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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AS a ruthless, if logical, outcome of the spirit that has brought about the change in the Congress creed and engendered the policy of non-co-operation, the British Congress Committee has been abolished and with it the paper *India*, the last number of which was published on January 14. A few days' midwinter madness has been sufficient to wipe out of existence an institution to build up which it took the devoted labours of over a quarter of a century of some of the noblest souls that have ever served India. W. C. Bannerjee, A. O. Hume, Dadabhoj Naoroji, the fathers of the Indian National Congress, and Sir William Wedderburn—it is a consolation to think that these have been spared the sorrow of witnessing the death of their dear offspring. It is touching to recall the great sacrifices that Sir William Wedderburn made year after year to keep the flag of the Congress flying in the capital of the Empire, the quiet heroism with which he fought for the Indian cause in the midst of disheartening adversities. It was the privilege of several members of the Servants of India Society, including Mr. Gokhale himself, to help Sir William in a humble capacity by canvassing for several years subscribers for the paper *India*. Not very long ago the late Mr. Tilak valued the work of the British Congress Committee and its organ *India* so highly as to direct all his influence to get them under the control of his party. And to-day his followers have become a party to their destruction under the hypnotic in-

fluence of a virtual dictator. Such is the vanity of human wishes or the fickleness of human nature, as one may choose to call it. To the followers of the old Congress and its ideals there is some satisfaction in the thought that ere the British Congress Committee and its journal were abolished, India was well on its way to realize self-government and acquire an honorable place in the British Empire.

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PERHAPS some people would like to know how Messrs. Satyamurti, Rangaswami Aiyangar and other Madras congressmen, who accepted the Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation, are reconciling themselves to their Fellowship of the Madras University—that is, supposing they have cared to think over the matter. It should be quite easy for them, and for our part we can think of several ways in which it could be reconciled. Firstly, the Nagpur Congress deliberately dropped the injunction contained in the Calcutta resolution to give up honorary offices. It was done obviously to meet such cases. No doubt there is the contingency of their being called upon to renounce their Fellowship by the Congress or its All-India Committee at some future time; but when the occasion arises it will be time enough to think. Meanwhile they can surely be trusted to rise equal to it. Secondly, there is no direct reference to fellowships of universities and even to universities in the non-co-operation resolution. Thirdly, that part of the non-co-operation resolution which refers to colleges, and indirectly to universities, applies only to students and not to members of the senate. Fourthly, the Nagpur Congress has given a clear direction to managers of schools and colleges to nationalise them. The senate of a university is its managing body. It is therefore the duty of congressmen to be on it and so work as to nationalise the whole of university education. Do you call it a wretched Moderate argument, say that the Moderates also want to so work institutions as to nationalise them? But then, you see, nothing that Moderates do can nationalise a thing. It is only Nationalists that can nationalise anything.

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MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR as Secretary of the Congress and an authoritative exponent of non-co-operation has directed non-co-operators in the Madras Presidency to contest municipal and local board elections and not to boycott them like the

council elections. His ground is that through municipal councils and local boards, primary education could be nationalised. It passes our comprehension how so acute and sincere a politician as Mr. Rajagopalachariar is reputed to be, can make a distinction between municipal councils and legislative councils in this respect. How can he hope to nationalise schools through the municipalities? They are getting tainted aid from the State and are under its wicked control. A municipality may do away with the financial aid of the State by enhancing its own rates, though it is very problematical whether the rate payers would agree to it even if called upon to do so in the holy name of non-co-operation. But even then the control and supervision of Government would remain which cannot be changed unless the Municipal Act itself is amended by the Legislative Council. Thus without legislative action no change towards nationalization would be possible. But if by nationalization is meant complete independence of Government, then it would be equally unattainable through municipal and legislative councils. It would have to be attained by quite independent means. One cannot therefore understand how if the one is taboo, the other is not.

MR. GANDHI also makes a similar distinction between the municipal council and the legislative council; but on a different ground from that of Mr. Rajagopalachariar. A correspondent asked Mr. Gandhi: "If the Government is wicked and unjust, as we believe, is it consistent and logical that we shall refuse to co-operate with it in legislative councils, courts, etc. but should continue to co-operate with it in municipalities?" Mr. Gandhi's reply is: "the municipalities do not consolidate the power of the Government as do the Councils. Once we admit the wickedness of the Government system, we must admit the necessity of doing nothing to strengthen that system. I will not dispute the necessity even of dissociating ourselves from municipalities. And any councillor is free to resign, or court disbandment, if they feel that they are helping the present system. The Congress resolution is an indication of how far the nation as a whole should or could go. But there can be no limit put upon individual renunciation." Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that the power of the Government is not consolidated by municipalities, while he thinks it is consolidated by legislative councils, we cannot understand. His making it a matter of individual opinion appears to be quite arbitrary. The average dweller in the municipality is certainly intelligent enough to associate the police, education, lights, water and other municipal conveniences with the Government from which alone the municipality derives its powers of taxation and expenditure. But he also says that he does not dispute the necessity of dissociating from municipalities. If he thus admits the necessity, how can he leave it to individual opinion?

WHAT is tainted money? According to Mr. Gandhi, the money paid by the people to the Government in the shape of taxes, becomes tainted when used by the latter to consolidate their power. Though all grants made by Government have that character, the Congress has recommended for the present only the boycott of educational institutions, because, according to Mr. Gandhi, the power of Government is consolidated to a special degree through educational institutions. In formulating this theory of 'taint' he has overlooked a very important fact. The Government consolidate their power much more by printing money and enforcing its currency than by spending it on various useful purposes. A scrap of paper acquires money value by bearing the stamp of Government. Similarly a bit of metal gets an extraordinary value by being put through the Government mint. If one thing consolidates the power and prestige of Government more than anything else, it is the acceptance of these artificial values by the people. If Mr. Gandhi really wants to save his followers from the most corrupting influence of a wicked Government, he should call money tainted at the very source and not by the purpose for which a grant is intended. In fact how can a non-co-operator ignore the very stamp of 'taint' that stares him in the face?

THE starting of an association at Patna under the leadership of Mr. Hasan Imam, who presided over the Bombay special session of the Congress, and of similar associations elsewhere to counteract the movement of non-co-operation is an unmistakable sign of the country's willingness to return to sense. The decision to keep the Patna League distinct and separate from the National Liberal Federation of India may confer upon it some advantages in Bihar. We shall, however, consider the workers that have gathered under Mr. Hasan Imam's banner to be of us so long as the lines of their work are similar to ours. As we have said on a former occasion, our registers will never show our strength. Other associations with a definite identification with the Liberal party have made or are about to make their appearances at different places. The Dhulia Liberals have published a manifesto calling upon all well-wishers of the country to range themselves on the side of law and order and the establishment of a Liberal League there will before long become an accomplished fact. The Liberal forces at Satara have also organised themselves by the formation of a league which will be affiliated to the Western India National Liberal Association at Bombay and under the leadership of Ran Bahadur Kail who has just resigned his public prosecutors' post take a more earnest part in public affairs, they seem to have before them a career of great usefulness. The agrarian troubles of the United Provinces do not seem to have ended yet. Now and then

reports of fresh disturbances and numerous cases of shooting are being reported. It is generally conceded that the riots have legitimate grievances to enquire into which, if properly handled, Government are shortly going to appoint a committee. That ex-convicts and other bad characters are exploiting the riots and bringing them on various ways for their own ends, also seems clear. It does not surprise us when these bad characters have used Mr. Gandhi's name as a slogan to incite the ignorant villagers to indulge in such things. We were expected and pressed upon Mr. Gandhi as a danger besetting his satyagraha and non-co-operation campaigns. The U.S.P. Government have given their own version of the facts and have made out that except in one case being because absolutely necessary and was resorted to only when inevitable. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and some others left several days ago for the scene of the disturbances, but they have not yet published any facts or results of their inquiry. The public therefore are unable to form a correct independent judgment. But a fact is not to be able in all such regrettable incidents whether they are the Kishans of the U.P., the Kullars of Madhgal or the mill-hands of Bombay or Madras is that the police seem to resort to firing somewhat gratuitously, creating the impression on one's mind that human life was held here very cheap. How could the British police be taken mean like the lawless used bullets under such circumstances? If it is time that our Government enjoined a higher standard of humanity and a greater degree of forbearance on our police. At any rate we should be justified in expecting our ministers to do what lies in their power. Now a revolution is being started in India. Dr. Mann speaking the other day before a London gathering of temperance reformers, showed a correct appreciation of the problem of Indian temperance when he described it as a financial one. The people of India are fast followers by nature and all their religious injunctions enjoin complete non-co-operation with drink in any form. They would be only too glad to stop the drink traffic by means of legal action or even of total prohibition, if no other considerations had added to the complications of the problem. Such a course of action was not going to cause inconvenience to anybody, if the class of legitimate consumers which is entirely foreign to Indian society and is a microscopic minority is left out of account. The solution of the problem lies in the finding out of alternative sources of revenue to replace our receipts on account of excise. It is also clear that any fresh sources that it may be decided to tap to this end must not touch the rural population which has more than its fair share of the burden of taxation, to bear. The imposition of death duties and the taxation of land values in the neighbourhood of growing towns, as suggested by Dr. Mann, will probably go a long way in making a solution of this problem a matter of practical politics.

STUDENTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

The kind of non-co-operation among students in the form of boy-cotting aided educational institutions which began to creep some months ago and attacked Aligarh with a Hindu force and Benares with less impetuosity, followed a way somewhat rapidly and before the Congress met at Nagpur was almost at its desert point. But the Bengal agitation has set back the movement and the tide is again rising, the tide is again swelling, the agitation is spreading with an attractive intensity and volume that was unknown before. When Mr. G. M. Dutt made a pointed attack against Aligarh and Mr. G. Gandhi tried to pull down the Benares University, the Nationalist leaders of Bengal and Mr. C. R. Das were prominently among the others, and the students of the danger of non-co-operation did remind them of the danger of the very day, the day which when the agitation was at its height. Bengal was consequently unaffected, to the edifying surprise of a good many people all over the country. Only a few days before the Nagpur Congress met, Mr. Das and Mr. M. M. Das were greeted with hisses by the extremist students of Nagpur. But the few days of the Christmas week seem to have brought about a completed change in this. The old belief became a positive article of faith. The vivid memories of the Swadeshi days are now remembered and there is always a favourite with students in every generous supporter of the poor among them. It has always been the has succeeded in drawing away thousands of them from their colleges. It would perhaps be difficult to find a parallel to his influence over students anywhere in the world. After hearing of his remarkable successes, Messrs. Gandhi, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and others tried to do similar things in Bombay. A meeting which is reported to have been attended by about fifteen thousand students was arranged in the night to approve a message and Mr. Shaukat Ali tried to imitate Mr. Das's manner. "What is the use of speaking to colleges, you? You are no good! You don't give up your and go as I tell you!" said Mr. Das and it told upon his audience. Similar words addressed by Mr. Shaukat Ali fell flat on the Bombay students and out of the audience of fifteen thousand only one responded to the call. The next day a few more joined him, but on the whole the result has been such that the students of Bombay deserve to be heartily congratulated on their level-headedness. The student situation in Calcutta is very serious. We do not think any one with a sense of responsibility would minimise it. But we do not think it is such as to make one despair. We do not think the students have withdrawn themselves from schools and colleges out of an understanding or appreciation of the doctrine of non-co-operation as applied to Indian politics or of the moral philosophy of Mr. Gandhi. They appear to have merely obeyed Mr. Das's call out of their affection for him. If we had

thought there was conviction behind their attitude we should have thought the situation hopeless. The Calcutta students have indeed been guilty of excesses which have already alarmed some people. They have altogether ignored the reference to conscience made by the Nagpur resolution and have adopted picketing, obstruction, lying down in front of doors and other objectionable methods. To call them non-violent because no physical injury is inflicted on the victims is a misuse of language. Preventing a man from doing his duty or exercising a legitimate right, by catching hold of his arms or lying down in numbers in front of him, is as violent as simple imprisonment or deportation. It is establishing tyranny in the name of liberty. Strongly as these excesses are to be deprecated, we do not, however, think that the students are so much to blame for them as their leaders. The Bengal students have always been a very generous, if somewhat too emotional, and trustful lot who have shown themselves capable of the highest sacrifice and the finest emotion. It is the very excellence of their qualities that has made them the victims of unscrupulous persons or misguided patriots. It is indeed pathetic how easily they allow themselves to be led by some people. A small incident in the present strike is quite to the point. Some students were lying down before the gates of a college and were deaf to all arguments, physical or moral till a note from Mr. Das arrived telling them that as non-co-operators their bodies were holy and therefore not to be allowed to be trampled upon, and immediately they gave up that posture. Such credulity is amazing when found among persons seeking university education. But there it is as a fact and it ought to increase the sense of responsibility in those who have power over them. What need cause uneasiness to any one is not the excesses committed by the students but the absence of an unequivocal disapproval of them by the leaders of the non-co-operation movement and its organs. So far as we are aware, it is only the Calcutta paper, the *Servant*, that has condemned these obstructive methods and neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mr. Das, though we are sure they do not approve of them.

On the whole we feel warranted in taking an optimistic view of the situation on account of the inherent weakness of the non-co-operation cause, particularly in its application to students. Very soon they will begin to see that their generosity of nature and immaturity of mind are exploited to support a cause which grown up men either reject or shrink from supporting; that while direct appeals are made to them for sacrifice, the parents of children under sixteen and persons in the legal and other professions are let off easily. They will also see how their leaders are shifting their grounds and changing the hopes held out by them. At first it was given out that paralyzing a wicked Government was the main object of the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Gandhi, whose ideas frequently change, now tells us that it is only a

secondary object, the primary one being self-purification. Purification for what sins and when committed? Is it the sin inherent in human nature, accounted for variously as committed in a former birth or by an original ancestor like Adam? If it is some such thing, then it is true of all times and all countries and not peculiar to the present Government in this country. Or is it the sin of the Government for which we are asked to undergo vicarious self-suffering? Such a doctrine coming from Mr. Gandhi should not surprise anyone, for in South Africa he inflicted suffering on himself on several occasions for others' breaking the vows of passive resistance. We do not believe that our students will be prepared to undergo such vicarious suffering. If they are told that self-purification means only self-protection from contamination they will see that in a hundred ways the contamination is taking place and the fancied purity is impossible. At one time the starting of taint-free institutions for the benefit of the non-co-operating students used to receive prominence. Mr. Muhammad Ali found it necessary to declare himself the principal of a new 'university' at Aligarh and his generous brother to promise a munificent grant of a crore of rupees. Now the starting of national colleges and schools is made a secondary matter, service of the country being emphasised. It is short time service, just for a year, we are told. But what kind of service is it to be? If Mr. Gandhi's idea should prevail the students who come out of their schools and colleges should take the spinning wheel, spin for the nation and remove India's chronic poverty. We submit that the longest yarns which our non-co-operating students could spin over a whole year will not in the least affect the poverty of our country. At a modest estimate nearly fifty per cent. of the population of the country would be under the poverty line, while all the college students put together would be only about a couple of lakhs, and surely most of them will not non-co-operate. The yarn produced by a single mill and now exported to China or Japan would be more than a year's combined output of all the non-co-operating students. By doing more useful work they would be serving the country better. We are sure that after a few days' spinning they will recognise it themselves. They will also see that the millennium promised to come at the end of the year or in nine months, will be elusive like all millenniums in the history of the world. We should not be surprised if, before the millennium is due, we are told one day that *Swaraj* means self-rule or rule of the self, that it is a religious and moral ideal and has nothing to do with politics. Though the students and some of their elders are under a sort of hypnotic spell at present and unable to think for themselves, we are sure that their normal faculties will soon assert themselves and they will see the futility and absurdity of non-co-operation. It is this faith that makes us take an optimistic view of what is indeed a serious situation.

CIVIL LIBERTY IN AMERICA.

Some people base their opposition to the Government of India Act, 1919, on the ground that it fails to secure the Indian people in the enjoyment of their rights of freedom of speech, of freedom of meeting and of freedom of movement by not containing a clear declaration of rights. It seems to be the view of such people that a declaration of rights would make a repetition of the Punjab impossible in the future, would put a stop once and for all to deportations and imprisonments without trial, and would make arrests and house searches without warrants an event of the dead past. We have repeatedly exposed the hollowness of such a supposition on the strength of certain happenings in America and have held the view that a mere declaration of rights unaccompanied by a development in the political consciousness of the people was not going to carry us very far. The U. S. of America with perhaps the most perfect constitution the world has yet seen, have not been able to prevent calculated inroads on the civil liberty enjoyed by her citizens. In our issue of December 16 last, we published some extracts from the report of a committee of eminent attorneys made after full inquiry. The following further extracts from the same report illustrate the manner in which house searches are carried out in America even at the present moment and how the horrors of the old lynch law are repeated in open day-light under official auspices with a view to extort confessions from people under suspicion:—

HARTFORD JAIL SITUATION.

In Bridgeport, Conn., on November 8, 1919 various workmen had come together to discuss ways and means for buying an automobile to be employed for instruction purposes. The meeting was raided and 63 men arrested without warrants by agents of the Department of Justice and taken to the police station. A day or two later, 16 of these were released. The remaining 47, after being held three days in the police station, where they slept on iron bunks without cover or mattress, and where they were fed on little or nothing, were transferred by the Department of Justice to the Hartford Jail. Other persons who were arrested in this way or who had applied at the Hartford Jail for permission to see their friends, were also taken up and confined to jail. There were finally 97 men held for deportation. Most of them were questioned by Department of Justice agents; some were beaten or threatened with hanging or suffocation in order to obtain answers from them. Warrants of arrest for these men were requested and obtained from the Department of Labour by the Department of Justice. Most of the 97 prisoners remained in practically solitary confinement until the end of April, that is, for five months. When the facts finally came to the attention of Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labour, he ordered all the men to be transferred to the Immigrant Station at Deer Island, Boston.

During these five months the prisoners were allowed no reading matter; were kept alone in their cells except for occasional visits from the Department of Justice agents or hearings before Department of Labour Inspectors; were refused in some cases knowledge of the charges against them; were refused, in some cases, knowledge of the amount of bail under which they were held; were allowed only 2 to 5 minutes a day to wash their face and hands at a sink outside their cells, and 5 minutes once a month to wash their bodies in a tub, were given practically no exercise, and were fed with foul and insufficient food.

In the Hartford jail there exist four punishment rooms, all alike, unventilated and utterly dark, size 4 feet 3 inches by 8 feet 10 inches, with solid concrete floors, no furniture of any kind, and placed over the pump room of the boiler so that the temperature in them becomes unbearably high. A number of the supposed anarchist or Communist prisoners, probably ten to fifteen, were confined in these rooms for periods of 36 to 60 hours. During their imprisonment in the suffocating heat without air, they were given one glass of water and one slice of bread every 12 hours. Some of them on being released had to be revived before they could be carried to their cells; one man who was in only 36 hours was able to get to his cell unaided.

These Hartford prisoners were practically buried alive for five months, being even denied the privilege of seeing their relatives or friends, who made constant attempts to communicate with them. Only after a lawyer had finally succeeded in gaining access to the jail, were the conditions at all ameliorated and the men ultimately moved to Deer Island. That there were no substantial charges against at least ten of them is shown by the fact that after being held in 10,000 bail for two months and a half, those ten were released without bail on January 24th. It seems probable that at least a majority had no political views of any special nature, but were simply workmen of Russian nationality speaking little or no English.

The foregoing statement, with many details, is evidenced by the statements of Isaac Shorr* of the New York bar, who represented these men, by an impartial expert investigator who was sent to the jail, and personal interviews with some of the men.

RAID ON RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S HOUSE.

On November 7, 1919, the most violent of six raids by agents of the Department of Justice and the New York Bomb Squad, was made upon the Russian People's House, 133 East 15th Street, New York City, in search of supposed anarchists and anarchistic literature.

The executive committee of the Federated Unions of Russian Workers occupied an office in the building, which was confined to one room. The other rooms were used principally as educational class-rooms, except a small restaurant or cafeteria.

At the time of the raid Department agents had a few warrants for the arrest of supposed offenders. They went through the building, and broke up and destroyed most of the furniture in the place, including desks and typewriting machines. They "beat up" the persons in the place, amounting to several hundred, with black-jacks and stair rails; broke up all the classes then in session and herded the students to the stairways, beating them as they went, shoving them from the landing on to the stairway so that many fell and rolled down the stairs and were trampled upon by those who were shoved after them.

After this raid several hundred prisoners were taken to the office of the Department of Justice at 13 Park Row and there put through the third degree of inquisition. Less than one-fifth of them were held for deportation charges and all the remainder were released to go about their business as being innocent of any wrong-doing.

Many of the persons assaulted suffered serious wounds, and one man who was taken to Ellis Island was in a terrible condition. The manner in which these acts were committed caused a mass meeting of protest to be held the following evening (Nov. 8) at Madison Square Garden, presided over by Dudley Field Malone.

All these facts were immediately put before the Attorney-General in detail, in a respectful letter written to him by Isaac Shorr, of the New York bar, on behalf of the persons so arrested. Mr. Shorr asked to be informed whether the acts of the Department's agents had been committed by the authority of the Department, and, if not, that the Department institute an investigation to fix the responsibility.

MINISTERS' SALARIES.

LIKE most of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, their suggestion to the legislative councils that it was reasonable for the ministers of the provincial government domiciled in India to be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members' should gain the general assent of all Liberals in India. How strongly public opinion is in favour of fixing a lower salary for ministers than that of executive councillors, is apparent from the fact that notices of resolutions recommending the fixing of something between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 3500 have been given so far in all the provinces except the Punjab. The advocates of this measure do not intend to resort to it as a constitutional device for getting rid of an unpopular ministry. The demand is based purely on financial and moral grounds. This aspect, it is hoped, will be remembered by the members of the various legislative councils, when the question comes up before them for disposal. It will certainly be more graceful for the ministers to propose of their own accord a reasonable salary which they can accept consistently with the maintenance of their status and position and the

pressure on public finances. It appears that in some provinces ministers do not favour the proposed lowering of their salaries, which they seem to think is bound to lower their status. In the discussion on the resolutions, this view is bound to be advanced with all the arguments in support of it, but it is to be hoped that the ministers will not treat it as a vote of censure on them, if their view fails to find adequate support among the members of the legislative councils. The resolutions are not meant to question the leadership of or the confidence in the ministers, but only to give an early opportunity to the legislatures to demonstrate their resolve to practise the greatest economy in fixing the salaries of public servants without loss of efficiency.

Among the arguments advanced against this proposal, the objection raised by the *Tribune* and the *Leader* that such a differentiation will necessarily entail a differentiation in the matter of status and position, both in the eyes of the civil service and other cognate services and of the public generally, is the one that most strongly appeals to some people. But a little reflexion will show that the status of a public servant is not so intimately connected with the amount of his salary as it is supposed to be. His status depends entirely on the rank which he occupies in the official hierarchy and the powers with which he is invested. The various Indian deputations fought for equality of status for ministers with that of the executive councillors, and their claim has been fully conceded. The Joint Select Committee have unambiguously recommended that "the status of ministers should be similar to that of the members of the executive council." There is no reason to minimise the importance of this assurance or to expect that it would be more honoured in the breach than in observance. With such a clear guarantee for conferring on the ministers a status identical with that of the executive councillors, Indian ministers need not labour under the false impression that reduction in their remuneration would entail lowering of their status. They should on the other hand think of the moral influence which they would be able to wield by surrendering their high salaries. The people hope to have only such men at the helm of affairs as will maintain their assured status without in any way proving themselves a burden to the State. We want strong ministers who can teach the Civil Service and other sister services how to respect them and obey them. This cannot be done by merely maintaining a highly paid domestic establishment or by living in costly surroundings. It requires independence of character, self-respect and real patriotism. We trust none of our present ministers is lacking in any of these qualities. What is required of them is to get rid of the false notion that status is materially dependent on salary.

The opponents of reduction of ministers' salaries evince great solicitude for securing the services of the best men in the land as ministers

They say that if remuneration for ministerships were to be made less attractive than that of executive councillorships, you will not get capable men to accept this responsibility. Such a view, however, entirely fails to appreciate the growth of public spirit and self-sacrifice that has taken place in the country. The Deccan Rayats' Association, which is a body representative of backward classes in the Deccan, went so far as to suggest that ministerships should be honorary offices. People earning large incomes in professions have in the past shown their readiness to serve the country on a much lower remuneration, and there is no evidence to show that this spirit is on the wane. What is required is opportunity. The salaries of British cabinet ministers are fixed without taking into consideration the sacrifice which they would be required to make in accepting office. Is it right to adopt a different principle in a country which is admittedly among the poorest and the people of which are supposed to be spiritual in a special degree?

Of all the avenues for national service opened to Indians under the British Government, none will deny that except for the Governorship of a province, the ministerships offer by far the best opportunities for work. Those who value real service to the nation will certainly not mind a little sacrifice. We have had men like Sir Sankaran Nair, Babu Bhupendranath Basu, even Lord Sinha serving in England on a salary not exceeding Rs. 1,500 per mensem. Will the nation have no right to expect the services of the sons of its soil on similar conditions in India?

Again, there are others who hold that after having pleaded before the Joint Select Committee for equality of status, position and emoluments, it is improper for Indians to go back upon it. This contention assumes that the conditions under which the claim was made before the Joint Select Committee still continue to operate. The present demand for even drastic reduction in this matter is not at all inconsistent with our past contention. When the deputations pleaded for equality of salaries, they had before their mind the proposal that the Governor should be empowered to fix it. They would not have done so if real responsibility had been conceded in the bill itself. It was but natural for them to insist on the equality of salaries because the minister was to be appointed and dismissed solely at the will of the Governor. The position has materially changed in this respect by the grant of real responsibility in certain departments. Now the ministers are the servants of the people and not of the bureaucracy. They interpret and carry out the wishes of the Council and the people. Whether they receive salaries equal to or even less than those of executive councillors, their status remains unimpaired, which would not have been the case when their responsibility was not recognised.

In dealing with the question of salaries of ministers, members of legislative councils will do

well to compare the salaries granted to British Cabinet ministers, or similar officers in France, the United States of America or Japan. Even a front rank politician like Mr. Fisher serves on an annual salary of £1,500 only. Even the recommendations of the Select Committee on the remuneration of British ministers, whose report was issued in December last, make it quite plain that the remuneration for the British Cabinet ministers is not such as to make their position quite comfortable for ever. Except the prime minister, no cabinet minister is to receive more than Rs. 4,200 per mensem. They do not participate in the payment of members of the House of Commons. With these figures before them, is it fair for Indians to tax their fellow-countrymen under fanciful notions of prestige and dignity? Have we not condemned them in the past, when British officers took their stand upon them? The Indian National Congress and all other public bodies in India have been condemning for years together the top-heavy character of the administration. How does it behove us to forget our contention when it is given to us to put it into practice?

K. G. LIMAYE.

STABILITY OF EXCHANGE.

FOREIGN exchanges are a mechanism by which the money of one country is changed into the money of another. The fluctuations in the rates of exchange are caused by variations in the relative value of the currencies of the countries between which exchange is quoted. These variations are generally due to (1) the Balance of indebtedness, (2) Loss of credit, (3) Depreciation of the currency, (4) Rate of interest in the two countries, (5) Distance between two countries, (6) Panic and (7) State of emergency like that of war. One more factor which ought to be taken into account is the relative value of the two metals if the currencies of the two countries are in different metals. Of these factors the two most important which are affecting India heavily are the first and the last viz. the balance of indebtedness and the relative value of gold and silver.

During the war the most important factor affecting exchange viz. the balance of trade was favourable to India. This balance would have been settled by the import of precious metals if conditions had been natural and normal. But on account of war, restrictions were put upon the movements of the precious metals. When such was the state of things silver began to appreciate. Before the war silver used to be in the neighbourhood of 27d. per ounce. The rupee could remain a token coin till the rate reached the limit of 43d. per ounce. After this limit was passed, in order to prevent the melting or export from India of silver rupees, the Government of India, as they said, found it necessary to raise the rate of exchange. The first change was made on the 20th December 1916 and then gradually the rate was, as is well

known, raised to 2s. 4d. on the 16th December 1919. In May 1919, they felt that the exchange situation was departing widely from its normal position and appointed a Committee presided over by Sir H. Babington Smith, to advise the Government in regard to the future of Indian Exchange and Currency. The Committee submitted their report on the 22nd December 1919 which was published on the 2nd February 1920.

Even as a temporary solution the recommendations of the Committee have not only failed to achieve the intended object but proved disastrous to the best interests of the country. At the height of the export season the market was never able to support a two-shilling gold exchange. Even the sale of £55 millions of Reverse Councils, from 1st February to 28th September 1920 has not strengthened exchange. The Government of India in their reply to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce admit that their inability to make 2s. gold rate effective even during the period in which Reverse Councils were being sold was due largely to factors which could not have been foreseen. The high rate of exchange has inhibited exports and stimulated imports with the result that the balance of trade which was highly in favour of India, has now become adverse to her. This is attributed by Government to "(1) the overstocking of the American and European markets, (2) the commercial crisis in Japan, (3) the necessity for the continuation of the embargo on the export of food-grains, and (4) the inability of the continental countries, owing to their debased currencies and their debilitated financial conditions, to pay for imports." Those who have been in touch with the markets know whether the high rate of exchange was responsible for reducing exports or not. The other causes mentioned by Government were contributory, but the main responsibility of the exchange rate cannot be ignored. Now the silver having fallen in value and the balance of trade being reversed, the exchange has fallen to 1s. 5½ d. and we don't know where we stand. The Government of India expect that the "operation of natural conditions will allow the eventual fixation of exchange at the level advocated in the report of the Currency Committee." Lord Meston also in surveying the Indian exchange position before a Manchester meeting is reported to have said that it "would not be in a day or year that the rupee would settle down to 2s., but the 2s. rate would eventually be reached."

Let us see by comparing the markets of gold and silver for the last six months whether there is any indication, however slight it may be, of the Government anticipation being fulfilled.

| | Gold (in London) | Silver. |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 23rd July | ...£5- 8- 9 | ...55½y. per ounce. |
| 26th August | ...£5-15- 0 | ...58½d. do. |
| 30th Sept. | ...£5-18- 4 | ...59½d. do. |
| 28th Oct. | ...£5-17-11 | ...52d. do. |
| 25th Nov. | ...£5-17- 7 | ...47½d. do. |
| 23rd Dec. | ...£5-15- 8 | ...40½d. do. |

On the 23rd December 1920, the rate of gold in London was £5-15-8 per fine ounce and the rate of silver was 40½d. per standard ounce, '925 fine. The exchange on Bombay was quoted at 1s. 5¾d. or 17¾d. That means on that day in London the sterling was valued at about 83 grains of fine gold or 734 grains of gold in sovereign. A rupee would buy in London 6.1 grains of fine gold and 165 grains of fine and silver would be equal in value to 5.2 grains of fine gold and that the rupee valued at 17¾d. Sterling is equal to 13d. nearly in gold.

On 23rd July the price of gold was £5-8-9 and that of silver 55½ d. per ounce. The exchange quotation per rupee was 1s. 10½d. The ratio of the value of an ounce of gold to an ounce of silver was 23.6 on July 23rd, and 34.8 on December 23. This shows how silver is depreciating in terms of gold. The value of the rupee at 22½ d. sterling was equal to about 17d. in gold. So it is clear that the rupee which was 17d. gold in July is to-day 13d. gold in December; while Government want to raise it to 24d. gold. How is the end to be achieved? Due to inflation in India and famine in China silver is likely to go down rather than to go up. One cannot understand how stability in exchange is to be attained. The memorial for stability of exchange is, as a Paris correspondent of the *Times* said, yet to be erected.

The only remedy for the many difficulties is to introduce a gold standard with gold currency. The fear entertained in certain quarters that India will prove a veritable sink, has been dissipated by the recent happenings. During the course of this month gold and silver have been exported out of the country to satisfy the adverse balance of trade. Once the real gold currency is introduced in India and enough gold is given to her in proportion to her population, automacity in the movements of precious metals in settlement of trade demand will be visible exactly in the form in which it is visible in England, France or Australia.

C. S. DEOLE.

THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

THE Indian Economic Association held its Fourth Annual Conference at Allahabad during the last Christmas holidays. As its name indicates, the Conference is intended to bring together people from all parts of India who are interested in the serious study and discussion of the various economic problems confronting our country. It should include teachers of economics in colleges, business-men tackling economic questions from day to day, journalists and leaders of public movements. But Christmas is so full a time for most of these people, and the Indian Economic Association owing to its infancy is so little known whether in academic or business circles, that the attendance at the Allahabad Conference was by no means very full, though representative of different parts of India. The Conference, therefore, was wise in selecting some date in October for its next meeting.

What was lacking in numbers was, however, more than made up by the fulness of the programme. In fact there were so many papers to be read and discussed at the seven sessions of the Conference held during four days that the Chairman, Dr. Gilbert Slater of Madras, had to use the guillotine practically continuously, and even so some papers had to be left over. The new Executive Committee has instructions so to arrange the programme as to leave more time for discussion. The papers were on such varied subjects as (1) the measurement of the consumer's surplus, (2) a subsistence wage, based on an economic investigation in Indore City made by Prof. Lyons and his students, (3) Currency and Exchange, by Messrs. B. F. Madon and C. S. Deole of Bombay, Prof. Stanley Jevons of Allahabad, and Sardar M. V. Kibe of Indore, (4) the finance of the new reforms by Prof. Shahani of Bhavnagar, (5) famine and export by Dr. Gilbert Slater, (6) labour legislation by Prof. Burnett-Hurst of Allahabad etc. etc. The discussion on all topics, so far as time permitted it, was lively and informing, as is only to be expected from the character of the delegates. Finance and currency, however, aroused the greatest enthusiasm, and both the members of the Government of India and our new legislators would have derived lasting benefit by hearing the discussion on the two topics. It would be impossible to give here even a summary of what appeared to be the judgment of the Conference on the various problems thrashed out in those four days. Readers must be referred for that purpose to the double number of the *Indian Journal of Economics* which will be published in the course of the year and which is expected to give a pretty full report of all that was said. The pressing need of the Association is to make itself known so that it may come fully to deserve the name it bears and be able to focuss the opinions of well-informed and thoughtful people on all important questions of current economic interest. The India of the new era badly wants such an educative organisation.

A DELEGATE.

REVIEWS.

Indian Railway Series No. 1. Compiled and edited by Mr. F. K. Dadanchi.

This pamphlet is a timely publication in view of the Railway Committee which is now sitting. It contains a reprint of a paper on Indian Railway Policy read in July 1916 before the East India Association by Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. I. E., who was Consulting Engineer of State Railways to the Government of India, and a supplementary note by him in reply to criticisms that were made on his paper. Sir Guilford's paper strongly advocates State management and brings out the fact that that policy, being introduced in India in 1870 as the result of an able minute on the subject by Lord Lawrence, was reversed by Lord Ripon owing to the influence which private interests were able to exercise on Parliament. The compiler and editor has contributed an introduction which has become considerably longer than the paper itself on account of a needless profusion of quotations. He reminds us that as admitted by Sir Robert Gillan in the Imperial Legislative Council, with the solitary exception of Holland, India is the

only country where State-owned Railways are given over to company management. The compiler tells us that the second pamphlet in the series will contain select opinions on the success of State management in actual practice. We should think that the opinions quoted in the present pamphlet are quite sufficient for all ordinary purposes, and that, as the Railway Committee will finish their labours in a few months, it would be an advantage to bring out in one pamphlet—with a somewhat greater regard for economy of space than is visible in the present one—all the matter intended for the succeeding numbers in the series.

Non-Co-operation ; Its Pros and Cons. By Mr. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy.

This is a brightly written little pamphlet published at Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. The writer is Joint Secretary of the Western India National Liberal Federation and of the Anti-Non-Co-operation Committee, Bombay. In a foreword Sir Dinshaw Wacha says, "The brochure displays considerable assiduity and intelligent discrimination in the assimilation and marshalling of many a fact and argument with which a variety of visitors in the Press have made us familiar during the past many weeks". The writer deals with the main events that have led to the movement of non-co-operation and the main items of its present programme. We give elsewhere a few extracts from it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

STUDENTS AND SPINNING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR—What a coincidence it is that Mahatma Gandhi should give his message of spinning to the students of Gujarat Mahavidyalaya on 12th as if in anticipation of your remarks in your paper on 13th inst. ! Before your suggestion of testing his recruits had reached him he had already applied the test. And the response of students, let me tell you, was just the opposite of what your notions based, no doubt, on your knowledge of the atmosphere of "slave factories" would warrant. Here in the Swaraj Ashram we are 22 of us, living under the care of Principal Gidvani and we spin four hours a day and are prepared to spend our whole day at it if he desires it. If you visit our College you will find nearly every student staying after college hours, coming before time or using free periods, to produce yarn for the nation.

To-day we are going to be spinners for the motherland. To-morrow we would break stones if necessary to pave roads for India's freedom. We see nothing derogatory in true service. And if you would have the same spirit generated in the youths of your country as your remarks suggest, prepare them, for motherland's sake, to receive the great inspiration now afloat in the atmosphere of non-violent non-co-operation.

Hoping you to take up the above course of action for the fulfilment of your desire.—Yours etc.

A. G. MEHTA.

Swaraj Ashrama,
Ahmedabad, 19th January 21.

[We were glad to read the same news in *Young India* of the 19th inst. The test to be considered successful should be applied for a sufficiently long time and over a sufficiently large area—to students who do not come in personal contact with Mr. Gandhi.—Ed.]

AN ENTERTAINMENT TO MR. PARANJPYE.

A successful evening entertainment took place on Sunday, January 23 in the Deccan Sabha rooms, Poona. This was arranged by the Deccan Sabha, the Deccan Liberal Party, and the Deccan Liberal Club for honouring the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye on his appointment as Minister of Education, Bombay. The function was well-attended, and prominent among those who were present on the occasion were the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye, Mr. B. S. Kamat, M. L. A., Hon. Prof. Kale, Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale.

M. L. C. Rag Bahadur R. R. Kale, Mr. L. C. Mr. V. S. Gupte, M. L. C. Mr. G. M. Albor, M. J. C. Mr. V. G. Apke, Principal, New Poona College, Sirdar Mehendale, and many others.

Letters of regret at inability to attend and conveying greetings were received from the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Rao Bahadur V. N. Khopkar, Prof. A. B. Latha, M. L. A., Rao Bahadur Ramabhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, M. L. C., Mr. Bole, M. L. C. and some others.

Mr. Sastri wrote to the Secretary as follows: "In every way I rejoice at the preferment that has come to Mr. Paranjpye. I need not enlarge upon his personal worth and character. I should never end in that case. Suffice it to say I felt from the beginning that the Governor could not help offering the Education portfolio to him. Not that I know that the Governor's choice has in any way been against his own personal inclination. In fact, I believe that His Excellency must have felt that his Government were particularly fortunate in having a man of such unquestionable eminence available for their choice. All the similar appointments have been made this season, there is none that more than this is the ideal condition, and is more unassailable even by envy. Let me conclude with a wish that he will receive from the public of his province that co-operation and understanding without which no statesman or administrator can accomplish anything."

MR. KAMAT'S SPEECH.

Mr. Kamat, who presided on the occasion, offered his most cordial congratulations and those of his fellow-Liberals in the Deccan to the guest of the evening on his selection as Minister. In doing so, he eulogised Mr. Paranjpye's services to the country rendered in various fields of activity. He referred to his work in the Fergusson College, which, in Mr. Kamat's opinion, owed its present position to Mr. Paranjpye's remarkable self-sacrifice and his almost paternal love for his students. In the local council he had a record of work of which anybody might feel proud. He was actively associated with the public life of Poona ever since he joined the Fergusson College and was a staunch Liberal. His selection, therefore, for the portfolio of education was a triumph of the principles of the Liberal party, to which Mr. Paranjpye had belonged all through his life. As Education Minister, his work would be onerous and difficult. As an eminent educationist, he could be expected to prepare large schemes of reform. In carrying them out, however, he would have to face difficulties from the Finance Member of the Government on the one hand, and from the people on the other; and as the spokesman of the Deccan Liberals, Mr. Kamat assured Mr. Paranjpye that they on their part would afford him every help in educating the public. A careful consideration of the situation would convince any reasonable man that it would be impossible to carry out any comprehensive schemes of reform—educational, medical, sanitary, industrial or any other,—without resort to fresh taxation. Public opinion would have to be properly educated before it could be induced to agree to such proposals, and no Liberal in the Deccan would hesitate to face such a situation, provided the Ministers cut down in the first instance every possible extravagance under the old Government.

MR. PARANJPYE'S REPLY.

The Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye then replied. He reminded the assembly that he had always prided himself on being a Liberal. Liberalism implied progress in all directions. A true Liberal could not afford to be a liberal merely in politics and a reactionary in social matters. Liberals, therefore, stood for progress all along the line. Their ideals had been defined by such leaders as Ranade and Gokhale, whom the inauguration of this great experiment in constitutional reform would surely have rejoiced.

Mr. Kamat had done well in referring to some of his prospective difficulties. For his own part he had never underrated them. He had advocated certain schemes of reform all through his life and it would be his honest endeavour to give effect to them, as far as it lay in his power, in the new sphere of his work for the motherland. Fresh proposals for educational

reform and for industrial expansion were reaching him every day from all quarters. It was easy to prepare and to become but it was very difficult to put them into practice. Besides these, the revision of salaries of the low-paid services had long become overdue and could not wait any longer. While the salaries of the higher services had been raised, those of the lower ones called for immediate improvement. This alone, Mr. Paranjpye thought, would require a large outlay of expenditure. The old Government had left them a legacy of long-pending revision schemes of the subordinate services. How early these could be carried out would have to be considered by the present Government. They had so far been enabled to tide over their financial difficulties by windfalls like the increase in the Akbari revenue and receipts from income tax. But they could not long go on in this haphazard fashion without courting a break-down, which would have a serious effect on the future of the presidency, and sooner or later a resort to taxation would become unavoidable. In that event care would have to be taken to see that its burden fell on backs that were broad enough to bear it. It would be well in occasion that he would look to his Liberal friends in the Deccan to educate public opinion on proper lines. But his difficulties did not stop there. The whole experiment of dyarchy was of a unique character. The administrative system that had just been inaugurated in India had not been tried anywhere else and there was no experience by which they in India could profit. But wisdom lay in surmounting difficulties and going on fearlessly with the work of reform even in spite of them. Mr. Paranjpye had no doubt that it would have been more to the personal comfort and convenience of Liberals if they had kept away from the councils under the guise of patriotism. It would have brought them popularity and public applause. It was only their high sense of duty to their country that had prevailed upon them in taking the course of action that they had actually done. They would have been guilty of cowardice, if they had decided to remain aloof for fear of public criticism.

In conclusion, Mr. Paranjpye said that he had just taken charge of the departments entrusted to his care and could not be expected to say more on that occasion. He thanked them all heartily for their kind congratulations and assurances conveyed by Mr. Kamat on their behalf.

SELECTION.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

The following are extracts from Mr. Jeejeebhoy's pamphlet which is noticed elsewhere:—

"TELL your people," said John Bright, "on your return home, that they must not expect immediate results nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself thirty years to get the Corn Law repealed. Tell your people, as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results." "Since my early efforts," said Dattabhai Naoroji, "I must say that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, rebel..... But I have not despaired under the influence of the good English word which has been the rule of my life. The word is Persevere".....

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS.

Year after year we have been writing in the Press protesting against the inadequate representation of the Indian community in the Legislative Councils, we have shouted from public platforms in season and out of season asking for a substantial representation in the Government of the country, we have been proclaiming with a