### THE

# Servant of India

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### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE absence of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George from Paris may divert the attention of the world from the work of the Peace Conference for the time. That does not mean, however, that that body will have a less strenuous time of it during this period. Various committees and commissions are sitting and arriving at important decisions, so that when the sittings of the general Conference are resumed, it may have a large mass of material to discuss. In the meanwhile, the terms of the renewed armistice are being considered by the supreme War Council. It appears that they will be harder than before as the attitude of those that represent the German Government has undergone a change. In Germany itself the work of the National Assembly was to begin this week. The Assembly was to meet on the 10th, pass the Constitution Bill on the 11th and elect the President on the 12th, so that Germany may have a regularly formed popular Government which will carry on negotiations regarding the prolongation of the Armistice.

THE presence of the Premier in England is quite opportune. The strike situation has been developing ominous features. In addition to the strikes in Belfast and on the Clyde there has been the strike of the tubemen in London and, as if this was not enough, the electrical engineers were thinkof enveloping London in darkness. The Government have taken additional powers under the Defence of the Realm Act, and for the time this calamity has been avoided. The Premier is now going to deal with the whole question himself and since his return to London has been discussing the situation with ministers and others. He has also to | would change their outlook, for they were among

soldiers who too would appear to have been affec" ted. The strike movement has not, however, exhausted its force in Europe, but has extended to America, where the Montana miners are agitating for shorter hours and higher wages. On the whole the settlement of the world after the war is not going to be a very easy affair.

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THE Rowlatt Bills have been referred to the select committee, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition offered to them by non-official Indians. Such unanimity is very rare in the Viceroy's council, and the fact that nominated members and representatives of the landholding classes united with the elected members to resist the bills should have convinced Lord Chelmsford's Government of the impolicy and unwisdom of persisting with them. 7 The position taken up by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah is typical of the attitude of non-official members generally. He accepted as substantially correct the finding of the Rowlatt Committee on facts, but admitting the existence of a very, very small knot of anarchists in certain parts of the country, he pleaded that the remedy suggested was much too sweeping. The application of the Defence of India Act had no doubt proved efficacious in suppressing anarchy, and the proposed measures were also calculated to produce that effect, but it could only be at the risk of oppression to many innocent people.) The bills sought to arm the executive with unheard of powers, and nothing but imminent risk of an extremely grave character could justify measures destructive of the fundamental principles of criminal jurisprudence. There was no such danger. The reforms would make a great improvement in the situation, and in all probabibility the new councils would have no need for such drastic legislation. If, however, contrary to expectation, the need arose, responsible opinion in the country would support such measures as the occasion might necessitate.

THE case, as made out by Mr. Jinnah and other members, was unanswerable, and the official apologists could make no impression against it. 7 The drastic character of the proposed legislation was admitted, but it was contended that it was necessary in view of the certainty that the dangerous internees, when liberated, would renew their activities. It was idle to think, the officials said, that reforms vestigate the causes of the trouble with the the bitterest opponents of reform. While this may be

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true, it is undeniable that the anarchist movement succeeds only because there is general discontent in the country, and it is but reasonable to expect that, deprived of the support which it derives from a widespread sense of soreness, seditious crime must fail. The official members attempted no reply to this argument. It was also said, in answer to those who urged that the existing laws would suffice, that the present bills were an improvement upon them, but they ignored the important difference that the proposed legislation was intended to be of a permanent character, while the Defence Act was frankly a temporary measure, intended to meet an exceptional situation.

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THE opposition of the Indian members had, however, this effect, that the Government agreed to limit the duration of the second Bill to three years. This is undoubtedly a great improvement upon the measure as proposed, but still the objection remains that conciliation should at first be tried and if it fails to produce the desired effect upon the temper of the country and thus to deprive the anarchist of his means to carry his evil design to fruition, then only should exceptional legislation, suited to the requirements of the occasion, be proposed. And, though the character of the measure will be greatly improved by the announcement of the Government, still it is too much to expect that the bill will receive, in its present form, the general support of the Indian element of the Council. It will be possible, we hope, for Government to withdraw the bills altogether.

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"IT is now found absolutely necessary to discover, " says Mrs. Besant, with a touch of sarcasm, " that the Congress resolution on the deputation "does not mean what it says," or that it rather means exactly contrary to what it says. It is found necessary to interpret the resolution to mean, not that it denies freedom to the members of the deputation, but that it leaves them full freedom and makes them into plenipotentiaries to negotiate on behalf of India with the British Government. This construction has not met with support anywhere; only it has evoked adverse comment in certain quarters. Even Mr. Horniman who, evidently with a great internal struggle, brought himself to put an elastic construction upon the Delhi resolution in spite of his own "uncompromising "adhesion to the demand for provincial autonomy, cannot allow any discretion to individual members of the deputation, but only to the whole body which, as Mr. Satyamurti has said, will have but few occasions to express their collective opinion. Mr. Horniman does not want a deputation in which each individual member is free to say, "O yes, I agree to this resolution of the Congress, but I do not agree to the other." Even this liberal interpretation then will not answer its intended purpose, for neither Mr. Jinnah nor Mrs. Besant can agree to the resolution of full provincial autonomy, the one because it amounts to the rejection of the

scheme, and the other because it is inconsitsent with the recognition of the principle of successive stages. So neither can join the Congress deputation.

IT is too much to expect that this attempt gently to let down the Delhi resolution will succeed. For it is clear to the meanest intelligence that to give a wide latitude to the deputation expressly for the purpose of admitting those who cannot agree to provincial autonomy means in effect to cut out that item from the Congress demand. If this is what is aimed at, it is far better to secure the result, after the necessary sanction in a formal. manner, by avowedly lowering the demand than by putting a stultifying interpretation on a Congress resolution. And, after all, what is going to be achieved by this camouflage? Not unanimity in putting forward India's demand, for, even on this interpretation, some will press for the Delhi resolution in England and some will stop short at the Bombay resolution. If it is to be so, where is the harm in having two independent deputations make the two demands? It need not prevent cooperation between them. But, it is very wrong to put a manifestly impossible interpretation in order to find a way out of the difficulty.

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IT seems very strange indeed that those who are now pleading for a large discretion being left to the members of the Congress deputation who propose to go to England should deny such discretion to the British Congress Committee, which has always to adjust its propaganda to suit the conditions in England. If Mrs. Besant finds it hard to agree to all the successive variations in the Congress resolutions, how much more difficult must it be for the British Committee? And if she can refuse "blindly to follow" the whole of the Congress programme, accepting one part and rejecting another, why should not the British Committee be given the same freedom ? If in India we cannot find half a dozen eminent men to go to England with a mandate from the Congress for the brief space of some six months, is it reasonable to expect that men who have made a mark in public life in England will agree to act always as Congress agents, bound to carry out, in every particular, the mandate of that body, for the only reason that the Congress pays-or rather passes annual resolutions to pay-not anything by way of remuneration, but the working expenses of the British Committee? If it is unwise to tie down the members of the deputation to a rigid programme, it is midsummer madness to fetter the discretion of the British Committee, whose very function it is to feel the pulse of public opinion in England and to guide its activities accordingly. And it is far more important to make it possible for the British Committee to work on the lines that appear suitable to it in view of the rapidly changing conditions in England than to allow a few individuals to proceed to England from here.

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### THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

IN his opening address to the Legislative Council, H. E. Lord Chelmsford dwelt at considerable length on the bearing of reforms on the position of the European services and of the European mercantile communities. He and the Secretary of State had expected that, after some effort at adjustment, both these classes would reconcile themselves to the new order of things, but these expectations have been wholly disappointed. They were of the opinion that the services had welcomed the policy sonounced in August 1917 and that they would " carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them." The European commercial community too, it was their belief, were "fully prepared to see Indian political development proceed." Subsequent events, however, have clearly demonstrated that this belief was unfounded. For both the official and nonofficial Europeans have raised a standard of revolt against the reforms, and their intransigence will cause no surprise to Indians. It was urged, on behalf of the services especially, that they would not be unfaithful to their tradition of loyally executing the policy which might be prescribed for them by the higher authorities, and it was said that if the I.C.S. exercised uncontrolled power now it was because the system was such, but no sooner was the system altered, than the civilians would adapt themselves to it. Mr. Lionel Curtis assured Indians some time ago that it was wrong o assume that the I. C. S. would thwart the work of ministers. "The charges you bring against officials here," he wrote, " should really be directed against us, the people of England. It is we who have failed since 1858 to revise instructions which have long since been obsolete. The members of the services now have their instructions ( in the announcement of policy ), and will be found loyal to their spirit as well as their letter. I venture to predict that as they realise the nature of the new enterprise before them, they will come to glory in its pursuit."

The Viceroy also gave expression to this feeling in his speech. But what do we find? The I. C. S. have realised the nature of the new enterprise and have begun to kick at it. One would have expected that the Viceroy would severely chastise the members of the service for organising a conspiracy against his reform proposals. He had rebuked Indians some time ago for their impatient idealism and warned them against seeking to bring about catastrophic changes in the constitution, but now he has no word of remonstrance against those who are carrying on a concerted movement to bring to naught what it is their official duty loyally to carry out. The reforms report itself pays too tender regard to the susceptibilities of the European officers in the I. C. S., but the Viceroy's speech even lacks the firmness of the report. There is nothing in his speech which is half so strong as | tion, to whatever policy is decided upon.

the following sentiment, for instance, contained in the report : " Our policy is irrevocably declared and it ought to content all sober minds. We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services; we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing." Or as this one: "We are making over certain functions to popular control, and in respect of these English commissioners, magistrates, doctors and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian ministers." The Viceroy no doubt says as much, but adopts an unnecessarily apologetic tone when he reassures the civilians that it is not intended " to place the services as a whole in a helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; " because further constitutional growth depending, according to the scheme, upon the verdict of an independent tribunal, the ministers will be neither inexperienced nor hostile. The difficulties which the members of the I. C. S. feel do not arise from the supposed incompetency of the ministers or their hostility, but from the threatened hostility of the I. C. S. men themselves. The Viceroy puts the shoe on the wrong foot when he goes on to reassure the civilians that the prejudice of the ministers against them would wear off. " It has often been the case, "he says," that men going in fresh to office, full of prejudice against the public services, have found them their best ally and protector against the critics whom every administrator encounters and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs." This may be true, but it is not exactly the thing to tell the services which have risen in revolt against the scheme on the ground that it degrades them from the position of directors to that of executants of policy and that it is infra dig. for them to serve under Indian ministers. Will it disarm the opposition of the civilians, when they are in this frame of mind, or strengthen it, to tell them that " we do not intend to leave the handling of the services wholly to the minister?" And that there will be over the head of the ministers the Governor, who, being always accessible to the civilians, can be rel ed upon "to disallow proposala that aim at or tend towards disintegration ? " We cannot think of proposals that can possibly have that result, and to give an assurance to the I. C. S. that pay and pensions and other conditions of service will be regulated by the orders of the Secretary of State, and that if even more provisions are required they will be forthcoming is to humour the service to an extent which even the Government may find dangerous. The Viceroy seemed to be altogether oblivious of the existence of what Mr. Galletti has fittingly called the "white mutiny "and proceeded to cast imputations against Indian leaders, whose position ought to have been strengthened in view of the sedulous attempts made to wreck the scheme. This is not the best way to conciliate the opposition of those whose business it is to give effect, without que

Equally nerveless is His Excellency's reference to the opposition of the commercial classes among Europeans. The Viceroy enters upon an elaborate argument to show that their trade interests will not suffer at the hands of Indian ministers. Provincial councils will have precious little to do with matters bearing upon European commercial interests, and in the Government of India there is to be no popular element at all, according to the scheme. If, however, in the provincial Governments, a wicked minister attempted to pass legislation discriminating against Europeans, the Governor can overrule him, and in the instrument of instructions, with which a Governor will be armed, special mention may be made of the possible " acts of hostility to British commerce." Thus the European unofficials may rest in security, but was the opposition organised by them based on a menace to their interests? On the contrary, the Viceroy complains, rather ingenuously, that no complaint has been made on that ground and that no reasoned statement has been presented to him " of the ways in which it is supposed that British trade interests may be jeopardised by the changes which we have in view." It is a noteworthy fact that what is styled the final statement of the European Association, mischievous and untruthful as it is, does not even mention that the commercial interests of the Europeans are in peril. They oppose the reforms because they cannot bear to have civil power transferred, even in part, from the hands of their official brethren. The reforms report, with all its tenderness, at any rate told them what their duties were It said : "Clearly it is the duty of British commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community, ... and to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of government in the wishes of the people." The Viceroy in his speech, without reminding them of their duties, or condemning their uncompromising opposition to reforms, answered criticisms which were never seriously meant, and his answer only betrays an unwarranted mistrust of Indians on the part of the Government. This portion of His Excellency's speech is disappointing.

### THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT. VIIL\*

THE chapter on the "Organisation of Scientific and Technical Services and the Provision for Research work in India and Abroad" contains some of the most important recommendations of the Commissioners for providing means to assist the development of Indian industries. These recommendations consist mainly of proposals to oreate imperial scientific services and to make provision for research work in the interests of Indian industries. The creation of imperial ser-

vices does not find much favour with the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan, not so much probably because he doubts the intrinsic worth of these recommendations, but perhaps because he thinks they will not be carried out in the spirit in which they are made. He, therefore, suggests the institution of a polytechnic institute, whose graduates may later on be recruited for the scientific and technical services to be created thereafter. The Punditji proves to the hilt his case that in the past the promises of Secretaries of State and the Government of India to give equal opportunities to Indians in the various services that were created from time to time have never been kept till . now, and he is afraid that " if these two services are created on the lines suggested by my colleagues, the senior appointments in them also will, for a long time, remain practically the monopoly of Europeans, and that Indians will not only be kept out of their emoluments, but also of the opportunities of acquiring high efficiency in the subjects with which the services will be concerned." Probably, many of your readers may not have had time to read Mr. Malaviya's note. I, therefore, propose to give some quotations therefrom even at the risk of tiring those of your readers who have had the good luck to find opportunities of reading the whole of thə minute of need notThey, however, dissent. read the quotations. The Punditji begins by saying that "Indians have a very sore feeling about the imperial Indian services, "and he goes on to say: "We can never forget that as distinguished an Indian as Sir P. C. Ray (who, it is a matter of sincere gratification to his countrymen, has recently been knighted) did not find admission into the Indian educational Service." He then takes up some of the scientific services for a critical examination. Referring to the Geological Survey, he says that though years back Dr. Oldham, the first head of the department had given his opinion that Indians, if they had fair opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of physical science, "would be found quite competent to take their place side by side with European assistants either on this Survey or many other ways, " during the 64 years of the department's existence up to 1913, only three Indians have been appointed to the superior grade. Dr. Hayden, the present Director of Geological Survey, asked by Punditji if the department kept in view the object of training Indians for the higher grade of the service, gave the disappointing and in a sense callous reply that though the department was training men in the subordinate service, these men "do not necessarily qualify for appointments for the higher grade. It is always open to them to apply for an appointment in that grade." The last sentence means that the department does not care to select the fittest person trained by them in the subordinate service for the superior grade, but that such men may apply-probably to find the applications rejected. The Punditji then takes up the Agricultural Department. In 1910 the Govern-

<sup>\*</sup> Previous articles on this subject appeared in the issues of Nov. 21., Dec. 5, 12, & 19, Jan. 2 & 16, and Feb. 6.

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ment of India wrote to the Secretary of State as follows: "We adhere firmly to our frequently declared policy that the service ( the Agricultural Service ) should be manned ultimately by Indians, and that the object to be kept steadily in view is to reduce to a minimum the number of experts appointed from England and to train up indigenous talent so as to enable the country to depend on its own resources for the recruitment of its agricultural staff in the higher branches." In spite of a definite pronouncement like this, it is found from the evidence before the Public Services Commission that "many highly qualified Indians, several of whom possessed European degrees or experience, had been unable to find admission into the imperial service, which had been manned by recruits imported from Europe," who had the serious disadvantage of having the experience only of a system quite distinct from that prevalent here. The case of the Forest Department is almost equally disappointing. Promises were given and hopes held out, but practically nothing was done to carry out these promises and fulfil these hopes. Out of 407 men in the superior service in the Agricultural, Civil Veterinary, Forest, Geological Survey, Locomotive and Carriage and Waggon Departments, only six officers were statutory natives of India at the time the Public Services Commission took evidence.

One can see that, in view of all this experience, the Hon. Pandit had ample justification to prophesy that the same fate would meet the proposals for the recruitment of the services recommended to be created by the Commission, and yet I think the Panditji was too much influenced by what had happened in the past to take a correct view of the question in so far as it affects the industrial development of the country. Looking even from the larger-the national-point of view, I think the Punditji's attitude is more pessimistic than is usual with him or than is justified by the present circumstances. During these years of war there has been a change in the "angle of vision " not only of the British statesman, but of the bureaucrat in India, and it will not be unreasonable to hope that the Government now will not be apathetic to the Indian interests as in the past. Moreover, the constitution of the Government of India will not be the same as at present. I here will be more Indians on the executive council, and perhaps the industries portfolio may be given to a son of the country, and he surely will see that his brethren with proper qualifications get equal opportunities—if not greaterin findi g entrance into these services. There is, however, a third reason why the Punditji should have taken a more hopeful view of the situation. He ought to know-perhaps more than any one else---that the intelligentsia of the country and even the masses who follow them are quite awakened to their rights, and they will not tolerate any injustice or unfair treatment meted out to the sons of their country. I, therefore, think that the recom- and none of them is at all handicapped by the

brushed aside merely because it is feared that they will not be carried out in the spirit in which they are made, and that, with the services manned mainly by Europeans, Indian industrialists will not be able to reap any benefit by the creation of these services.

It is, therefore, necessary to consider on their own merits the proposals of the Commission, which, as the Viceroy in his opening speech at the Delhi session of the Imperial Council said, " formed probably the most important part of their report." At the same time the Punditji's scheme for the establishment of a polytechnic institute should also be carefully examined whether as an alternative to the Commissioners' recommendations, as suggested by him, or as supplementing these, as I would like it to be. Before making their definite recommendations, the Commissioners describe the methods adopted at present for carrying on research work and give their reasons why a Parliamentary scientific inquiry is necessary to the development of industries. Here they incidentally make the following remark, which seems but a poor apology for Government's delay and hesitation in granting concessions: " The absence of such technical officers and the consequent inability to distinguish between the good and unsound industrial schemes offered, have given rise to undue hesitation in granting reasonable concessions." Any industrialist member on the Commission could have proved from his own experience that the delay in granting concessions to "adian promoters of new industries is due partly to the lack of sympathy of the higher officials with such proposals and to a dilatory habit generated by constant working of the red-tape system. A broader, outlook among the higher officials is being noticed, and let us hope that their method of carrying on the Government will be on the same line as that on which sound businesses are conducted and that there will be no longer any complaints about undue delay in passing orders on industrial matters.

After giving reasons why preliminary research work in connection with raw materials to be used in new industries should be carried out by Government, the Commissioners very rightly lay down: "This (such research work) is more appropriately the business of the State, and the survey of its national resources should be undertaken systematically, not in the form of an isolated series of special prospecting tests, which result in frequent repetition with wasteful overlapping of results and embarrassing gaps." While I entirely agree with the conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners, I do not think that the Commissioners are justified in laying down a general proposition that a new industry is handicapped by "dilutive" of capital to provide for preliminary expenses. All the new industries started by the Tatas were started after full preliminary inquiry by experts, mendations of the Commission should not be [fully paid up shares given to the firm in lieu of the preliminary work done. The Commissioners are however on firmer ground when they say that "ordinarily, no firm can afford to risk the cost of employing the various experts so required on an uncertain venture."

After referring to the lack of organisation at present existing in the scientific services, and classifying these services into (1) those which take a single science as a bond of union, such as the Geological Survey, and (2) those in which the application of the various sciences is taken as the preliminary line of grouping, i. e., Botany, Chemistry and Entomology with regard to agriculture, and after making a passing reference to the natural desire of the provincial Governments to have control of the scientific officers working within their jurisdiction, the Commissioners give their arguments in favour of the creation of imperial services, and make concrete proposals for the organisation of an Indian Chemical Service, and for recruiting men of that service. I join issue with them here. but as I have taken up so much space, I shall postpone my detailed criticism of this portion of the scheme to the next article.

**L. S.** 

### PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

THERE is a good deal of misconception current about the demand for the immediate grant of full provincial autonomy for all the provinces, both among those who support it and those who think it necessary to oppose it. On what grounds is this demand resisted? First and foremost, because to put forward such a demand is to refuse to recognise the principle of diarchy on which the whole scheme of reforms is modelled, and to require an overthrow of that vital principle is, in effect, to reject the scheme altogether. Theoretically, the element of dualism introduced into the governance of the country may be held to be open to objection, but if, for practical reasons, it is thought desirable, in the transitional period, to work out the present scheme with all practicable improvements incorporated in it, the difficulties of dualism have, for a time, to be frankly put up with. We can minimise these difficulties by seeking to have as many subjects transferred as is feasible and thus to limit the area of dualism to the smallest possible extent, but this element we cannot eliminate altogether. It has been made the groundwork of the whole structure and cannot be discarded except by discarding the scheme. Those who are prepared to accept the scheme in its essential framework, as Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr. Jinnah are, cannot obviously endorse the Delhi resolution, which violates the second of the four formulæ laid down by the authors of the reforms report. Mr. Jinnah has explained how the substitution of responsible for representative government for which the Congress-League scheme had provided, coupled with the principle of gradual development, necessitates the introduction of diarchy in the transitional period.

The second ground on which this demand is opposed is the one put forward by Mr. Sarma in the Congress and subsequently re-echoed by Mrs. Besant. The Parliamentary pronouncement of August 1917 promises only a progressive realisation of responsible government, which postulates stages in the development of the constitution, and excludes complete autonomy. Now, if we ask for fiscal autonomy and some measure of responsibility in the central Government, we cannot, consistently with the terms of the declaration, also ask for full autonomy in the provinces, for the sum total of our demands will, in that case, be almost complete home rule. A few departments left to the non-responsible section of the Government of India, subject, however, to the many reservations which have been proposed, cannot in reason be said to be sufficient adherence on our part to the policy formulated by Government in the announcement. If, therefore, gradual progress towards complete responsible government is all that is to be looked for we must either remain content with partial autonomy in the provinces and ask for a simultaneous advance in the central Government or consent to leave the central Goverament untouched and then demand full provincial autonomy. We can adopt either of the two alternatives, but cannot have a blend of both. If only one of the two alternative plans is admissible, it should be that of responsible government at the centre with partial autonomy in the provinces, as that is of greater advantage than the other. Mrs. Besant holds that provincial autonomy is a sham with an autocratic government at the centre, and therefore opposes, with special energy, the demand for provincial autonomy, because insistence on it will inevitably prejudice, in her opinion, our demand for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, and thus only hinder the country's progress.

A third reason is also advanced—it was almost the only one advanced by Mrs. Besant at Delhibut it has not much force. It is said that provincial autonomy was not demanded at the special Congress in Bombay out of regard for the feelings of the Moderates, who had attended the session, and we cannot go further in our demand without breaking the compromise there arrived at. This reasoning only served to transfer the odium of opposing the Delhi resolution from Mrs. Besant to the Moderates, but it failed to carry conviction. The argument is utterly superfluous, for even if there were no compromise, Mrs. Besant and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar could not on principle agree to the resolution of full provincial autonomy, as they do not desire the rejection of the scheme or the weakening of the demand for a popularisation of the central Government, which would be, on their own showing, the unavoidable consequence of adopting that resolution. If, therefore, the Bombay Congress effected a compromise with any one, it was with Mrs. Besant, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar no less than with Mr. Sarma or with

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Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar. And it was very unfair of Mrs. Besant to represent as if she was held in check by the timid Moderates, whereas the fact is that her own principles and her own ideas of expediency held her in check. I recognise, of course, that the word 'held in check' is not expressive of the truth, as Mrs. Besant contends that the seemingly advanced demand for autonomy for the provinces only makes for the arrest of progress, as a matter of fact.

I do not mean, however, that no arguments can be urged on the other side of the question. One may object to the announcement of policy made in 1917 and with the formulæ embodying reservations in it. In that case one is free to ask for full provincial autonomy, but it should be recognised that he who takes up this attitude does not suggest amendments in the official scheme, but would have it abandoned in favour of an entirely different scheme based on different principles. Or, recognising the limitations, one may accept the principle of gradual development and yet may hold that the element of diarchy is absolutely fatal to any chance of success in the working of the scheme; and in order to obviate the difficulties, one may press for full responsible government in the provinces. This view has been favoured in certain quarters, and it is maintained that the scheme is so radically defective that it cannot even form the basis of discussion. Of course, to those who take this view the consequence of the rejection of the scheme has no terrors. Or, again, accepting the principle of successive stages, one may yet think full provincial autonomy to be of greater immediate importance and more within reach than a democratisation of the central Government and may on that account insist upon the Delhi resolution. This last view is not very widely held, but it is not without its adherents. Mr. R. G. Pradhan, whose thought is always so clear, has urged it upon the attention of the Reforms Committee. He holds that " the principle of responsibility may not be applied to the Government of India just at present, but full responsible government should be established at least in the more advanced provinces." He accepts the third formula, but takes exception to the second, which sanctions a division of responsibility in the provincial sphere. All these views are intelligible, but the view of those who maintain, with Mr. Patel, that full provincial autonomy with a corresponding advance in the central Government can well constitute a stage in the evolution of responsible government in India, it is difficult to understand. It is manifest that they pay homage to the letter of the announcement but do everything to violate its spirit. Their position will be better appreciated if they will have the candour to declare that it is not their intention to abide by the announcement.

What I wish to point out is that the division of opinion between those who support and

It is not merely a question of demanding a little more or a little less, so that those who favour the Delhi resolution may easily give up their opinion and, with a little sacrifice, agree to the Bombay resolution, or those who favour the latter may just screw up their courage and agree to the former. The advocates of the two competing resolutions arrive at their respective opinions after a long chain of reasoning, and it is not to be supposed that the resulting difference comes about only at the last point and so can be easily accom-In some cases, the very starting modated. point in their reasoning is different; in some, there is a branching off at a very near point, in others at a more remote point. But the processes of reasoning vary; and the differences which are the result of these different processes do not admit of this kind of adjustment. It is only those who form their views, not on any general principles, but on the narrow expediencies of the moment, who can abandon either opinion in favour of the other. Those who think it right to abide by the terms of the announcement and to accept the framework of the scheme formulated on the basis of the announcement, and those again who think that responsibility in the central Government is of far greater consequence than provincial autonomy cannot possibly agree to the Delhi resolution passed by the votes of those who quarrel with the announcement, who consider the scheme too radically faulty to be possible for any detailed alterations to improve it, and who cannot prejudice the chances of provincial autonomy for the sake of a possible liberalisation of the central Government to a certain extent. It is generally believed that it should be easy to attain an identity of opinion between these opposing views, but it seems to me to be too sanguine a belief. Every one desires unity, but in the midst of such diversity of opinion as has come into view it is hardly feasible. It is far better to have a clear understanding of the differences that exist and to attempt to secure a cordial co-operation among the adherents of the different views than to imagine a unity where it does not exist and go to work in England under the mistaken belief that all take the same view. There is nothing wrong or dishonourable in honest differences of opinion. They will not do nearly as much harm as a patched up and unreal agreement will.

### S. G. V.

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### EDUCATION IN EGYPT.

IN recent times, there is no subject which has evoked more general interest than education, and this is especially the case now, in view of the problems of reconstruction which now that the war has ended all countries will be obliged to handle. All those who believe in the important part that an efficient system of education will play in the development of commerce and industry after the war, will those who oppose the Delhi resolution is deeper | feel no hesitation in subscribing to what Lord Hal-than one is apt to think on a superficial view. | dane has lately said. "Education is the most important element in reconstruction after the war, and if we can solve this problem as it should be solved, the social and economic problems that lie before us will largely solve themselves." In view of such powerful influence that education is likely to exercise on our future problems, it may be of some interest and value to us in India to know of the

progress of education in Egypt since the British

occupation. For a correct estimate of the efforts made by the British Government to formulate and execute an educational policy best suited to the needs and requirements of Egypt, it is of the utmost importance to know the advance in education which the Egyptians had already made prior to the coming of the British. So far back as 1836, the genius of Muhammad Ali recognised the superior value of European knowledge, and he established schools and colleges merely for the purpose of training Egyptian young men for employment in the State and for professional careers. Though very favourable terms were offered, the response was quite inadequate, and oftentimes the State had to resort to the use of physical force. It was not till some time later, that the people began to appreciate the great value of European education, and this was due more to the desire to secure employment in the Civil Service than from any real thirst for knowledge. Anyhow, in course of time the policy of giving gratuitous education resulted in an increase of supply far in excess of the demand. The system was abandoned and was not revived until the necessities / the Government demanded it in 1863. The conferring of the benefits of European education, in practice, on a small privileged and wealthy section of the population, the weakening of parental responsibility, and such other attendant social evils demanded the abolition of free education and the introduction of the system of raising fees in Europeanized schools.

Since the advent of the British in 1882, a sound and feasible general educational policy has been conceived, and the efforts of the department in this direction have so far been met with a considerable amount of success. It has also the approval of the more intelligent and thoughtful portion of the Egyptian community. The three cardinat points of the educational policy of the Egyptian Government may be briefly stated thus :—

(1) to eliminate free education, and to make education in Europeanised schools, as far as possible, self-supporting with a view to make use of the funds thus set free to raise the general educational level of the mass of the population by spreading vernacular elementary education,

(2) to create an efficient Civil Service,

(3) to afford facilities for acquiring technical knowledge.

Reasons, already referred to, necessitated the abolition of the system of gratuitous education. The attempts for levying fees, though sustained have not been of much avail. In 1905, the Government contributed nearly £ E. 63 per pupil out of

 $\pounds$  E 78, towards the cost of education. Even now the general tax-payer pays about 60 per cent of the cost of educating the pupils in government schools. Anyhow the economies thus effected in the European system of schools have rendered possible the development of the grant-in-aid scheme in favour of elementary education.

The development of the grant-in-aid scheme is an important feature of the educational policy which we should not fail to take note of. From time immemorial, there have existed in Egypt a number of indigenous schools known as 'Maktabs' scattered throughout the country. It was in 1897, that endeavours were made to bring these indigenous schools under a system of inspection and reward.' This system by which strict departmental supervision is exercised, has increasingly tended to the efficiency of these schools. The system has slowly developed and the number of 'maktabs' awarded grant-in-aid and under inspection in 1914-15 was 3799, giving education to nearly 2,60,000 pupils and the grant-in-aid given in that year was £ E. 22610.

It is interesting to have a glance at the figures as an indication of the progress made by the Egyptian Government. In 1883, the State spent on education  $\pounds E$  76,000, and the number of scholars was 5641. Then no Government money was spent for the village schools. As fiscal relief was the main concern of the Government till 1890, the finance department was not in a position to increase the contribution. In that year it was raised to  $\pounds \to 81,000$ , and since then the expenditure on education has been steadily increasing. In 1909, the allotment was £ E 478,000, and the number of those receiving instruction in schools both under direct management and inspection was 225,188. Besides these, there were a large number of pupils receiving education in schools under complete private management maintained by different nationalities. The estimate for the year 1918-19 is £ E 578,733. This expansion in the allotment 'reveals satisfactory progress.' According to the census of 1907, 8.5 per cent. of the males and 4'4 per cent. of the whole native Egyptian population were able to read and write. In 1911 the corresponding figures for India are 10.6 and 5.9. Though these figures are slightly better than those relating to Egypt, considering the fact that India has been under British rule for a much longer period the progress is not satisfactory.

No unprejudiced observer can fail to recognise the development of education in Egypt which has been accomplished in spite of adverse circumstances such as want of money, absence of adequate staff, absence of qualified teachers and what Lord Cromer calls 'idiosyncracies of Pashadom." The Egyptian educational policy has been adversely criticised in certain quarters. It has been even said that for political reasons, the English have fostered ignorance and subserviency. Never was a more unworthy insinuation made. True it is that the State in Egypt does not aspire for higher education. It does not directly hamper its

### FEBRUARY 13, 1919: ]

expansion. "But if it is to be carried without danger to the state," it is said, "the ignorance of the masses should be tempered pari passu with the intellectual advance of those who are destined to be their leaders." In that belief great emphasis is laid on the growth of elementary vernacular education. Considerable increase in the number of private schools is an evidence of the great eagerness for educational progress. In order to maintain the quality of education, the department is trying its level best to bring under its discipline as many schools as possible, by offering grants. Impatient idealists who do not feel satisfied with ' the rate of advance, must bear in mind that educational progress is a plant of slow growth and is -conditioned by other demands. The demand for elementary and technical education is undoubtedly growing, and the success of any scheme of elementary education rests largely on financial considerations. Under these circumstances, the Government will be justified in fully carrying out the policy of putting an end to the system under which the Government still largely bears the cost of education in Europeanised schools and make use of the funds thus realised for the extension of elementary education. With the completion of such a course and on account of the forth-coming private aid, the future of Egyptian education is fully assured.

R. S. R.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, JANUARY 11.

AN INDIAN UNDER SECRETARY. YOUR readers must have been immensely interested and pleased to read the news of the appointment by the Prime Minister of Sir Satyendra Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India. It is the one amazingly appropriate selection in the whole of the new Government, whose personnel was announced this morning. But whilst we may be grateful to Mr. Lloyd George for this significant recognition of the status of India and her claim for consideration at the hands of the people of this country, I have good reason to believe that the real credit for Sir Satyendra's nomination as a member of the British Government belongs to Mr. Montagu himself. It is known that the Secretary of State has the highest admiration and regard for his new colleague, and it is believed that he made this recommendation some time ago, but that its adoption was not then deemed feasible. Constitutionally, Sir Satyendra should be a member of one or other of the Houses of Parliament; though it is held, in some quarters, that this is not strictly speaking necessary. General Smuts, though a member of the War Cabinet, never sat in Parliament. But if he is to be one of the spokesmen of Government in connection with the Reform Bill, a seat will have to be found for him in the House

been decided, nor is any decision likely to be taken for some time, as most of the new Under-Secretary's activities will be absorbed in the work of the Peace Conference, during the next few weeks. But Siz. Satyendra is the record Indian record-maker. He was the first Indian member of the Government of India, the first Indian member of the Imperial Conference, the first Indian member of the Imperial War Cabinet, the first Indian King's Counsel. He is the first Indian to be a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, without being designed to sit upon its Judicial Committee. He will attend the Peace Conference as an Indian, with rights exactly equal to those of the representatives of the self-governing Dominions, and he is now the first Indian to become a member of the British Government. It is, therefore, fit that he should create either one of two records-to sit as the first Indian Minister in the House of Commons or to be the first Indian to be created a Peer. There are, in the House of Lords, peers representing great Dominion interests, of whom the latest is Lord Morris, the ex-Prime Minister of Newfoundland. Lord Forrest, of Australia, has just died. Two or three Canadians have been created Peers, and it would be but appropriate that in the reconstructed Upper House. place should be found for an Indian Peer of such great and varied gifts as those possessed by Sir S. P. Sinha In this connection, it should be noted that the India Office is now unrepresented in the Lords owing to Lord Islington's non-inclusion in the new Ministry. His withdrawal was not altor gether unexpected, and it is to be hoped that he will support the main features of the Reform Bill, when it reaches the Lords, with as much energy as an unofficial member as he would have done had he retained office. At the present moment, the sole member of the Government qualified to speak on behalf of India is Lord Curzon, who is in charge of the Foreign Office during Mr. Balfour's absence at the Peace Conference. It is considered very unlikely that the Reform Bill will be introduced before July, but speculation on the point just now is somewhat unprofitable.

### INDIA AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Most of the delegates and staffs for the Peace Conference and the precedent inter-Allied Conferences left for Paris to-day. The Indian delegation included the Secretary of State himself, Mr. Montagu (whose reappointment to office was a foregone conclusion, with Mr. Austen Chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and nobody else being willing to undertake the responsibility of replacing Mr. Montagu), Sir S. P. Sinha, the Under-Secretary of State, and the Maharaja of Bikaner, and with them have gone Sir Arthur Hirtzel, assistent Under-Secretary, Mr. L. J. Kershaw, Secretary of the Revenue Department, Messrs. C. H. Kisch and A. L. R. Parsons, Mr. Montagu's private secretaries, Sir James Dunlop-Smith, Political A. D. C., Sir A. Hamilton Grant, Foreign Secretary to the of Commons or he will be elevated to the House of Government of India, Mr. P. K. Wattal, private Lords. Nothing, so far as I am aware, has yet secretary to the Maharaja of Bikaner, and Mr. THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

W. R. Gourlay, I. C. S., private secretary to Sir S. P. Sinha. The exact procedure to be followed at the Peace Conference has not yet been defined. The structure of the British Empire presents a problem of special peculiarity. It has been agreed that the great powers shall be represented by five delegates each. The other great powers, however, have noself-governing Dominions or great Dependencies like India to provide for, and whilst it is desired to recognise the immensely valuable services rendered by the Dominions and India during war, it is obviously impossible to make such provision for their representation as would result in the outvoting of the other great powers by the excessive representation of the British Empire. I believe that, in all probability, the British representation will consist of four representatives of the United Kingdom, the fifth being a Dominion representative, and it is likely that the latter will vary according to the special matter or interest considered at the sessions of the Peace Conference. In all likelihood. Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, will be regarded as the senior and ordinary Dominion representative; but India will be treated as a Dominion and will be represented by Sir S. P. Sinha. Besides this, the representatives of the Dominions and India will, on other occasions, be given the status of additional members. but without the right of voting. But, as I have said, the procedure has not yet been fully defined nor has the agenda been drawn up for the work either of the preliminary conferences or of the Peace Conference itself.

### London, January 13.

### PRESS COMMENTS ON LORD SINHA'S APPOINTMENT.

The British Press has been practically unanimous in approval of Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment, which has been regarded as the one outstanding feature of the Ministry. One or two of the papers have made funny blunders in describing Sir Satyendra. The "Daily Mirror," for example, confuses him with the Maharaja of Bikaner and proceeds to give a portmanteau description of his dual life and personality. Thus, for example, we are told that he rules over a State of some thousands of square miles and, at the same time, that the Indian courts have known no more distinguished or successful practitioner. Such versatility is astounding even for what the paper describes as "the first Indian Prince at the India office" and it then immediately proceeds to publish his portrait on its front as "Secretary of State for India," which perhaps is a matter for intelligent anticipation. The "Daily Sketch" very carefully confuses Sir Satyendra with his brother. Major N.S. Sinha. The "Evening Standard," in a tempered approval of the appointmont, asks what the shades of Clive and Warren Hastings must be thinking at the control of Indian affairs at this end by a Jew and an Asiatic native of India. I have not yet seen the "Globe" comment, and I am [FEBRUARY I3, 1919.

by its incandescence. "One step enough for me!" I have seen the "Morning Post." It regrets, but is not surprised, "that Mr. E. S. Montagu remains at the India Office. He conceived a policy of cringe and concession for India at a moment when strength and stability were most important; he pressed that policy with an entire lack of political scruple and complete disregard for expert opinion. He is now given an Indian Under-Secretary, for the reason probably that no Englishman could be found willing to second him in the policy of truckling to the Indian agitator." It is to be presumed that Mr. Charles Roberts is, in the "Post's" opinion not an Englishman. The paper hopes against hope that the presence of Lord Curzon in the War Cabinet may be some restraining influence on Mr. Montagu's michievous activities, though it has learnt not to expect too much, from the noble lord. Needless to say, the editorial is headed: "A Black and White Ministry."

### GROWTH OF BOLSHEVISM.

One of the most difficult problems with which the Allies and the American Government are faced is that of the growth and spread of Bolshevism in Eastern Europe. It definitely desires to destroy the Bourgeoisie. By every possible means, the Bolshevist leaders have set out to deprive the Bourgeoisie of their personality, to pulverise them and thus to bring about their disappearance save as slaves of the proletariat. Bolshevism has now become a Terror and an aggressive Imperialist menace. Its leaders recognise that unless they can spread its tenets rapidly and bring about the subversion of the other European States, it is bound to be defeated and to disappear. The great problem, therefore, before the rest of Europe is how to build a ring fence round it so as to prevent its overwhlming Polland, the southern Slav countries and Germany, and its subsequent spread to the Latin fringe. The principal difficulty, of course, is how to take action in such a way as to enable the best elements of Russian life to work out their country's salvation without giving the appearance of a desire to foment a counterrevolution in favour of the reactionary elements or let it be supposed that what is mainly desired is the security of British and French capitalists' interests at the expense of the economic interests of Russia.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

describes as "the first Indian Prince at the India office" and it then immediately proceeds to publish his portrait on its front as "Secretary of State for India," which perhaps is a matter for intelligent anticipation. The "Daily Sketch" very carefully confuses Sir Satyendra with his brother, Major N. S. Sinha. The "Evening Standard," in a tempered approval of the appointmont, asks what the shades of Clive and Warren Hastings must be thinking at the control of Indian affairs at this end by a Jew and an Asiatic native of India. I have not yet seen the "Globe" comment, and I am rather afraid to look for it, lest I may be dazzled

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really a matter of practical politics;" and, thirdly, to show that "the ordinary conception of the League of Nations is not a fruitful one, nor is it right one, and that a radical transformation of it .is necessary." The following are a few of the salient points of the pamphlet.

The tents have been struck and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march.

If the future peace of the world is to be maintained, it will be necessary to devise an instrument of government, which will deal with the causes and sources of dispute.

If the League of Nations is to last, it must become part and parcel of the common international life of States; it must be an ever-visible, living, working organ of the polity of civilisation.

Europe is being liquidated, and the League of Nations

In discussing a problem like the constitution of the League of Nations, we must be careful not to set too much store on past precedents.

We want an instrument of Government, which, however much talk is put into it at the one end, will grind out decisions at the other.

The League will never be a great success until there is formed, as its main support, a powerful international public opinion.

Water-tight compartments and partition walls between the nations and the continents have been knocked through, and the new situation calls for world government. If the League of Nations refuses to function, some other machi-nery will have to be created to deal with the new problems which transcend all national limits.

General Smuts is under no illusion as to the difficulties of the task, but like most thoughtful men, he recognises that unless, out of the necessities of the situation, some super-national structure is created, whose main object will be to bring about a better understanding among the nations and thus prevent war save under the sanction of of a League of Nations and for purely police emergencies, it will not be merely a question of the liquidation of Europe, but of the extinction of European civilisation.

### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AN ATTEMPT is being now made to show that Mrs. Besant's differences with the Congress were all due to personal reasons, and not based at all upon any general principles. Of course, no sane man will believe, although it is Mr. B. C. Pal who says it, that "personal vanity, greed of power and ambition to play the autocrat in the Congress" alone were the actuating motives with Mrs. Besant in all that she did at Delhi. Nor is it possi-ble that she could have opposed Mr. Tilak's nomination to a position of responsibility on the ground of his insufficient knowledge of English, as Mr. Pal seriously asks us to believe. This revelation of Mrs. Besant's psychology, as Mr. Pal calls it, only reveals the psychology of the appeals for unity which are now being made to her in Nationalist quarters, for Mr. Pal concludes his effusion thus: "Indian Nationalism throve before she came to our politics and throve in spite of her abuses. It will continue to thrive even if deprived of her help. No man, no wo-man even, is indispensable." With such a sentiment towards one who has perhaps done the most during recent years to uplift India's political status, it can well be imagined what sincerity there is in these appeals.

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