power to enter the voting compartments. It was found necessary frequently to enter these compartments to keep the voters moving, to see that not more than one voter was in the compartment at the same time, to see that the slits in the boxes were not blocked, and to see that the ballot boxes were not interfered with. These officers also assisted the Senior Officer in the supervision of the polling station.
- (e) No Headman, Presidents of Village Tribunals, Police Officers or persons (such as Justices of the Peace and Unofficial Police Magistrates) who are not subject to direct official discipline were employed as Presiding Officers.

29th February, 1932.] Sir BERNARD BOURDILLON & Mr. H. P. KAUFMANN.

[Concluded.]

Ceylon General Election, 1931.

The Island is divided into 9 provinces (Districts) and an extract of the Electoral Statistics for each is given below:—

	Western.	Central.	Northern.	Southern.	Eastern.	North Central Province.	Uva Province.	Sabara-gamuwa.	North Western.
Total No. of Voters on Registers	529,995	194,850	138,725	266,046	69,689	17,586	48,438	145,922	171,305
No. of voters for electoral areas in which there was a contest.	420,747	184,410	16,416	266,046	69,689	17,586	41,641	67,771	171,305
No. of polling stations—									
Men	74	10	2	11	16	..	..	4	9
Women	74	10	2	11	16	..	..	4	9
Mixed	25	56	13	69	23	14	12	13	74
No. of days on which polling took place.	173	66	22	91	57	14	12	25	23
No. of senior Presiding Officers.	6	6	1	5	2	1	1	2	3
No. of Male Asst. Presiding Officers.	128	44	27	40	36	14	12	19	37
No. of Lady Asst. Presiding Officers—	189	70	19	155	37	23	19	24	45
(a) Public servant	4	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	2	..	..	..	..
(b) Un-officials	15	1	1	14	13	..	2	3	7
Whether special arrangements made for Pariah Muslim Lady voters.	19 Yes	No special arrangements made as the number was very meagre.	1 No	14 Yes	15 Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Memorandum submitted by Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE, I.C.S.,
Collector of South Arcot.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

1. EXTENSION OF FRANCHISE

(a) Extension of franchise to pattadars paying more than Rs. 1 would include approximately 10 per cent. of the population if women were included.

(b) It will exercise a vote not markedly less intelligent than the present electorate.

(c) Yes.

(d) Does not arise.

(e) Not at present.

(f) This method is not suitable for the Non-Muhammadian electorate owing to faction in so many villages. The only possible way would be for the Tahsildar to conduct elections of secondary voters in each village as members of panchayat courts and panchayats are not elected and that would take up too much of his time and lead to an infinite number of appeals.

(g) No.

2. FRANCHISE QUALIFICATIONS.

(a) No.

(b) I think that all separately recognized minority communities should be given representation in proportion to their numbers or a bit more. I have here a suggestion to make which I think is worthy of consideration.

It is—

(1) that minority communities should elect in separate electorates a number of representatives proportionate to their numbers;

(2) that all voters on the rolls of minority communities should also vote in the Non-Muhammadian electorate which should be renamed as the general electorate, it being presumed that the qualification for all the electorates is the same.

This seems to me to be preferable to giving the minority communities weightage in representation above their proportionate share.

The advantage of this proposal is that it provides a bridge between a general electorate and the communal electorate and does not cut off the minority communities entirely from the main community. It is conceivable that in the course of time as the economic conditions of the minorities or their number increases, there may be good grounds for abolishing the communal electorates and absorbing them in the main electorate.

The obvious objection is that it will give the minority communities additional voting power, but this will be small at present and if anything like unity is ever to be attained, the majority community will have to make some concessions.

This seems to me to be the proper place to deal with the problem of the largest minority community, that of the Depressed Classes. In this district they number one-fourth of the population, say, 600,000. They are, therefore, entitled to 1½ members. If they are to have a separate electorate and representation, I think an additional member will have to be allotted to this district in addition to the seven I have proposed. In their case, it will be easy and advisable to arrange for group representation on an adult manhood suffrage basis. The method I would propose is this. If the other electoral rolls are to be revised in 1933 (say) the Revenue Inspectors would visit all cheris in the last six months of 1932 and hold elections of secondary voters by summing the inhabitants of the cheri and electing one secondary voter

Memorandum by Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE.

[Continued.]

for every 60 of those who appear, an odd 31 or above electing one secondary voter. Any objections must be made and an appeal given in 15 days to the Tahsildar. I do not expect there will be many. A roll containing the names of these secondary voters will be drawn up and they will vote at the general elections for the separate Depressed Classes candidates.

For the general electorate I would propose for Depressed Class voters at present,

(1) Double the property qualification of the ordinary voter; or (2) elementary education up to sixth standard.

(c) Yes, except in Depressed Class separate electorate where I have proposed adult manhood suffrage with secondary election.

(d) Holders of completed Secondary School-Leaving Certificates may be eligible independently of property qualifications.

(e) Military service qualification should be extended to service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

3. WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

(a) I am not in favour of giving the vote to the wives of electors as such. In present conditions this will double the numbers of voters but give the same result, as the women will not vote against their husbands. The only way of giving women any real representation is to treat them as a minority and apply the scheme I have suggested for other communities, which is,

(1) Let them vote in the General Electorate on the same qualifications as men,

(2) Prepare a separate roll for women including,

(i) those entitled to vote in the general electorate,

(ii) all women who have been educated up to the sixth standard or above. Older women will have some difficulty in proving their qualifications, but I understand that at present schools are issuing certificates to show the standard attained on leaving.

This separate electorate will elect one woman representative in each district.

(b) The idea of forming women into groups for electoral purposes is, if I may be pardoned for saying so, laughable, in present condition.

4. DEPRESSED CLASSES.

I have given at some length my proposals for the representation of depressed classes in my answer to 2 (b) above.

5. REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

Labour is not organized in this district, except the small number of railway men. I have no remarks.

II.—FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. ALLOCATION OF SEATS TO BRITISH INDIAN PROVINCES.

(a) I agree.

(b) Property qualification should be at least five times as high as for the Legislative Council.

(c) Direct election is to be deprecated on account of the size of the constituencies, but a practicable alternative is hard to find.

No system of indirect election which involves holding two elections in the district is to be recommended. There are too many elections as it is to disturb public tranquillity and the normal course of administration. All I can

Memorandum by Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE. [Continued.]

suggest is that at the general elections there should be elected a number of Legislative Assembly Members elect by each constituency equal to the number of Council Members elected by each constituency, e.g., a constituency returning two M.L.Cs. would return two M.L.As. (Elect). At the first session of the Legislative Council the leaders of the Government, Opposition and any recognized group should submit to the President of the Legislative Council—

- (1) a claim to a number of seats in the Legislative Assembly proportionate to their strength in the House;
- (2) a list of M.L.As. elect supported by them.

It would be possible for the President to ascertain the strength of each party by a division or by some analogous procedure. He will then allot a certain number of seats to each party, and choose by lot from the names submitted a sufficient number of members to fill the seats allotted to each party or group.

I feel this is a very imperfect solution but it has the advantage that while the members of the Upper Chamber will be elected by the majority in the Provincial Councils, the M.L.As. will represent all parties in the Provincial Council.

To revert to more orthodox methods, any sort of indirect election would be difficult to manage. An ideal secondary electorate might be produced theoretically by each village electing one secondary voter for every 500 of its population but there is not sufficient staff to manage such elections and they would give rise to innumerable appeals, faction fights and magisterial cases.

I think we shall have to revert to direct election and make the constituencies more manageable by slightly increasing the number of representatives. Why should not Madras with its 48 million population have at least 43 representatives?

Adopting the last Legislative Council roll as the future Legislative Assembly roll, two constituencies could be found in this district—

	Voters.
Tindivanam division with Tirukkoyilur taluk	29,899
Cuddalore and Chidambaram division with Kallakurichi taluk	23,742
Total	53,641

If such an increase is not practicable or if seats have to be reserved for minorities, then at least one member should be elected directly by the general constituency in each district.

7. I presume that out of the 32 seats allotted to Madras at least 20 will go to the general constituencies and six to Muhamadans. Of the remaining six at least three should be reserved for depressed classes and one for women.

GENERAL.

I think it would be very dangerous for the Franchise Committee to attempt to form any opinion on the basis of a single visit to a conveniently situated village.

The following may, however, be of interest to them:

An election for members of a forest panchayat, the voters coming from a taluk headquarters villages and several neighbouring villages had to be held. The usual method of voting is by show of hands. The election had been held twice and had been twice upset on petitions from the villagers

Memorandum by Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE. [Continued.]

who were riddled with faction. I was called on to hold it for a third time and decided to hold it by open ballot with the assistance of a number of my clerks to help voters who were nearly all illiterate. After spending most of the day in a temperature of over 100° personally supervising the marking of the ballot papers, I heard the beginnings of a first class riot developing in the compound of the taluk office. Seizing a police lathi and mustering the few police available, I cleared the compound and had the roads in the vicinity of the office patrolled to prevent any further fracas. If it takes three elections and the presence of an Indian Civil Service Officer to conduct elections in a group of two or three villages, what machinery will it require to conduct elections in 2,000 villages in a district, many of which are equally fractious?

The prize of the election—a forest, with full rights of free timber and annoying the opposite faction was of course a more important one in the eyes of the villagers than a Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly election, but I think the moral is that any electoral scheme that rests on elections of representatives by small bodies is going to be very difficult to work.

II.

The population of this district according to the Census of 1931 is 2,451,141. The number of voters in the non-Muhamadan constituency for the Madras Legislative Council is 53,641. I think it can be safely assumed that even in this district which is essentially a district of small pottas, the number of pottadars and registered lease-holders paying between Rs. 1 and Rs. 10 will not exceed three times this number. This will give an electorate of 240,000 in round figures. This is suspiciously close to a 10 per cent. electorate, but it is an honest guess and not a 'wangle'. That is not an unreasonable estimate may, I think, be judged from the fact that the new Local Board Franchise which, as you remark, brings anyone who pays anything on to the roll is only 324,540 or 14 per cent. of the electorate.

2. An electorate of 245,410 or 10 per cent. of the population will require 491 polling officers. At the last election 319 polling officers and 104 clerks were employed, a total of 419. It would be easy to find an additional 72 Government servants as polling officers, utilizing the former clerks as polling officers. For these 419 polling officers some 200 clerks would be required and I am sure that these could be found from the ranks of junior Government servants.

3. For an electorate of the size of the Local Board electorate, 600 polling officers would be required and it will, I think, be possible to find these from the ranks of Government servants though some of them will be rather junior. For clerks it would be necessary to utilize the services of intelligent karnams and some batta might have to be paid to those who come from villages more than five miles from polling centres. This should not amount to more than Rs. 300 and would be less than travelling allowance of other Government servants.

4. For an electorate of 20 per cent., 982 polling officers would be required. As the total number of Government servants (excluding police) drawing Rs. 35 or above in the district is about 850, it would not be possible to supply polling officers for this electorate.

5. The other chief factor for consideration is polling stations. A certain amount of difficulty was experienced at the last election in finding polling stations and in some cases private houses not accessible to Adi-Dravidas had to be used. A possible solution is to do what is done in French India and construct sheds for the purpose. It is hard to estimate the number that would be required for a 10 per cent. or 14 per cent. electorate; but it might be roughly estimated at from 50—100, costing between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3,000.

Memorandum by Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE.

[Concluded.]

6. With regard to the arrangement of the constituencies, this district presents some difficulties. On the assumption of one rural non-Muhamadan member for every 4 lakhs, this district would get 6. It has, however, eight taluks divided into 34 divisions (the half being Cuddalore division with only one taluk) and as they say in schools 8 and 34 won't go into 6. A further complication arises from the fact that the Depressed Classes form one-fourth of the population of this district and if they have a separate electorate and representation will be entitled to 14 members.

7. If there is to be only one electorate and seven members could be allotted, a simple arrangement would be as follows:—

	1931 Census.	Member.
Cuddalore taluk and municipality	385,298	1
Tindivanam division (Tindivanam, Gingee, Villupuram taluks and Villupuram municipality)	791,819	2
Tirukkoyilur division (Tirukkoyilur and Kallakurichi taluks)	670,661	2
Chidambaram division (Chidambaram and Vriddhachalam taluks and Chidambaram municipality)	606,561	2

This is as even a distribution as we are likely to get and each division is fairly homogeneous. Tindivanam division is separated from the rest of the district by the Ponnayar river. Except for a little river channel irrigation in Villupuram, it is chiefly of the dry-crop and tank-irrigation type and its markets are either in the division or in Pondicherry.

8. Tirukkoyilur division is chiefly dry upland plus tank irrigation and the interests of its ryots are much the same.

9. In Chidambaram division, Chidambaram taluk is chiefly a paddy-growing area under the Coleroon, but it shares the waters of the Vellar with Vriddhachalam.

10. This arrangement has the great advantage of coinciding with the major administrative boundaries.

1. Mr. T. G. RUTHERFORD, C.I.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of Madras,*

2. Rao Bahadur N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR, B.A., B.L., Inspector-General of Panchayats,*

3. Mr. A. R. C. WESTLAKE, I.C.S., Collector and District Magistrate, Arcot (South),†

4. Mr. C. F. BRACKENBURY, I.C.S., Collector, Chittoor.

1. The Chairman: I see from your memorandum that you expect 400 voters to be dealt with in a ten-hour day. Will you explain briefly the exact method which is adopted in the polling booth which leads to the conclusion that one presiding officer can only deal with 400 voters in a day

* For memoranda by the Government of Madras, see Volume II; see also Appendix on page 58.

† For memorandum see pages 42—46.

‡ Page 58.

25th February, 1932.] Mr. T. G. RUTHERFORD, Rao Bahadur N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR, Messrs. A. R. C. WESTLAKE & C. F. BRACKENBURY

[Continued.]

of ten hours?—(Mr. Rutherford): Sir, first of all when a voter comes up he has to be identified by the village officer.

2. Will you first of all explain the arrangement you make inside and outside a polling station?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): We have village officers posted outside the polling booths and, as a voter comes up, he is first of all identified. Then he goes to one of the assistant polling officers.

3. Who identifies him?—(Mr. Rutherford): One of the village officers, generally the headman of the village. As I said, one of the assistant polling officers takes his name and it is marked off on the roll. Then he is given a ballot paper which has next to be initialled. On the counterfoil will be entered the particulars.

4. What is written on the counterfoil and what is written on the ballot paper?—His name and number on the electoral roll are entered in the counterfoil. Nothing is written on the ballot paper by the polling officers. He then takes his ballot paper and gets it initialled by the presiding officer. He is then shown the several apartments or cubicles where there are writing materials for him to mark his vote in secrecy. He does so, comes back to the presiding officer's table and puts his paper into the ballot box.

5. Does he not show his voting paper to the presiding officer?—Yes.

6. What happens in the case of the illiterate voter?—In addition to the officials present there will be polling agents also, and the illiterate voter has to come up to the presiding officer. After being identified and after getting his ballot paper, his name being marked on the roll, he has to explain to the presiding officer whom he intends to vote for. The presiding officer then marks the ballot paper accordingly in the presence of the polling agents. The voter then goes and puts it into the ballot box.

7. Do you mean to say that in the case of the illiterate voter, the presiding officer marks the paper in the presence of the candidates' agents?—Yes.

8. Then there is no secrecy at all, is there?—Not only illiterates, but many literate voters come and give themselves out as illiterate and get their votes marked in this way.

9. That is a curious thing. Why is it that you say that you could poll only 400 votes in a ten-hour day?—Some have put it at less than 400. That is at the rate of 40 votes per hour. Of these 400, 50 per cent. would be illiterate voters and all the rigmarole has to be gone through; so each vote takes a little less than a minute and a half, on the average. If there is a simplified system, we can do it as in Ceylon.

10. The Ceylon system does not differ fundamentally from the Bihar and Orissa system, except that the polling clerks do more in Ceylon than they do in Bihar and Orissa. The presiding officer hands the ballot paper to the voter. In Ceylon, as far as I am able to understand, they are able to deal with a thousand voters per day, with two polling clerks and one presiding officer. In Bihar and Orissa and in other places I think they said that they could deal with 700 or 800 or possibly more under additional pressure of work. Do you see any objection to that in this province?—Personally I see none, and it has been suggested to the Government that if they are to have a much larger electorate, they must simplify the procedure of polling, that the presiding officer must not have so much detail thrust upon him, and that he must be more of a supervising officer. Now in addition to his duties with regard to the illiterate voters he has also

29th February, 1932.] Mr. T. G. RUTHERFORD, Rao Bahadur
N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR, Messrs. A. R. C. WESTLAKE
& C. F. BRACKENBURY

[Continued.]

the work in connection with tendered votes as in Ceylon. Though it does not add very much to his work, yet it does take up his time, because he has to see whether the voters are genuine or not.

11. It seems that in other provinces the business of handing over the ballot paper, the identifying of the voter, in so far as he has got to be identified, is done by the polling clerk. But the presiding officer should check it. Is that so in your province?—Here we have the system of identification by the village headman, and so the polling clerk's duty will only be to tick off the name on the roll and issue to the voter a card entitling him to the ballot paper, or issue him the ballot paper itself, if we introduce the system of having these ballot papers stamped with the seal of the presiding officer. At present our system is too cumbersome for a big vote.

12. In Bihar and Orissa I think it is stamped by the presiding officer as the man goes into the polling compartment.—As a matter of fact, we have recently framed a rule for introducing in local board elections a system similar to what was described as existing in Ceylon. To-morrow morning we are making the first experiment in this province and the Committee will have an opportunity of seeing how it works. We have a system of boxes, each box being assigned to one candidate, and the returning officer assigns a colour to the box. The ballot paper itself does not contain the name of any candidate. It will simply be a piece of paper containing the serial number as on the counterfoil; and as a matter of further precaution the polling officer should initial it. The instructions that are issued are that he should initial it beforehand. The voter simply takes the paper and shoves it into the box of the candidate of his choice. This is what we have to try. That can be adopted to multi-membered constituencies of which we have several in the local boards. If there are two seats, we print Nos. 1 and 1a, 2 and 2a, 3 and 3a and so on. Each voter when he comes to the presiding officer is given these numbers and then he is asked to go into the booth and drop his votes into the boxes. If he wants he shoves both ballot papers in the same box. We have a rule that if 1 and 1a or 2 and 2a are shoved into one box, they should count as one vote. It is not in force for the Legislative Council election. It is a new system.

13. *Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar*: Mr. Rutherford, you said that the identification of the voter is done by the village officer. My experience, I may tell you, is that the village officer is present but every voter is not identified as a necessary preliminary to his being handed over a ballot paper.—In actual practice the village officers are there and if the voter's identity is disputed, they come in.

14. All of them are asked by the Revenue Department to be present at particular booths. Now as regards these illiterate voters, if their ballot papers are to be marked by the polling officers or the presiding officers without the agents of the candidates being present, there would be an outcry; would there not be?—Yes.

15. It was to avoid that that the rule was changed. The complaint was that the presiding or the polling officers were biased and marked wrongly or something like that.—(*Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar*): Not that there were actual complaints. The apprehension was that there might be bias.

16. So far as the marking of these illiterate votes is concerned, while on the one hand it has been asserted that some literate voters also pass off as illiterate voters, is it your experience that generally speaking the whole

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village votes in a particular way?—(*Mr. Rutherford*): One can only say from hearsay. One is told that and one knows that candidates do make efforts to get influential men in the village to get a block of votes. It is practically impossible for the ordinary official to verify these things. I know from what has actually been told me with regard to taluk board elections in one particular district that a committee of the important men of the taluk sat down and decided who should be the candidates to be supported and those candidates were accepted by the people. That is an example of the way in which things are very largely done.

17. Knowing the party system in this country as we do, there is nothing fundamentally against democratic principles or fundamentally opposed to fairness if the village elders sit together and decide one way and the villagers vote accordingly. You would not call that violation of the fundamental principle of democracy knowing the party organisation of this province?—It may be what is happening in this country. But it is not the individual voter casting his intelligent vote on a principle or political programme.

18. That is true, but sometimes democracies get overweighted with voting for principles and policies which they understand less than individuals or personalities. That is my personal opinion. I want to ask you about this new system which is going to be tried. I do not quite understand this method in multi-membered constituencies where two ballot papers are given to a voter in the hope that he may use one paper. But I understand that if he puts both papers in one box they will be counted as a single vote. In some provinces, it has been suggested that in such a case the whole vote should be declared invalid. But my difficulty is this. Unless at the time of counting the votes you are very careful about the numbers, 1 and 1a and so on, obviously a good many of these votes may be counted twice over. Is it not so?—I do not think so, because each box is opened separately and the instructions are that the ballot papers inside the box should first be arranged in serial order. When you arrange them in serial order, you must pick up 1 and 1a together.

19. As regards the number of votes that could be polled at present I take it that there are instances where 500, 600 and even 800 votes have been polled in some polling stations. Is it not so?—I believe that is correct, where there are mostly literate voters, and those voters come ready, knowing for whom exactly they are voting. And therefore the polling goes on rapidly. But every district officer who has reported and most of the members of the Provincial Committee who were questioned on the subject have stated from their own personal experience that, in their opinion, under our present rules 400 votes is a very high average, when the election goes on from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening with an hour's interval, from 12 to 1.

20. Your polling hours are from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening with an hour's interval for lunch between 12 and 1, and none of the polling or presiding officers have complained that it is a very severe strain on their physical or intellectual powers?—(*Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar*): All I can say is that I can give my personal experience. There was polling for a municipal election in the Anantapur Municipality. They had fixed the polling station, and the number of voters there was 750. I myself went there in the morning to see how the polling was going on and found a large number of people waiting outside unable to get ballot papers. I was the officer who could appoint additional polling officers and so, on the spot, I called in another taluk officer, gave him another booth, and divided the voters on the list between the two booths, and then the voting went on without difficulty and was completed. If that had not been done I do not think it could have been managed.

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21. I take it that it is your experience that voters come fairly early in the morning and do not wait till 11?—If it is a town the voters come early in the morning. But in the rural stations I believe most of the people who do not belong to the village where the polling is held usually come after 12 o'clock.

22. But the candidates take care to get the village votes recorded first before the rush begins?—Yes.

23. As regards the initialling of the ballot papers, do you still prefer that to a system of punching?—The only thing that I can say is we have not tried it. Punching would be quite as good, I think. As a matter of fact for the new system, after I began framing detailed instructions, I thought that the original idea I put into the rules which provided for the initialling of the ballot papers might be dispensed with, and that we might have the election officer's stamp on both the counterfoil and the ballot paper. That is sufficient, I think.

24. And I suggest also that the writing of the name is unnecessary. The number is quite sufficient.—Quite sufficient.

25. At present both are done?—Yes.

26. Major Milner: On the matter of voting for principles and personalities, have you got the party system at all now?—(Mr. Rutherford): We had one definite party for a time known as the Justice party; it was based more on communal than on political principles.

27. It seems to me that from now onwards and for a time the people of India will merely vote for personalities. And one may reasonably anticipate, I suppose, that at a comparatively near date parties and issues will develop when you have your responsible government. Is that not so?—I am afraid I cannot prophesy beforehand. To get democratic government as now proposed, we must have a party system, I think. But we cannot anticipate.

28. One may reasonably assume that in course of time these will develop, is it not so?—What we are afraid of is the development in this province of something like the French system of small parties centring rather round individuals than round policies. That is my feeling of what may happen. Whether it is a correct anticipation or not, remains to be seen.

29. You told us about the villagers' selection of candidates which seems to work quite all right; I could not quite grasp in what connection it was. Will you tell me in what connection?—Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar asked whether it was a fact that candidates were very largely selected simply on their personality without regard to parties or political ideas, and I agreed with him.

The Chairman: I think what you mean is this. Before the election the villagers come together and make up their minds as for whom they should vote. That is what it comes to. That is a very good way of working the group system.

30. Major Milner: If that is perfectly satisfactory, is it not an indication that the group system will work equally satisfactorily. And in practice this may be what happens. Just a fortnight or a month before the election, when it is known that this process is to take place, there would be discussions in the village and conclusions arrived at as to who should be selected. Is that not so?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): The grouping and the election of secondaries would happen before nominations to the Legislative Council.

31. Not necessarily. There are two schools of thought. One would have the grouping and the primary elections done months before the election for the Council comes off. And there is another school which would like

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to have the primary elections immediately before the Council elections.—When they show the candidate who is to stand, it could be done just before the elections. Why have this intermediate stage at all?

32. Because we understood from you, gentlemen, that it was impracticable to do it otherwise. Am I right in assuming that according to you adult suffrage is impossible on administrative grounds?—That is the opinion of the Committee. If the alternative is going to be a system of indirect voting, I do not think the Committee will be afraid of adult suffrage.

33. Am I to understand that you do think it practicable to have adult suffrage and would prefer it to the group system?—The view of the Government is that ten per cent. is about all that can be managed administratively.

34. I am not asking for the Government view. I am asking you, gentlemen, knowing what staff you have got, whether adult suffrage cannot be carried out.—I do not think we can manage efficiently more than 10 or 12 per cent. of the population. And if you add to that the group system, it is going to be unmanageable without a very expensive and large staff. But we can carry out anything if we spend money on it and if the country can afford it.

35. There is a school of thought which thinks that democracy has to be paid for. You tell us that it can be done if you had the money to pay for it. How would you do it if reasonable funds are forthcoming, and adult franchise is given for the whole province and elections are to be conducted in not more than two days?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): My personal opinion is that, on the assumption that the whole of the election is to be conducted by Government officials, anything more than 23 per cent. of the adult population could not be easily managed administratively. But I for one do not see why we should exclude non-officials altogether. Nor do I see why we should not take in the services of local boards and municipal councils. If people are prepared to have polling done by persons other than Government officials and the country is prepared for the cost of it, I do not think you can say it is administratively not feasible to conduct an election on universal suffrage.

36. I do not know whether you have got a list of officials now. But I should like to have particulars as to how this would be carried out and the officials who would be competent and available. I understand you to say quite clearly that universal suffrage is quite practicable if the public and the candidates would be content with non-officials in addition to officials, is it not so?—Yes, plus the cost.

37. And you think there are sufficient competent non-officials who, added to the officials, could carry out that election?—I think so.

38. Your present system like that, apparently, in every other place in India, throws a great burden upon the presiding officer. Why is that? Why don't you have the method adopted in Ceylon and ask the clerks to hand over the ballot papers?—As a matter of fact, the practice here is for the presiding officer to write the name and number of the elector on the counterfoil and issue the ballot paper himself. That is, what we call in this province, the "manual". I do not see why we should not adopt the Ceylon system and save trouble for the presiding officer.

39. Are there sufficient competent men available to do that work?—Yes. For the local board elections we propose to take clerks on Rs. 35 a month.

40. Are they quite competent to check the electors' roll and identify the voter with the name on the list and hand him the ballot paper?—Yes.

41. Why is it necessary for the presiding officer to put his initials on the ballot paper?—I myself drafted the rules for the new system and I

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was trying to think of all these things. I had no idea of what was happening in Bihar and Orissa and Ceylon. And I thought that the work of identifying the ballot paper was necessary because if the voter's name was not there and the marking was dishonestly done, it could be found out by the absence of the initials. If the paper had at least the polling officer's initials, we can identify it later on as a genuine paper.

42. Are there no serial numbers on these papers?—There are, but serial numbers can be faked too.

43. Do you think it is usual or possible for any person to put in faked ballot papers?—I cannot say there are many instances, but when we frame rules, we assume all sorts of contingencies.

44. I suggest, with respect, that to have the Presiding Officers to put their initials on the paper is wholly unnecessary and that it could easily destroy the secrecy of the ballot. Supposing, for some reason, I want to know how you voted and I am a Presiding Officer and I am a public official engaged in the department looking after the ballot papers and so forth, there is nothing easier in the world than this?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): I quite agree. After further consideration I have myself come to the conclusion that that was unnecessary. We were just beginning to experiment on that system.

45. Khan Bahadur Asis-ul-Haque: Would you kindly tell me whether it is possible in an average district to get 200 or 250 Presiding Officers?—(Mr. Rutherford): We take men who hold responsible posts and are normally drawing Rs. 100 or more. I think we could provide that number of men.

46. I take it that in an average district it is possible to get 200 to 250 officers?—Even up to 300.

47. If that is so, I find that the total area of the Madras Presidency is 143,852 square miles. Calculating on the basis that every polling centre is to serve a radius of 5 square miles, you require 250 polling stations per district. Is that correct?—I have not worked out the figures on this basis.

48. Assuming that it is correct and assuming that we were able to get 250 polling officers, what is the difficulty in adult suffrage being introduced immediately?—Because those polling officers, even under the Ceylon reforms, cannot poll more than 1,000 votes a day. We have too cautious a system. If we want to have a large increase in the franchise, we must adopt some less cautious system of polling votes.

49. Let us take it purely from the point of view of administrative feasibility. Leave the question to others, whether it is desirable to proceed as cautiously as you do now. I am asking whether administratively it is not possible to have a polling station within a radius of 5 miles and thus be able to poll the whole number in two days?—As I said before, if you are prepared to pay for it, anything is administratively possible. It means that we have to employ a very large staff temporarily, and temporary staff is normally unsatisfactory as we have no hold over them.

50. If there are 250 polling stations, you can provide officers?—For 250 polling stations we can provide. But they will not be able to poll the whole adult population.

The Chairman: We will ask you to give your considered view on that in your note.* I don't think it is possible to give a considered answer in the course of a discussion.

51. Lord Dufferin: Will you be able to do the same number of voters a day, if women came in larger numbers to poll?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): I don't think it will make much difference.

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52. Mr. Chintamani: Has much difficulty been experienced in finding suitable buildings for polling purposes?—No.

53. We have been told in another province that only police buildings or police stations could suitably be used for polling purposes. Is that the opinion of the Government of Madras also?—As a matter of fact, every polling station that we select will be a fairly large-sized building. We have been using schools so far, generally Taluk Board schools. That is a fairly comfortable building for polling purposes.

54. Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar: You never select a police station for polling?—No, never.

55. Mr. Chintamani: I find that in Madras permission has been given to officers to employ non-official assistants. Has much use been made of that permission?—You mean for the Legislative Council elections. We have not used non-official presiding officers.

56. I find here in a Government Circular containing instructions to Presiding Polling Officers that they are permitted to employ honorary magistrates and other non-official agencies if and when required. You say that non-officials have not as a matter of fact been employed?—As a matter of fact, we have not felt the necessity for employing them so far in Legislative Council elections.

57. Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar: But in the municipal areas in the district?—Even in the municipal areas.

I might say, Sir, that as a matter of fact in municipalities the Chairman who is a non-official is the returning officer and he arranges for presiding officers and so on. Honorary magistrates and non-official municipal councillors have been employed.

Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar: Teachers of high schools, private schools, are also employed.

58. Mr. Chintamani: So that if the number of the electorate is increased and if there are not enough officers in the district to be employed for this purpose, non-officials can be utilised?—Certainly. Plenty of non-official material is available in each district.

59. Do you anticipate that there would be any practical difficulty or any objection on the part of candidates against the employment of non-official agencies?—There may be. I believe, we have to face that if you are going to enlarge the electorate, and we want to conduct the elections on a large scale.

60. There may be a few cases. You don't think there will be many such cases?—I don't think so. As a matter of fact, we can adopt this system of having officials as presiding officers over a number of polling booths at a polling station and have the non-officials as clerks or assistant polling officers in charge of the polling booths under the supervision of presiding officers who will be officials.

61. I find that in the district of Cuddalore an electorate of 20 per cent. cannot be managed.—(Mr. Westlake): On the basis of the new Local Board franchise it comes to 14 per cent.

62. Do you think in other districts also an electorate of about that size, of 14 per cent., will be manageable?—I know the figures for this district only. I could not say about other districts.

(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): As a matter of fact we are going to extend this 14 per cent. to every district of the Presidency for the local board elections.

63. Dr. Ambedkar: Have you any serious objection to the Ceylon electoral system?—(Mr. Rutherford): No. I think it is an excellent one for spending

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up the vote. I think, it has its danger in the lack of anybody to identify the voters. It is obvious from the reports of various officers that with the extension of the franchise we must simplify our system of voting which is too meticulous and too careful. The Presiding Officer must be released of some of this routine work.

64. I want to draw your attention particularly to the system whereby they have eliminated altogether the writing on the ballot paper and introduced the card. Do you think that is feasible?—Personally, I think it is. It is being tried in this province for local board elections.

The Chairman: We will get all that in the note.*

65. Sir Ernest Bennett: It has been said that the whole of the election should be by the indirect method, the group method, and that direct voting should be abolished altogether. Do you think there would be any feeling of resentment on the part of the people in Madras who have hitherto enjoyed the direct franchise and would lose their vote?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): There would be violent opposition to it.

66. There is one group of electors who have got this voting by post—the Anglo-Indians. Does that work smoothly?—(Mr. Rutherford): In an educated electorate it does work smoothly.

67. There is no fraud?—There have been complaints in connection with some of the electorates in the Council elections, where the candidates fill up the papers themselves and the voters never know whom they vote for.

68. While speaking of postal voting, you speak in one of the documents of a guarantee of some form?—(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): The voter himself signs what is called a declaration—Voter so and so and number so and so.

69. There is no other guarantee. Nobody else is brought in?—I am not quite sure. I think a certificate from an Honorary Magistrate is required.

70. Mrs. Subbarayan: I understand that you do not have separate polling booths for women in all the polling areas. How do you decide whether in a particular area there should be a separate booth?—The usual rule is that when there are more than 50 women voters on the roll of a particular polling booth a separate cubicle should be provided with a separate entrance.

71. Not a separate polling station?—They enter the polling station along with men, but they go into a separate cubicle and vote and then go out by a separate exit. The idea is that they may not mix with men.

72. They put the ballot papers in the box in front of the polling officers?—Yes.

73. There would be men polling officers?—When there are more than 50 women in a municipal election they have a woman assistant polling officer.

74. Suppose a voter is illiterate, then who helps her?—She has to declare openly in front of the polling officer whom she wishes to vote for.

75. Before the men polling officers?—The Presiding Officer is a man. In cases where we get a large number of voters who are *goshu* women, we provide separate polling booths altogether with women presiding officers.

76. The whole staff would be women?—Yes.

77. If the number of women voters is increased, do you think it will be necessary to have separate polling booths in all the areas?—That would be a further complication. I personally don't think that women will insist on a separate polling booth except in about 10 per cent. of the polling stations in the Presidency.

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78. You will arrange to have separate polling booths according to the demand of women voters?—Yes. *

79. Will you be able to provide the required number of women polling officers?—If my expectation is realised, namely, 10 per cent., it will probably be possible to have women polling officers.

80. They will do the work efficiently?—We have had no complaint against women polling officers.

81. Is there much difficulty in women getting to the polling booths? Are they unwilling to go to the polling booths if they are distant?—I should say, they are less willing to move out long distances than men.

82. How will you overcome that?—They would require conveyances.

83. I find in Tanjore only 3 women voted out of a very large number.—I can give you the percentage that voted in municipal elections. In 74 municipalities in the constituencies in which the elections were contested, out of a total number of 31,131, 18,844 recorded their votes. It comes to about 63 per cent.

84. In those municipal elections you had separate polling arrangements?—Separate polling arrangements in a few places. For instance, where the Muhammadans are concentrated and there are a number of *goshu* women we have given separate polling booths and separate women polling officers. Unless the number of women voters exceeded 50, there was no separate arrangement and they recorded their votes just like the men.

85. Do you think that women will be more willing to record their votes if there are separate polling booths for them?—I should think so.

86. There is a great disparity in the voting strength of men and women when the qualification is only the possession of property. Do you think it will be smaller if an educational qualification is introduced? For instance, in Tanjore the number of male voters is 64,131 and the number of women voters is 9,776, while in Vizagapatam where the men voters are 5,550, the women are 1,757. I am asking this question because I feel that if the number of women voters in a district is very small the candidates will not take the trouble of canvassing their votes and the women will not take the trouble of going to the polling booths either?—As a matter of fact, my own experience is that registration in Vizagapatam not only for the Legislative Council but also for the local boards is very defective.

87. Take the district of Vizagapatam. I think the literacy figures are very low. The ownership of property does not seem to help the women. So the number of women voters in Vizagapatam will be very, very small?—It depends also on the kind of owners of land you find in a particular district. For instance, my experience in municipal areas is that wherever you find Muhammadans concentrated in particular wards, the number of women voters in those wards is much larger than in those wards the inhabitants of which are Hindus, because their laws of property are more favourable to women than Hindu laws.

88. I would like you to consider this point and let us have any suggestions you might have to get over this difficulty?—The only thing that we can suggest is ability to read and write.

89. This is what I want to know. Will that help? There is great disparity in some districts. There are districts where we want the political education of women to spread.—It will not be possible to provide a separate franchise for a particular district.

90. Any other qualifications which could be adopted for increasing the voting strength in addition to literacy and ownership of property?—The only other suggestion is giving the vote to wives and widows.

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91. *The Hon'ble Mary Pickford*: I see it is the duty of the presiding officer to prepare a statement of the number of men and women electors who recorded their votes. Will it be possible, without much trouble, to let us have the percentage of votes polled by men and women separately in the contested elections?—(Mr. Rutherford): I think those figures are given in the Report on the Working of the Reforms up to 1926. Another Government Order, spare copies of which we are trying to get, gives it for 1930 elections. I think 16 per cent. of the women voted.

(Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): I can give you figures for 74 municipalities. Out of a total of 218,751 voters, both men and women, in the 74 municipalities, 151,446 recorded their votes. That is, 71 per cent. recorded votes. For women alone it is 63 per cent.

92. In the 1930 election, it was 63 per cent.?—(Mr. Rutherford): Yes. Although it has not been accurately worked out, it was in 1930 that we had the largest number. In 1923 the percentage of female voters was only 10.2, but it was only in that year that the females got the vote. In 1926, 22 per cent. of the voters went to the polls.

93. *Sir Sunder Singh Majithia*: In another province we were told that only gazetted officers were posted for duty at the booths. Is that the case here also?—It could not be worked on that system here. That is not the rule here. We take men far below the gazetted rank. (Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): As a matter of fact, our rule is not to employ gazetted officers as presiding officers if we can help it.

94. Have you ever tried honorary workers as polling officers? Have you engaged non-officials on this work?—(Mr. Rutherford): So far as my experience goes, we have not.

95. If you engage them you will get the necessary men to man the elections?—I do not see why it should not be a success.

96. You have no objection?—I should think not. (Rao Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar): In the district of Tanjore they employed about 707 persons for election work. Out of this number, 64 were non-officials. That is the only district where non-officials were tried on any large scale.

97. *Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar*: Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, you said that at the municipal elections about 71 per cent. voted?—Yes.

98. What is the average area of a municipal ward?—It varies. Each ward has a polling station.

99. Will a ward be more than a square mile in extent?—In many cases it is less than a square mile.

100. What is the distance a woman will have to go to record her vote?—Anything between half a mile to 3 miles.

101. In the municipal areas there are greater facilities for conveyance than outside?—Yes.

102. *Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar*: After the introduction of compulsory elementary education there are practically no villages without schools?—I follow you.

103. The school teachers can, without any difficulty, be engaged as polling officers, and there are any number of them; is it not so?—Yes. If they are utilised, there should be no difficulty in finding polling officers. But if you are asking me whether it would be wise to utilise them, it would be a different matter. For the present, I should not go down to that level for presiding officers.

104. May I know, then, whether non-officials could not be utilised much more than official because complaints have often been received about official

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interference?—Complaints have been received, no doubt. I myself feel that non-officials could be much more largely used than they are now.

105. If they are largely used, I suppose the problem of administrative inconvenience will be solved?—The difficulties will be much smaller. (Mr. Rutherford): Unfortunately, the public have no trust in them.

106. *Mr. Basudev*: The present estimate of the voting strength is 5.37 millions?—Yes.

107. In view of the fact that only 4 annas stands between an adult and his vote don't you expect that the roll will be considerably increased?—With each year, the roll will become larger.

108. As time goes on the roll will be double the size?—I do not think the prospect of an election has so far affected registration of electors in this province.

109. Mr. Rutherford said that the qualifying clause for cultivating leases for a vote has been grossly and unscrupulously exploited. What was the number that was thus enfranchised?—I have got some figures here. The total number of electors on the rolls is 5.37 millions. It is expected that another lakh of people will claim to be put on the rolls if we reach the stage of putting in claims. Out of this we were able to trace only about 26,632 as the number who put in documents in a printed form. We believe that the prospective candidates at the local board elections printed forms of lease and distributed them in the villages to be presented before the election officer.

110. Similar names were printed to swell the number of voters?—We have recommended that there should be a more precise definition of a lease.

111. If we qualify persons for the vote on payment of a tax on animals, will it bring in a number of voters?—It will bring in more voters.

112. *Diwan Bahadur Venkatanarayana Nayudu*: Is it not a fact that for the conduct of elections to the Corporation of Madras, to the Legislative Council and to the Assembly in the city of Madras, the officers attached to the Corporation of Madras in Madras city are employed very largely and only very few Government officers are requisitioned for the purpose?—I do not know. I knew as a matter of fact that a large number of officers in Government departments have been asked to serve as polling or presiding officers even in the city of Madras.

113. But when compared with the staff of the Corporation engaged on this work, the number of officials requisitioned is very small?—I have no knowledge.

114. It is not a fact that for every polling station opened in the city of Madras either for the municipal elections or for the Assembly or Council elections, separate arrangements are made both for exit and entry for women voters?—I have no experience.

115. Is it not a fact that for identification purposes special officers are drawn from the medical profession? Again, are not all facilities afforded for ladies to come and exercise the franchise?

Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar: My Lord, the member who put that question (Mr. Venkatanarayana Nayudu) was the returning officer for Madras city for the Legislative Assembly and Council elections. He is only pointing out the fact that the larger majority of presiding and polling officers and clerks are drawn from the Corporation staff which is not a Government staff. It is also a fact that for the convenience of women voters separate entrances and exits are arranged at every polling station and that, as far as possible, for identifying purposes, one of the ladies on the health staff of the Corporation is posted at each polling station. These are the factors he wanted to be stressed.

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116. Mr. Souter: You have no objection to non-official being appointed as presiding officers?—No.

117. Do you think you will get them for honorary work?—I think we shall have to pay them.

118. If that is the case, the elections will continue to be expensive?—Yes.

APPENDIX.

Memorandum of the Government of Madras on details of procedure at an election of the Legislative Council.

The complete regulations for the preparation of electoral rolls for the general and special constituencies of the Madras Legislative Council made under rule 4, sub-clause (2) of the Madras Electoral Rules and its regulations for the conducting of elections for the general and special constituencies of the Legislative Council made under rule 15 of the Madras Electoral Rules will be found at pages 41 to 64 and 65 to 96 of volume II of the Madras Legislative Council Manual, 1930, a copy of which is enclosed. These regulations have been supplemented by circular instructions issued by Government designed to draw the attention of Returning Officers to the main points in the rules requiring their attention. Copies of circular Nos. 3, 9, 10, 11 and 13 issued in 1930 when the last elections were held are appended. In most districts it has been the practice for the Collectors as Returning Officers to issue summaries of these circulars and of the main points in the rules so far as they concern their duties to Presiding and Polling Officers, and to Tahsildars, on whom falls the bulk of the work in regard to the distribution of ballot boxes, ballot papers, forms and stationery for Polling Officers and also the provision of polling stations and booths in rural areas. In municipal areas where the Chairman of the municipality is the Registration Officer these arrangements are carried out by the municipal authorities. Some of the Collectors' circulars take the form of a questionnaire so framed as to compel the Presiding or Polling Officer to make himself familiar with the necessary rules and his duties before he can answer the questionnaire. There is no normality in the number of polling stations per district or the number of voters allotted to each station or in the number of Polling Officers appointed. For instance, in South Kanara district the number of electors allotted to Udipi polling station is 1,344 while for Belur there are only 78. The instructions of Government are that for each polling area there should be one polling station and that the polling stations should be located in the places most convenient for the electors. The number of voters in a polling area varies very much according to the nature of the country and the thickness of the population. For every polling station there is one Presiding Officer appointed and at least one Polling Officer who is his assistant. The maximum allotment of electors to one Presiding Officer and one Polling Officer seems to be 500 and in some districts the average is about 300. There are no rules on the matter. The Polling Officers are allotted on the assumption that every elector will vote and not on the anticipation of only a percentage voting. A copy of Government Order 571 Law (Legislative), dated 1st December 1930, is furnished. Statement VIII therein gives the number of polling stations during 1926 and 1930 and the number of Presiding and Polling Officers employed, while statement No. V gives the total number of electors in each constituency.

2. The general procedure for an election where the personal vote is required is for the Returning Officer to give public notice of the intended election as soon as notification has been issued by the Governor calling upon the constituency or constituencies to elect a member or members.

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[Continued.]

The notice is to be published on the notice board of the office of the Returning Officer and in such other manner as he thinks fit. In the districts such notices are published in all divisional and taluk offices and municipal offices and generally also in local board offices. Village officers are also informed through the Tahsildars and have to publish the notice in the village chavadi. The general elections for the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly have so far been held together and on the same day. The Returning Officer who is normally the Collector, has then to make his arrangements for the receipt of nominations of candidates and if there is a contest, for the poll. For each polling area one polling station is to be selected and Presiding and Polling Officers appointed. These are normally officials of the various departments within the district and are appointed by the Collector (Returning Officer) on the report of the divisional officer or the Tahsildar. Along with letters of authority to the Presiding and Polling Officers are sent their instructions. The printing and supply of ballot papers is done from the Government Press, Madras, and the supply of ballot boxes, seals, candles, match-boxes, wax, stationery, etc., is arranged for by the Returning Officer and the actual distribution is made through the taluk officers. Similarly the supply of copies of sections of the electoral rolls is arranged for through the Revenue Divisional Officers who are the Registration Officers. The supply of furniture and necessary arrangements in the villages for the erection of booths where suitable buildings are not available is generally entrusted to the Tahsildars, who in their turn put the responsibility on the local village officers. Police arrangements are made in consultation with the District Superintendent of Police, but the local subordinate officers are at liberty to ask the local Police officers for assistance in case of urgency. Presiding and Polling Officers are generally called together at taluk or divisional headquarters by the Revenue Divisional Officer for instruction and catechism on their duties and they are expected to be at their stations on the night before the election and to verify then that all necessary forms, stationery, ballot boxes, etc., are received. Reserve officers are frequently appointed for polling stations but they do not attend unless those first appointed are, on account of ill-health or other reason, unable to perform their duty. Only the Presiding Officer can mark an illiterate voter's ballot paper or hand to a voter a tendered ballot paper or initial the ballot paper. The marking of the electoral roll, the entering up of the elector's name in the counterfoil is done by the Polling Officers. But the voter after marking his ballot paper according to the rules has again to show it to the Presiding Officer folded so that he can see his initials on the back before putting it into the box. It is estimated that with difficulty a Presiding Officer can cope with 400 voters in a ten-hour day and doubtful whether he can poll so many should there be a large percentage of illiterates. The orders that there should only be one polling station for each polling area and the insistence on certain duties being carried out by the Presiding Officers only along with the absence of any provision for the appointment of additional presiding officers tends to the multiplication of polling areas and stations, and probably some wastage of staff. At each polling station the village officers of the villages comprised within the polling area have to be present to identify voters and the candidates may have polling agents present. Such polling agents have to get a certificate from the Returning Officer which is issued upon the request of the candidate. In addition to the forms in the rules the Presiding Officer has to prepare from the ticked off electoral roll a statement of the number of male and female electors who recorded their votes. As soon as the poll is over the Presiding Officer seals up the ballot boxes, fills up the various forms, collects and bundles up unused voting papers, chalans, tendered voting papers and other forms into separate packets and sends everything to

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the Tahsildar of the taluk through a peon allotted for the purpose. The peon is normally accompanied by a Police Constable. The Tahsildar having collected all the ballot boxes within his taluk sends them as quickly as possible to the Returning Officer who makes his own arrangements for the counting of the votes as rapidly as possible. No special instructions have been issued to Returning Officers as to how they are to count votes. Each Collector evolves his own method. He is generally assisted by Gazetted Officers of the Revenue Department, plus a posse of clerks drafted from the Collector's office. The date on which the counting will be done is notified to the candidates and is fixed at the earliest date possible that will allow of all ballot boxes being received. Until all are received and the count begins the boxes are kept in the District Treasury. Counting is generally completed in one day. Copies of voting papers for an ordinary non-Muhammadan constituency and for all Anglo-Indian constituency, in which the system of postal voting is adopted with the corresponding envelopes and declaration paper are enclosed.

T. G. RUTHERFORD,
Additional Secretary to Government.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

LAW (LEGISLATIVE-ELECTIONS) DEPARTMENT.

Circular No. 3, dated Stonehousehill, the 12th July 1930.

[Elections—Polling Stations.]

The attention of all Returning officers is invited to the amended regulations 14 and 16 of the regulations for the conduct of elections for the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly reproduced below:—

"14. The Returning Officer shall appoint one polling station for each polling area in each constituency and shall appoint a presiding officer for each polling station and such other persons (hereinafter referred to as Polling officers) to assist the presiding officer as he thinks necessary.

16. Subject to the provisions of regulation 29 *infra* no elector shall be admitted to vote except at the polling station fixed under regulation 14 for the polling area under which his name appears on the electoral roll."

It will be observed that under the amended regulations there can be only one polling station for each polling area and that every elector must vote at the polling station fixed for the area under which his name appears on the electoral roll. It should be noted that it is not now permissible under the regulations to have more than one polling station in a polling area.

2. Returning Officers are requested to see that in selecting polling stations due regard is paid to the convenience of the electors, the distances they have to travel and the facilities of communication. It is desirable that preference should be given to centres which are easy of access from the surrounding villages and to places where there are hotels or rest-houses for the convenience of electors. At stations where it is expected that the poll will be heavy or that a large number of illiterate voters will

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come to record their votes, the Returning officers should arrange for the appointment of a sufficient number of polling officers to assist the presiding officer.

G. T. BOAG,

Additional Secretary to Government,
Elections.

To all Returning Officers,
To the Commissioner, Corporation of Madras.

Forwarded.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

LAW (LEGISLATIVE-ELECTIONS) DEPARTMENT.

Circular No. 3, dated the 13th July 1930.

[Elections—Presiding and Polling Officers.]

The attention of all Returning Officers is drawn to regulation 14 of the Regulations for the conduct of elections to the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, under which the appointment of presiding and polling officers is left to their discretion. The Government consider, however, that presiding and polling officers should, as far as possible, be officials and that they must be drawn from the following classes:—

- (a) Officers of the Revenue, Public Works, Forest, Excise and Education departments;
- (b) Sub-Registrars and clerks in the Registration department;
- (c) Sub-Assistant Surgeons;
- (d) Officers of the Public Health department;
- (e) Officers in the employ of local boards and municipal councils; and
- (f) Officers of the Veterinary department employed in the Agency.

2. Ministerial officers of the Judicial department may be employed as presiding or polling officers with the previous consent of the District Judge. Subordinates in the office of the Accountant-General and of the High Court may also be employed on polling duty with the consent of the heads of those offices.

3. At stations where there are a large number of women voters, it is desirable that women should, if possible, be employed as presiding or polling officers.

4. Returning Officers are informed that Sub-Assistant Surgeons should be deputed to do the work of presiding or polling officers only if the required number of polling officers cannot be found from among other officials. They are also requested to see that in times of epidemic, officers of the Public Health department are not called away from their proper function for polling duty. Public Works department subordinates and officers in immediate charge of irrigation works for the control of discharges should also not be taken away at a time when floods are probable.

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[Concluded.]

6. If any difficulty is felt in finding the required number of presiding or polling officers from among officials, honorary magistrates and other non-officials may be selected, but care should be taken to avoid the choice of persons who have a personal interest in the elections or those who have been actively canvassing votes for any candidate.

G. T. BOAG,

Additional Secretary to Government,
Elections.

To

All Returning Officers (of personal vote constituencies).
The Commissioner, Corporation of Madras.
The Accountant-General.
The Departments of the Secretariat.
The Honourable the Chief Justice (with C. L.).

Memorandum submitted by the CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT LABOUR GUILD.

I, the Honorary Secretary of the Chingleput District Labour Guild wish to forward to you our view point about the representation of labour. Our Guild represents tannery labourers of the Madras Presidency. There are more than a lakh and a half tannery labourers. All belong to the Adi-Dravida (depressed class) community.

On behalf of them, our Guild gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Labour (refer page 98, Report of the Royal Commission on Labour). All the labourers are illiterate. Their economic condition is pitiable. So I have given the view of the tannery labourers about their representation.

India is a peculiar country in which caste predominates. Labourers belonging to different castes have no sympathy with one another. The question of untouchability predominates among labourers. Hence our Guild come to the following conclusion:—

The labour should be represented on vocational basis as in Russia. In other words people of different employment should vote separately—miners in one group, tannery labourers in one group, agricultural labourers in one group, etc. Each profession should choose its own man. If labour is represented in the Council on vocational basis—constituency will not be on geographical basis.

In the opinion of the Guild, it is the best method of representation for labour. But, if vocational basis is granted, election is too costly. Take, for instance, the tannery labourers. The tanneries are spread throughout the length and breadth of the Madras Presidency. If a constituency is formed on vocational basis, it will be a very big constituency. It is costly for the Government to work the election. The Government would have to spend a lot of money. So I propose nomination on the vocational basis for the representation of Council. If the Government is prepared to spend money, election may be instituted. But it should be on vocational basis. I say it is easier to form constituency on vocational basis than on geographical basis. The vocational basis is the proper way of representing labour in the Council. It is not out of place to mention here that the caste system is present in a

Memorandum by the CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT LABOUR GUILD. [Concluded.]

I wish to point out that this system was suggested to America by William Macdonald, Esq., in his memorable book "A New Constitution for a New America."

If the Government is prepared to institute "Election" for labourers on vocational basis, I propose the group system of voting. For if you institute educational or property qualification, you will not find a dozen men among the lakh and a half tannery labourers competent to come under voters' list.

What I say about the tannery labourers is also true of plantation labourers. As in the tannery, the labourers in plantation are all belong to the depressed classes. In economic and educational conditions the plantation labourers are in the same position as the tannery labourers.

I wish to point out that most of the agricultural labourers are depressed classes.

Summary of the Suggestions.

1. The labour should be represented in the Council on vocational basis.
 2. The system of nomination on vocational basis is the best system of representation.
 3. But it is not impossible to have electorates among labourers on vocational basis—but it is costly.
 4. If election is instituted, group system should be adopted. The poverty of the labourers is great, so there will be a handful of voters under educational or property basis.
 5. India is not fit for adult suffrage. Compulsory elementary education should precede adult suffrage. I propose adult suffrage after 10 years.
- If you have doubt, the Guild will be pleased to help you by giving oral evidence.

Memorandum submitted by the ALL-INDIA ADI-DRAVIDA MAHA- JANA SABHA (Formerly known as The Madras Adi-Dravida Mahajana Sabha), Madras.

1. EXTENSION OF FRANCHISE.

- (a) The property qualification should be lowered, and further educational qualification should be taken into consideration.

Example: Qualifications of Voters.

- (a) Voter should not be under 21 years of age (general qualification)—
- (a) owns a house or a building by virtue of which he pays a tax of Rs. 2 per annum to the Corporation or Government, or
 - (b) owns a vehicle by virtue of which pays a license fee of Rs. 1 annually or
 - (c) pays income-tax or
 - (d) is a Military pensioner or
 - (e) who possesses a Secondary School Leaving Certificate or
 - (f) occupies a house whose annual tax is Rs. 2.
- (b) By the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Franchise was widened. In the first election which was held after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, many people who were newly enfranchised came to me and asked my advice. In the second election they became intelligent. I think it would

Memorandum by the ALL-INDIA ADI-DRAVIDA MAHALANA SANHA. [Continued.]

have been the case everywhere. The men who came to possess votes by the Reforms of 1832 in England would have exercised their votes intelligently only in the 2nd or 3rd election.

So when the people become accustomed (by 2 elections) they will cast intelligent votes.

N.B.—In order to obtain this result—the duration of the Provincial Councils should be 3 years (and not 5 years as recommended by the Simon Commission). Further, if possible the term of the local bodies such as Municipal Council should be 3 years so that people may become accustomed to election. The system of compulsory elementary education should be imposed (in the City of Madras the system of compulsory elementary education is in existence only in name). If the Committee wants further information I am prepared to give.

(c) Yes, it is manageable.

(e) The answer to this question is found in the Note given to the answer to the question (b).

(f) This system (group) is feasible. The group voters should vote in the same constituency as the directly qualified voters.

(g) No.

(h) It is not advantageous to abolish all qualifications for voters. Group system should be instituted to those who have no votes.

(i) No qualification is necessary.

2. FRANCHISE QUALIFICATIONS.

(b) Yes. I propose "weighted votes" for the depressed classes alone. They form a microscopic minority.

My system of "Plural voting" or "weighted votes as Professor Sidwick names it" is slightly different from the Belgian system.

The Belgian system lays stress upon wealth, I lay stress on education with age.

(c) Yes, the people who possess property have more responsibility than those who do not possess, see Answer to question I (a).

(d) Yes—See answer to question I (a).

(e) I want to extend it further. Not only pensioned officers but all pensioned military men.

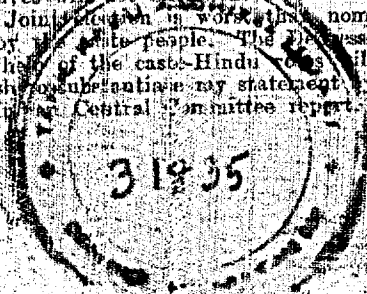
3. WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

(a) The age may be 21 years. I do not agree with the proposal of the Statutory Commission.

(b) No separate groups for women.

4. REPRESENTATION OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The depressed class voters form a microscopic minority. If reservation of seats in the joint electorate is proposed for the Depressed classes, Real Depressed class Representatives will not enter the Council. The system of reservation of seats in the Joint electorate is worse than nomination. It is nothing but a nomination by the white people. The Depressed classes who enter the councils with the help of the caste-Hindu voters will not work for depressed classes. I wish to substantiate my statement by the following taken from the Indian Central Committee report.



Memorandum by the ALL-INDIA ADI-DRAYIDA MAHAJANA SABHA. [Continued.]

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