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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A LEADING light of non-co-operation in Poona, a gentleman who has obtained much credit for having recently published his intention to withdraw from a lucrative practice at the bar, who is carrying on a vigorous propaganda by means of a daily paper of which he is editor and by public meetings, made a confession of faith the other day before a large audience of students. He said that he was a non-co-operator but his non-co-operation was based on hate and not on love. Love was human but hate was divine. The methods adopted were non-violent, not by choice but by circumstances. If a General Dyer created one Jallianwalla Bagh for an attack on a Miss Sherwood, he would have created several Jallianwallas for the wrongs that Englishmen had perpetrated on Indian women and so on. And he claimed to speak on behalf of the Maharashtra nationalists. We have taken these opinions of his from the report contained in his own paper. Not that we are disposed to exaggerate the influence of his word or example. We are referring to it only to let Mr. Gandhi know what sort of faith impels a considerable section, if not the generality, of his followers. To enrol under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, to believe that a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold, to persist in smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences—is amazing conduct even in a prophet.

WHAT wonderful properties the spinning-wheel has! Neither *jintan* nor any widely advertised patent medicine can equal it. It protects a woman's virtue—jealous husbands will please note; it is a musical instrument—we daresay musical academies will recognise it; it is insurance against famine, so that we need not at all bother about irrigation and relief works; it cures India's chronic poverty (Dadabhoj Naoroji's soul will now find peace); it is better than text-books and universities; it is *kamadhenu* itself. In that case its blessings surely should not be confined to India. Just at present several European countries are in an awful predicament. In Austria children are dying in the streets and the nation itself is on the verge of bankruptcy. Reports of a like poverty and danger to woman's virtue come from the country of Tolstoi himself. It should be so easy to cure all the ills of these European countries by sending a few spinning-wheels to them. How foolish is the world not to know it!

BUT to be more serious. At the end of 1917-18 there were in India 72 mills which did only spinning and 163 which did spinning in addition to weaving. These 235 mills produced 62.7 crores lbs. of yarn in that year but the average for the previous four years was somewhat higher. About one-fifth or 13 crores lbs. was exported during the year, while in the four previous years the average quantity exported was nearly 16½ crores lbs. About four yards of cloth of all kinds is manufactured from one lb. of yarn so that the yarn which is now being exported mostly to China and Japan would suffice for 60 to 65 crores yards of dhoties, chadars &c. Supposing an average adult weaver produces 3 yards per day by hand-loom and that he works for 300 days in the year, the yarn which is now sent out of the country would find employment for more than six lakhs of men and they would perhaps be able to clothe nearly all the indigent and clothless people in the country. So it is not the spinning-wheel which the situation requires; with greater justice it may be said to be the loom.

AGAIN, 235 mills, employing perhaps less than one and a half lakh of men in spinning, were able to produce nearly 65 crores lbs. of yarn in one year. We do not know how many lbs. of yarn a person can produce in a year by means of the spinning-wheel. But we should think that the combined production of all the students of all the arts and professional

colleges—about 64,000—would not be equal to the output of a single spinning mill. There is therefore not much prospect of their being able to clothe the nation with their yarn, however patriotically they may spin. But even if the cloth question could be solved by a simple and heroic method, there would still be the food question which can be solved only by increased food production and other questions creating complications.

MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEA, the much respected editor of the *Modern Review*, has contributed a series of articles on the non-co-operation movement to the Calcutta daily, the *Servant*. He points out therein that where the resolution applies to grown-up men, care is taken to make their withdrawal from legal practice or foreign trade gradual, while college students are asked to withdraw immediately and without caring for consequences. He also shows that in asking the students to come out for national service, to fight a bloodless war against the Government, the leaders of the movement are asking the soldiers to fight without the necessary arms, namely, mental and moral equipment. He strongly condemns the obstructive tactics practised by the Calcutta students which were suggested and encouraged by their elders. Very pertinently he asks why these tactics were not thought of against lawyers entering law-courts, though even in that case they would have been as wrong as against the law examinees. He points out that no provision was made for the education of girls in the national education scheme of 1906 and that it has not been made in the present movement. Yet it did not prevent the non-co-operators from dissuading lady students from attending colleges. Particularly objectionable was the *Dharna* practised by some students against Principal Herambachandra Maitra at his private residence compelling him to promise that he would nationalise his college. It was not until Mr. Andrews came, whom Mr. Maitra was fortunately able to meet, that the students withdrew themselves from his door. He has also exposed the hollowness of the arguments advanced by the boycotters of the educational institutions.

DR. MOONJE, the C. P. Nationalist leader, has shown himself to be stronger than most others of his school of politics. A deputation of student non-co-operators waited on him to request him to lead the movement in C. P. His reply was an emphatic negative. The movement started by Mr. Gandhi "is so intrinsically impossible and impracticable, so against nature that we cannot conceive how a political body like the Indian National Congress could lend it its countenance and adopt it as its declared policy. I think with the passing away of the Lokamanya has also passed away the intelligence and the reason of the Congress. The present movement is wholly unsuited to the temperament of a Maharashtra." He continued, "Is it not ridiculous that he (Mr. Gandhi) should ask us to be-

take to hand-loom and spinning wheels when by his tremendous influence over the people he could raise a fabulous sum wherewith to erect thousands of mills in India so as to prevent a single particle of cotton from being exported? Is it politics? But we can't help it and we have to swallow it as he tacked it on to our necks through the mandate of the National Congress." His neck seems to be free, however.

WE have received an appeal from Mr. R. M. Sane of Barsi, a well-known worker in the cause of the co-operative movement, on behalf of the unfortunate women of backward classes whom custom allows to remarry even in the life-time of their husbands provided their consent is given. Men being free to have any number of wives, the older wives are neglected and ill-treated and it is only in rare cases that they succeed in obtaining permission to remarry. Obviously under such circumstances divorce should be obtainable not from the husband but from a court of law. This small item of reform need not be postponed till divorce applicable to all Hindus under certain conditions becomes accepted by law. In this case the principle of divorce is already admitted by custom and there ought to be no opposition even from those who are ever ready to smell danger to religion. Even our orthodox non-co-operating local contemporary has no objection to some one taking up the cause. Of course, a non-co-operator can only ask some one else to take steps to remedy the evil.

THE sittings of the Railway Committee in Madras were distinctly more interesting than those in Calcutta. A large number of Indian witnesses appeared before it and generally stood their ground well. The evidence of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao M. L. C. was particularly weighty and valuable. But the real credit for making the proceedings interesting belongs to the South Indian Railway, the numerous complaints against which gave variety and feeling to the evidence. The long-suffering public of Madras at last had the satisfaction of seeing the agent of its heartless and defiant railway company have the most uncomfortable day of his life. Some idea of what courtesy the company showed the Committee may be formed from the following remarks of the Chairman: 'You come and tell us that under the orders of your board—for which you are not responsible—you are not to give us the benefit of your experience in this country on general questions. Therefore we cannot ask you about that. The natural thing is to answer specific questions and you say that on every point you have not got information.' 'This Committee has been sitting for more than a week and the enquiry was open to the public and you could have sent one of your representatives to see what was going on here so as to prepare your answers before-hand.' 'I suggest that in the interests of your company you should do what you can to answer these questions'. A rural society could perhaps have managed better the South Indian

Railway. It has the distinction of having supplied the strongest argument against company management.

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A CURIOUS argument that is made to appeal to the unsophisticated student mind is that the word conscience in the Nagpur Congress resolution on non-co-operation means the collective conscience of the country and not the individual conscience of the students. It was not, therefore, their duty to think out the question for themselves, but to obey the resolution which was a mandate issued by the representative leaders of the country. These very people do not apply the doctrine of the mandate to themselves or to others than students. The Calcutta resolution on non-co-operation, a speaker declared, was not obeyed by him because he did not approve of it. But in the same speech he insisted on the mandatory nature of the Nagpur resolution in its reference to college students. This is not of course the first time that the letter and the spirit of a text are altogether set aside by interested commentators in our country. There are many such commentators to our *Dharma Sastras*. When passion and prejudice are skilfully played upon, even intelligent young men become the victims of obvious hoaxes.

* * *

THE revised rates of pensions announced in a recent resolution of the Government of India fail in our opinion to give the needed relief to the poorer sections of Government pensioners, which is the class most affected by the present high prices. The old rates were fixed at a time when the cost of the necessaries of life was very low as compared to what it is to-day and the increase which in some cases works out at even less than 20 p. c. will hardly meet the requirements of the situation. The Government themselves seem to realise the inadequacy of the relief offered by them, for they conclude their resolution with a regret that "in view of the heavy financial commitments involved it has been found impracticable to sanction relief on a larger scale or with retrospective effect." In this connection it deserves to be noted that they did not allow similar considerations to weigh with them when they complacently sanctioned the increases in the rates of pay of the higher services. This has resulted in adding to the burden on the Indian taxpayer by crores of rupees at a time when all this money was required to finance several schemes by which the people would have directly benefited. It should also be remembered that the amount of agitation required in both these cases was in inverse proportion to the measure of relief it was able to secure.

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THE Britain and India Association in London which has done much good work for India by means of weekly meetings, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. has issued an appeal for funds. Its requirements amount to the modest sum of £500 a year which sympathisers should find easy to subscribe.

THE PUNJAB WOUND.

THE Special Correspondent of the London *Times* who is now in India—as to whose identity there is no mystery and whose opinion ought to carry great weight even in unsympathetic Anglo-Indian circles—cabling his views on the Nagpur Congress, added the following:—

"I believe the Caliphate agitation is relatively shallow outside Mohamedan extremist circles. The wound left by the Punjab tragedy is incomparably deeper. Unless the Government takes definite steps to assuage the rankling sense of racial humiliation engendered by the Punjab methods of repression before the new Councils meet, and themselves reopen the question on which Indian opinion is unanimous, I fear that merely repressive measures against Gandhism may prove futile, and the reforms about to be inaugurated in the worst possible atmosphere will wither before they can bear fruit, and between official optimism or inertia and the sapping of the revolutionary force we shall drift farther into chaos and disaster.

In a leading article on the subject the *Times* expressed surprise at its Special Correspondent's suggestions and was quite against them. "Such wounds" it wrote, "are best left alone after so long an interval, nor can we perceive what useful and effective steps could now be taken, in addition to the exemplary decisions promulgated long ago." The decisions promulgated long ago were in no sense exemplary and that is why the wound is not healed. To administer a mild departmental rebuke, to quietly allow one or two individuals to retire before their time or to find work for them amidst new surroundings, to resent in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu's denunciation of the martial law regime and to pass a vote of thanks to General Dyer in the Lords—is this exemplary decision either on the part of Government or the British nation? The Government of India continues to pay its share to the pension drawn by General Dyer. A public wrong has got to be publicly righted and that is what has not been done. An old wound does not cease to give pain because it is old, and specially dangerous as it poisons the blood. Neither patient nor doctor will neglect an old wound on the ground that an attempt to treat it was once made. As long as it is raw and continues to give pain it has got to be treated.

The Special Correspondent is perfectly right in emphasising the rankling sense of racial humiliation, which is shared by all classes of Indians alike. It is a mistake to suppose that the working of the reformed councils can remove this rankling sense. In spite of their imperfections the new councils no doubt give considerable power to the representatives of the people to shape the future administration of the country according to popular demands. But it is being under a delusion to suppose that they can remove the bitter wrongs of the Punjab. Only last month the National Liberal Federation and the South Indian Liberal Federation (the latter the pet of reactionary Anglo-Indians in England), both of which enthusiastically supported the reforms, passed strong resolutions at their annual conferences expressing indignation at

the inadequacy of punishment meted out to the Punjab wrong-doers and suggesting the steps that are necessary to meet the ends of justice and humanity. They were also emphatic that the failure of British statesmanship to rise equal to the Punjab situation had imposed an impossible handicap on the reforms. Several members of the Indian Legislative Assembly have also given notice of resolutions recommending the adoption of various measures that will assuage the lacerated heart of the nation. When on a former occasion the Hon. Mr. Sastri wanted to move a similar resolution before the old legislative council, His Excellency the Viceroy disallowed it as President of the Council. It was a most ill-advised step on his part. What he feared the discussion of the resolution would do, his disallowance of it certainly did, creating the additional sense of wrong that he had acted arbitrarily. We hope the new President, who has been chosen in order to create a parliamentary atmosphere in the Assembly, will not follow bureaucratic precedents in respect of these resolutions, and that His Excellency on the eve of his retirement will not insist on exercising the unusual reserve power of veto which is still vested on him. But their mere discussion will not suffice. Just as any gentleman in such circumstances would do, the Government should express genuine regret for the inhuman actions of its servants, should mete out adequate punishment to such of them as are still in service and give suitable compensation to the Indian victims of the martial law fury as it did to the European victims of the mob fury. Lord Hardinge who had a fine imagination undid the Cawnpore Mosque wrong by a graceful apology without standing on the false pedestal of prestige. If Lord Chelmsford had done similarly long ago when it was suggested to him, there would have been no non-co-operation movement. Late as it is it is not too late yet. Indians of all shades of opinion and men with experience of political conditions of many countries like the Special Correspondent of the *Times*, urge it. A very appropriate occasion also is at hand. Good Queen Victoria's son has come all the way from England to inaugurate a new era. This is the time to remove all painful memories and associations. A new Viceroy also will be shortly taking charge of the administration. There is a persistent rumour, with what truth we cannot say, that the Duke has up in his sleeve some important announcement which is calculated to restore calm to the political atmosphere of the country and make it favourable for the satisfactory working of the councils. We sincerely hope we have and that the announcement will expel all the injurious matter out of the Punjab wound and heal it, and that as a consequence the suicidal movement of non-co-operation, born of despair, will die a natural death.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA.

BY throwing the existing social and economic organization of nations out of gear, the great war

has directed pointed attention to the problem of reconstruction. While the war was in progress, national deficiencies in different respects made themselves felt by Governments and peoples and the latter resolved to profit by their experience and to bring about improvements. This task of restoration, readjustment and reconstruction is being systematically pursued in all progressive countries. It is by no means easy for nations satisfactorily to tackle the problems with which they are confronted, owing to the ravages wrought by the world war and the conditions of depression, confusion and intense discontent which prevail on all sides. Though the great war is theoretically over, there is yet no peace in large parts of Europe and Asia; and the circumstances are not favourable for the prosecution of the tasks of peace. The material destruction and moral deterioration caused by the war, the impoverishment from which large populations are suffering, the unemployment into which masses of workers have been forced, the collapse of international exchanges and the consequent disturbance in trade between countries, are factors which are seriously hampering the programme of economic revival. The go-ahead nations are, however, struggling through their difficulties and making the best of such opportunities as they have. France and Belgium, England and the U. S. A. in the West and Japan in the East, are formulating schemes of progress and preparing to advance in the path of economic development.

For years before the war, thinking people in India deplored the industrial backwardness of the country, lamented the proverbial poverty of its masses and resented the apathetic attitude of its Government towards the problem of economic advancement. India's position of helplessness in the midst of world competition was regarded as something natural that merited sympathy and could not be remedied within a measurable period of time. It was said that the natural conditions in India and the social institutions and practices of the people rendered a rapid advance impossible and Government was disposed to trust to time and the slow evolution of things. Educated Indians, who studied the history of other countries and reflected upon the comparative situation prevailing there and in their own country, however, took quite another view. Their deliberate opinion may be summed up in one sentence by remarking that the British Government in India must become truly national in spirit and in deed and must vigorously take up the problem of the people's economic development, if the country is ever to rise from its fallen condition of poverty and degradation. The Industrial Commission appointed by Government to explore the possibilities of the development of industries in the country recommended that the State should take an active part in the promotion of the economic advancement of the country. The war had many a useful lesson to teach to this country as it had to others; but those lessons have to be taken to heart. The constitutional reforms just

inaugurated promise better prospects and a change in the traditional policy of Government. But the staunchest supporters of the new regime are not without their feelings of doubt and distrust. The political power conceded to the people by the Reforms is admittedly limited and is hardly equal to the satisfactory solution of the economic problems that lie before the country. In the absence of popular initiative and control, we shall have to rely for some years to come upon the irresponsible Government for active measures to promote economic advancement.

If any one wants to know what is the problem to be solved and what are the correct methods of solving it, we may commend to his perusal chapters on Economic Reconstruction in the recently published book of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, entitled 'Reconstructing India.' He restates the case of India's patriotic economists in favour of a comprehensive programme of work to be undertaken and carried out by a 'national' Government in this country with the active co-operation of the people. The author is fortunately not a doctrinaire economist or an armchair critic. His observations and suggestions cannot be disposed of as the vapourings of an unpractical and irresponsible enthusiast. Sir M. Visvesvaraya is a man of affairs and has administered a leading Native State with credit. He himself says in the preface to his book that he may claim some measure of administrative experience, as he has spent many years in the service of the British Government in India and in leading Indian States. He has, on several occasions, 'travelled outside India for the purpose of obtaining first-hand knowledge of world conditions and problems.' It was characteristic of him while he was the Dewan of Mysore, to set out comparisons between the economic conditions in foreign countries and those in his own State and to strive to attain that progress which had been reached by other progressive countries. In the chapters of his book referred to above, he describes the lines on which economic reconstruction is proceeding in the United Kingdom, in U. S. A. and in Japan and makes constructive proposals regarding the programme which must be carried out in this country in the light of their example. Referring to the vigorous activities of the British Government in the sphere of economic development, the author observes: "When so industrially advanced a country as Britain finds it necessary to make breaches in her policy of free trade, how can the policy of *laissez-faire* be continued in India which is still in the agricultural stage?" The important lesson that Sir M. Visvesvaraya seeks to drive home is one which has been hammered by Indian publicists for years together and is that 'industries and trade do not grow of themselves, but have to be welded, planned and systematically developed. In none of the countries that have been named—certainly not in England, not even in *laissez-faire* America—has Government kept aloof from the industrial activities of the people.' With regard to India he says that in this country 'Government has

shown some enterprise in developing railways and irrigation; but the experience of trade and industry has been a matter of British dominion and has left the people of the country disinherited, with no voice in the control of policy or its operation.' He, therefore, states:—"It is no more possible to-day for the industrial exploitation of India to continue without the participation of the Indian people themselves than it is for the working people of Britain or the United States to return to their pre-war status." Sir M. Visvesvaraya is not content with mere generalizations. He has made several concrete suggestions with regard to the lines along which the Indian Government should proceed and his proposals deserve careful consideration.

V. G. KALE.

A PROGRAMME OF WORK FOR THE BOMBAY COUNCIL.

IT has been provided in the Government of India Act, 1919, that a Parliamentary Commission should be appointed ten years after the passing of the Act to make inquiries into the working of the reforms, "the growth of education" etc. with a view to suggest further changes. If we wish to prove the fitness of our province for full autonomy by constructive work, it is essential that we should bring about the following reforms in that period:—

1. Universal spread of education among both boys and girls.
2. Educational and social uplift of the depressed classes.
3. Educational advancement of the backward communities.
4. Effective medical relief to the villagers.
5. Prevention of famine by carrying out extensive irrigation schemes.
6. Complete prohibition of drink.

These reforms are of great importance, but we attach equal importance to the *reform of the present administration*. Strenuous efforts must be made to bring about every possible and reasonable retrenchment in the administrative expenditure. This item we, therefore, place in the forefront of the programme.

1. *Economy in Administration.*

Expenditure on certain departments has risen enormously of late. Police and Land Revenue administration, for instance, which together cost 136 lakhs in 1900-01 and 172 in 1910-11 now cost, according to the budget estimate of 1920-21, more than 310 lakhs. Changed economic conditions may reasonably account for a part of this expenditure; but certainly a large part is due to a spirit of extravagance quite incompatible with the poverty of the Indian tax-payer. Enormous additions have been made to the salaries of the higher officials and posts have been increased unnecessarily. To take a single example, the posts of Police Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors in the Presidency have been increased from 442 in 1904 and 671 in 1907 to 1056 in 1918. And the total strength of the Police

in the Province (including the City of Bombay) has risen from 24,500 in 1904 and 27,000 in 1913 to 31,000 in 1918. Our proposal is that the new council should at once appoint a strong representative committee to make a searching inquiry into the working of the various departments of Government and to frame definite proposals. It is generally believed that such an inquiry would bring to light possibilities of substantial economy.

2. *Primary Education*: Yearly expenditure, 95 lakhs.

If we are anxious to see primary education universalised within nine years, a pretty large area will have to be covered in the first three years. The population of Bombay Presidency (excluding the city of Bombay) is 186 lakhs. In the next three years compulsion should be introduced in the whole of the municipal area and in every village with a population of two thousand or more. This will bring about 55 lakhs of the population within the reach of compulsion.

(a) Preference should, however, be given to rural education. There are about a thousand villages that satisfy the above test and their total population is thirty lakhs. The period of compulsion should be five years; this will bring four lakhs and a half children within the compulsion limits; it is estimated that about one-third of these must be already receiving instruction. Provision for the rest will involve an additional annual expenditure of 50 lakhs.

To make education useful to the rural population, provision should be made for agricultural and other industrial training. Japan has solved this problem most satisfactorily. A commission may be deputed to Japan to study her experience in this connection.

Law should compulsorily require the local boards to introduce compulsion in the above-mentioned villages, steps being immediately taken to establish panchayats or to form education committees.

(b) In the case of municipalities undertaking compulsory education, Government should contribute two-thirds of the total expenditure. The total population of municipal towns in the Presidency (excluding the city of Bombay) is roughly twenty-five lakhs. So provision will have to be made for the education of about $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs of children, involving an annual expenditure of sixty-eight lakhs. Government will have to contribute thirty-five lakhs more annually, since even now it contributes $9\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Municipalities should be encouraged to introduce compulsion, the law being made obligatory after a year.

(c) The Bombay Corporation should be compelled to provide for the compulsory education of children of the factory labourers, by lending pecuniary help, if necessary.

(d) A full primary training college should be developed in each District. Provision should be made for giving industrial and agricultural training to teachers intended for rural areas. These

colleges will involve an additional annual expenditure of five lakhs.

Thus the annual expenditure on primary education will have to be increased by 95 lakhs in the next three years.

3. *Special facilities for the Depressed Classes*: Annual charge, $16\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.

(a) Clothing should be supplied free to needy children of these classes in primary schools. Introduction of compulsion in the area mentioned above will bring in more than a lakh of untouchable children in schools. As most of them will be poor and needy, their clothing will cost about ten lakhs a year.

(b) With a view to rear primary teachers from these classes, 850 scholarships of ten rupees each should be created for students in the V, VI, VII vernacular standards. Of these sixty each should go to Poona, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Surat and thirty each to the remaining Districts. These will cost Rs. 1,03,200 a year.

(c) Hostels should be established in every District for untouchable students receiving secondary and higher education of all kinds. Hostels in Bombay and Poona should accommodate three hundred students each; those in Ahmedabad and Surat 150 each; while hostels in the remaining Districts should each accommodate 50 students each. To needy students should be provided free lodging, boarding and clothing. All should have free admission in schools. Committees should be formed of persons taking interest in the uplift of the untouchable classes to supervise the management and superintendence of these hostels and admission of students to them. It is estimated that the annual cost of one student will be Rs. 250 and the total annual expenditure five lakhs, to be reached in three years. Pending the establishment of the hostels, which should be started within one year, provision should be made for 800 scholarships of Rs. 20 per mensem, 100 each for Bombay and Poona and 25 each for the remaining districts.

(d) Fifty scholarships of Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per mensem should be reserved for students from the depressed classes receiving higher education. These will cost roughly Rs. 25,000 every year.

4. *Facilities for the Backward Communities*: Annual expenditure 17 lakhs.

All touchable communities, whose literacy in English is less than two per cent. should be considered backward. These include all except Parsees, Christians, Jews, Brahmins, Prabhoos, Bhatias, Lohanas (in the city of Bombay) and Vantias (Jains as well as Hindus). Muhammadans are, of course, included in the backward communities.

(a) Proportion of the population of the backward communities to the total population of touchable classes is above 92 per cent. Yet the proportion of secondary students among them is not more than 25 per cent. In numbers the backwards are to the advanced as 13 to 1; while the ratio of secondary students among them is roughly 1 to 4! With a view to remove this disparity at least partially, special

facilities must be provided for the students of the backward communities. For the first year, twenty hundred scholarships of values ranging from Rs. 10 to 25 per mensem should be provided, to be doubled in the second year and tripled in the third. They should be distributed as follows:—

Sind	...	350.
Northern Division	...	350.
Central Division	...	600. [240 for Poona and 60 each for the other six districts.]
Southern Division	...	500. [100 each for Belgaum and Dharwar and 75 each for the remaining districts.]
Bombay City	...	200.

Thirty per cent. of these scholarships should be of the monthly value of ten rupees each, another thirty per cent. of fifteen rupees each, twenty per cent. more of twenty rupees each and the remaining twenty per cent. of twenty-five rupees each. Proportion of Muhammadan scholarships should be 75 per cent. for Sind, 20 per cent. for the Northern and Southern Divisions, 15 for the Central Division and 25 per cent. for the Bombay City.

The cost for the first year will be about 4 lakhs, 8 lakhs for the second year and 12 lakhs for the third.

(b) Six hundred scholarships of value ranging from twenty to fifty rupees per mensem should be provided for students of these communities receiving higher education to be distributed thus:—

Bombay centre	...	150.
Poona centre	...	200.
Dharwar centre	...	100.
Ahmedabad centre	...	75.
Surat centre	...	25.
Karachi centre	...	50.

Of these twenty per cent. should be of the monthly value of 20 rupees each, thirty per cent. of 30 rupees, another thirty per cent. of 40 rupees and the remaining twenty per cent. of 50 rupees each. The proportion of Muhammadan scholarships should be 25 per cent. for Bombay, 15 per cent. for Poona, 20 per cent. for Dharwar, Ahmedabad and Surat and 75 per cent. for Karachi. The annual expenditure will be 2.5 lakhs.

(c) If Marathas and Kunbis want separate treatment, they should be given half the number of non-Muhammadan scholarships allotted to the city of Bombay and the Central Division in both (a) and (b).

(d) Students from the backward and the depressed classes should necessarily be admitted to secondary and higher schools.

(e) Grants-in-aid should be given to communal institutions like hostels designed to encourage education among the backward and the depressed communities. An amount of two lakhs and a half should be annually spent on this subject.

(f) 50 per cent. of the candidates to be selected every year for training in vernacular training colleges should, as far as possible, belong to backward classes; and every facility of admission should be given to students from the depressed classes.

5. *Medical Relief to Villagers*:—Annual Expenditure, 15 lakhs.

At present there is only one Local Board dispensary in a Taluq (or Sub-District); the aim should be to provide one dispensary for every one hundred and fifty square miles of rural area. More than six hundred new dispensaries will have to be opened before this aim is accomplished. During the next three years at least one more dispensary should be opened in each Taluq at a suitable centre. In the present dispensaries, the provision of medicines &c. is very inadequate. This defect should also be removed. Steps should be taken to encourage, improve and systematise the Aryan and Yunani medical sciences. All this will involve an annual expenditure of fifteen lakhs.

6. *Extension of Irrigation*:—

The Indian Irrigation Commission has recommended the construction of big storage works wherever possible and small tanks in other places. From their calculations it may be safely inferred that at least three hundred crores of rupees will have to be expended on such works if the Deccan and Gujerat are to be adequately protected against famine! The aim should be to achieve this result in the life-time of a generation. In the beginning at least two crores of rupees should be borrowed and spent upon irrigation projects every year. If the working of the department is improved and people are fairly assured of regular supply of water, they will very willingly pay higher water rates and it will thus be possible to diminish materially the permanent burden on revenue which irrigation works impose. Steps should also be taken to repair the several thousands of old tanks which Government have continued to neglect, despite the recommendations of the Commission.

7. *Complete Prohibition of Drink*:—

Every year at least twelve per cent. of the liquor shops should be closed so as to bring about complete prohibition within eight or nine years.

It has been said and said rightly that it is easy to frame schemes but very difficult to find money. But the difficult part of the work must also be done. Land Revenue, Income-tax and Excise have hitherto been the principal sources of provincial revenues; but the first is incapable of much expansion, the second has been Indianised while the third has got to be ultimately abolished. The carrying out of the programme outlined above will involve additional expenditure of more than 2½ crores to be reached in three years. Retrenchment in expenditure may safely be expected to provide a part of the necessary funds; but the greater part of them will have to be raised by new taxation. Increase in the duties of general and court-fee stamps, the imposition of death duties and a cess on the income-tax-payers are some of the ways in which additional money could be raised. A cess may also be levied on those who pay land-tax above a certain amount. These measures will enable the Government to carry out at least the most essential reforms.

V. R. KOTHARI.
K. G. LIMAYE.

CURRENCIES AFTER THE WAR.

OF all the problems left by the great war, none perhaps is of more vital importance than that of the currencies. During the war the currencies of all the belligerent countries became inflated owing to the need of financing the heavy war expenditure; the inflation of the currency led to an extraordinary rise in the prices of commodities; and this rise of prices has been a main factor in the economic and social troubles which we witness in many countries to-day. "In no important country have commodity prices risen much, if anything, less than 100 per cent;" in some they have risen 150 or 200 per cent. Besides being depreciated, most currencies have become unstable; and that has unhinged international trade. Countries, like Austria, which stand in need of essential commodities, and which can only get those commodities on credit, are unable to get that credit owing to their disorganised currencies; and reconstruction becomes doubly difficult. A settlement of the currencies on a sound and stable basis is thus the first condition of mitigating those ills from which the world is suffering to-day.

The Economic and Financial section of the League of Nations Secretariat has done some necessary spadework* towards the solution of the pressing problem by collecting information about the present currency situation in various countries. They presented a questionnaire to financial experts, asking for information on (1) the essential features of the pre-war currency system, (2) the use made of currency issues to finance the Government during the war, (3) statistics with regard to gold and silver in the hands of the Banks and the public on the one hand, and the amount of notes in circulation on the other, (4) the principal factors affecting the exchange situation, etc. The book they have published is based on the answers to this questionnaire. The intention, as they say, has been "to present an objective statement of facts on which future policy must doubtless be based, but not in any way to criticise existing policies or to suggest the lines on which future policies should be based." The information has been brought up to February 1920; since then, however, the currency situation in some countries has changed, as for example in India.

A perusal of the book suggests many thoughts with regard to our own currency problem. We see that the evil of an unstable currency has been a general one; but that is small comfort. With a more automatic currency we might have been to-day in the happier position of the United States or Japan. Doubtless part of our trouble arose from an unforeseen circumstance—the extraordinary rise in the price of silver, and the change in the ratio of the rupee to gold was perhaps inevitable. But the change in the ratio has not produced stability, and Government have given up all attempt to support the new ratio. The sale of Reverse Councils last year was certainly unnecessary; whether it was a blunder or not can be

* *Currencies after the War: A survey of conditions in various countries.* London: Harrison and Sons.

determined only when we get information on the exact position of the Reserve after the sale. But doubtless the giving up all attempt to support the rupee at present is an acknowledgment of failure; and one cannot see if there is any alternative now except the appointment of a commission to consider the establishment of an effective and automatic gold standard in India. The Cuncliffe Committee has recommended a return to such a standard in England; we in India should like to see an establishment of it. Meanwhile we should recommend students of currency questions to study the information contained in the excellent volume before us.

R. P. PATWARDHAN.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LONDON, JANUARY 13.

LORD READING'S APPOINTMENT.

SO the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India is confirmed, and my information that the cause of the delay in the announcement of Lord Reading's acceptance of the office was uncertainty regarding the effect upon Lady Reading's health of a prolonged stay in India has also been corroborated. Comparisons are "odorous", but even the present Viceroy's most flattering admirers will not aver that India stands to lose by the advent of his successor-elect. The Press has been almost unanimous in its approval of the appointment, the sole exceptions being those gutter-papers that see no disgrace in pursuing a fierce vendetta against any prominent person who happens to have Jewish blood running in his veins. Decent papers have strongly protested against these anti-Semitic ebullitions, and the *Manchester Guardian* has administered a striking reproof by comparing these journals with the Boxers raising a cry of Foreign Devil. It is interesting to note that the anti-Jewish polemic has not been taken up, so far as can be judged from the telegraphic reports of Press opinions in India on the appointment, by any section of the Indian or Anglo-Indian Press. Here it is generally recognised that the Prime Minister, in ignoring precedent and the claims of out-of-work Peers, has made a most brilliant choice, as well as a daring and courageous one. Lord Reading is usually regarded as one of the half dozen most distinguished men in our public life, and great as were the services rendered by him to the country as a politician and as Lord Chief Justice, there is little doubt that they are far out-rivalled by those performed by him in stabilising British finance at the outbreak of the war and during his special missions to America in various capacities. Lord Reading is a man of enormous capacity for work, great adaptability, high qualities of mind and character, and exceptional abilities. He is both judicial and sympathetic, and as a diplomat in the best sense he has been unsurpassed. For a man of this remarkable calibre to be selected for the most responsible appointment under the Crown at the present juncture was wholly

unexpected, and it is surely a tribute to the magnitude of India's position in the Empire that it was made and accepted. Lord Reading is not a young man in years, and it must have meant a great personal sacrifice to surrender the quiet and dignity of the high office of Lord Chief Justice for the anxiety and uncertainty attaching to the Vice royalty in existing conditions.

REASONS FOR THE APPOINTMENT.

All kinds of suggestions are being made as to the motives of those who decided upon recommending the appointment. Perhaps Lord Reading's interpretation of them are of the utmost value. In replying to the congratulatory address of Sir Gordon Hewart, now the Attorney-General of England, but at one time editor of the newspaper *India*, which is coming to an inglorious end this week, I am told, Lord Reading said that he liked to think that his appointment was rather that of the office than of the individual who had been asked to take up the position of the King's representative in India at the present critical juncture of Indian history. To be the representative of the King-Emperor in India was to be the representative of justice. He left the judicial Bench, not forsaking or abandoning the pursuit of justice, but rather pursuing it in large fields, and where he feared the road was not so certain or so well laid. He trusted that those in India who had read of his appointment and who were now at the outset of the great progressive reforms introduced into their country by the King's Government might recognise that, in selecting the representative of Justice from this country to take the supreme place as the King's representative in India, it was the desire of His Majesty and of His Majesty's servants to make manifest to India that justice would remain the supreme guiding factor in the destinies of India, so long as it was possible for human beings to hold the scales even.

MR. MONTAGU'S FUTURE.

Meanwhile, all kinds of rumours are afloat as to the consequences to Mr. Montagu's career at the India Office of Lord Reading's selection as Viceroy. The anti-Jewish faction are supported by those who think that Lord Reading ought to go out with a free hand at a critical moment in the affairs of India. There are others who think that Mr. Montagu has badly bungled of late in his policy of *laissez faire* regarding the Gandhian agitation. The *Daily Telegraph*, the *Globe*, the *Morning Post*, and the other reactionary journals are unanimous that we are in India to "govern", whatever that may mean. What they mean is obvious. The iron hand and "no damned nonsense"! What poverty of imagination these unhappy people display! They swallow all the nostrums of the Sydenhams, the O'Dwyers, the Shorrocks, and the Macleods without turning a hair, but they gasp with astonishment when some responsible Indian turns round and declares that so long as British public opinion is supposed to be represented by them and their like, so long will there be disbelief in British *bona fides* and British sincerity. Fortunately, these reactionaries,

in spite of their great influence in certain quarters, are not representative of this country, but it is a thousand pities that there are no prominent and capable Indians here at the present time, out of office, to give the lie to the characteristic falsifications of the emissaries of the Indo-British Association. The British Committee, which has failed ignominiously to get into touch with the better mind of this country, is going out of existence almost immediately, and the Indian Reforms Committee, whose establishment a year ago was trumpeted abroad so loudly by Mr. Samarth, is chiefly conspicuous by its silence, when it might be expected to educate public opinion here along right lines. Perhaps it suffers too much from the defects of its composition, like the Coalition majority in Parliament.

Whether Mr. Montagu will leave the India Office, and if so, when, is still a matter of doubt. But should his opponents have their way, there seems to be no other person whose appointment will not materially weaken the constitutional party in India. The Tory element in the Coalition will almost certainly insist upon a Tory, since the Viceroy is a Liberal, and no Tory that I can think of can compare with Mr. Montagu in energy, goodwill, and sympathy, in spite of the bad character that is given him by his detractors, both Indian and British. Moreover, to discount the good appointment of Lord Reading by the bad appointment of a reactionary would be very poor policy, and I cannot quite see the Prime Minister making so futile a mistake unless party reasons are imperative. Mr. Lloyd George, too, will doubtless endeavour to limit the number of Cabinet appointments that he will have to make to the fewest possible, and at present the only one whose vacancy is certain is that of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner's resignation having already been handed to the Prime Minister. Mr. Walter Long has come back to the Admiralty, so that appointment is not immediately awaiting a nominee, and it is believed that Sir Gordon Hewart has been prevailed upon to remain Attorney-General, rather than become Lord Chief Justice, as the Government have such great need for his special gifts in the House of Commons.

If Mr. Montagu is transplanted, it may be to the Exchequer, for he has brilliant financial gifts. On the other hand, as Mr. Chamberlain has still to put through the next Budget, Mr. Montagu may go to the Colonial Office, where his handling of the East African Indian question would be remarkable and startling. Should this not happen, Mr. Winston Churchill, who is said to be tired of the War Office, since military expeditions are at a discount and economy is to the fore, may receive the appointment. His selection, from an Indian point of view, will be vastly preferable to that of the present Under Secretary for the Colonies, Colonel Amery. But this game of Cabinet-making is at best a stale and unprofitable thing and prophecy is a lost art. But whatever may be the result of the present or contemplated shuffling of portfolios, Indians may reflect that their indirect cause may lie in a sug-

gestion said to have been made by Mr. Basu to the Prime Minister, some time ago, that no appointment would be better received in India than that of Lord Reading. If that be correct, Mr. Basu is by way of being a history maker.

MAJOR ORMSBY-GORE ON RECONSTITUTION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

Taking advantage of the forthcoming appointment of a new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Major Ormsby-Gore suggests that the occasion might be taken to reconstitute the Colonial Office very radically. First, he says, the control of Dominion affairs ought to be vested in the Prime Minister or the Privy Council, and the appointment of Governors-General of the Dominions should be made upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister of the Dominion concerned, with correspondence direct with the Crown or the British Prime Minister, in the same way as the Dominion Prime Ministers. Next he urges that all territories, whether Crown Colonies, Protectorates, Dependencies (not including India, of course), and Mandated Territories, for which the people of this country have a direct responsibility should come under the control of a single department of State and that the minister in charge should be known as the Secretary of State for Imperial Administration, rather than as Secretary of State for Colonies, Dependencies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories. Altogether very interesting, is it not?

REVIEWS.

EDUCATION IN U. P.

General report on public instruction in U. P. for the year ending March 31, 1920

The report mentions some special efforts put forth by the Government for an extensive spread of primary education among the masses. With this object in view they have prepared and put into operation a scheme whereby they hope to double the number of boys in primary schools in the course of a few years. This has also led to the appointment of a special officer to push on the operation of the scheme. Lest his efforts for educational expansion should be hindered by the rules governing the establishment of primary schools, their rigid observance is not insisted upon. This has resulted in adding 2,093 and 73,842 to the number of schools and scholars respectively. These results have been regarded so encouraging that the Government have created a permanent post of Chief Inspector of vernacular education. The education of the depressed classes also claimed the special attention of the Government. Here, too, the experiment of appointing special supervisors was tried in three selected districts. Their efforts have succeeded in swelling the number of scholars belonging to those classes by more than 40 per cent. though the number itself is as yet small. But even the limited success that has attended the efforts of these officers has prepared the Government to offer these facilities to such local boards as might feel inclined to avail themselves of them. Special efforts were also made to promote the spread of literacy among the more backward classes of Mahomedans.

Economic conditions prevailing in India during the last few years have so far hit secondary schools, four-fifths of which are under private management in U.P. that their finances are believed to be in a precarious condition. According to the report, they constitute one of the weakest links in our educational system, and radical reorganisation will be neces-

sary if we are to secure a sound and coherent secondary system on which to build our new Universities. It will be necessary to set up new machinery to supervise, guide and control these schools, and means will have to be found of stabilising their finances and of vastly improving the quality of the teaching staff."

In the field of collegiate education, the Hindu University seems to be doing excellent work. The Central Hindu College which constitutes the greater part of the University, is growing. It had in Sept. 1919 as many as 834 students as against 674 in the same month of the previous year and more accommodation is wanted at an early date if the college is to continue its progress at the rate it has done so far. The opening of what in the opinion of the Education Department is "the ambitiously planned College of Engineering" has been noted in the report. The first workshop was opened in Jan. 1919 and there were not less than 192 students on the roll in June 1920. The addition of an electrical department to the College was under the consideration of the University authorities and a scheme has been prepared to provide lighting to the city from the University Power House.

The teaching staff in the primary schools continues to be discontented, as well it may. Their salaries are inadequate in these times of high prices to keep them and their families from starvation. It is certainly creditable to them that even under such difficulties and discouragements the great majority among them, according to the Inspector of Schools, Fyzabad division, "still strive in spite of daily anxiety to do their work to the best of their ability." That "some among them become discouraged and do as little as possible" need hardly cause any surprise. As in Bombay, the question of the revision of their salaries, which has been long overdue, was under the consideration of Government when the report was issued. It is to be regretted that these low-paid employees of Government had to wait so long for an increase in their salaries while the higher services had their scales of pay revised without much ado. It is to be hoped that they too will come into their own at an early date.

For the benefit of the agriculturists who cannot be expected to give any portion of their day-time to acquire a knowledge of the three R's, night schools have been started especially in the Rohilkhand division. So far they number only 68 with an enrolment of 1671. If properly conducted, the institution of night schools can do a good deal to spread literacy amongst the agricultural population of the country.

The main feature of European schools was that though their number and that of their scholars decreased during the year under report, the expenditure went up by over twelve thousand, the total being a little over nineteen lakhs. It is a reserved subject, but we hope not beyond reform.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

"It is generally agreed that a claim for national expression within the Empire must necessarily involve proportionately increased assumption of Imperial responsibilities. ... Partnership must involve duties as well as rights, risks as well as status; it would seem that thoughts need to be clarified on this matter."—*Army Quarterly*.

SIR,—Heavy is the task before the Moderates; heavier still is the responsibility on their shoulders. The heavier the task, the bolder must they grow in the discharge of their duty within and without the Councils, with a stone heart. The present critical situation can only be relieved not by 'sabour'; but by acts of genuine sympathy and justice to India. It is for the Moderates to show by their work in the Councils, leaving no stone unturned, that hopes of mending matters are not shattered quite and that evolution is happier than revolution. By their work in the Councils they must show to the people at large, creating a gradual but steady consciousness that it is better to Mend rather than Break. Tall talk dies out quickly, so also do honeyed words.

but genuine acts of sympathy and justice remain behind. The world is changing fast and people are fixing their attention on rights and not on shadows i. e. promises of sympathy.

The first part of the criticism of the *Army Quarterly* has more or less to do with the Self-Governing Colonies, which are openly out for a direct hand in settling the policy of the Empire. The change in the office of the Colonial Minister, coupled with the announcement of the Prime Minister to hasten the Inter-Empire Conference in June 1921, points to the fact that there must have been acute internal pressure on the Colonial Office from the Self-Governing Colonies. Responsible persons in Canada and South Africa and Australia have made it clear that their status must be raised from that of a sleeping partner to that of an active one. The best way to strengthen the Empire would be not by looking upon it as Greater Britain, lending colour to the view of imperialism; but by engendering the true spirit of brotherhood in consonance with the spirit of federalism under the flag of the Empire. The Colonies are in a position to assert their claims effectively; but what of poor India?

The experience of the Indian representatives in the League of Nations shows that the League which is more or less an expanded form of the Franco-British Compact, is not willing to treat India on a par with the other Colonies. Splendid was the work done by the members and rightly did they point out that unless India is given a just place in the League, the internal administration of the country would not be helped. Taking a lesson from this, India must be prepared to make a bolder stand in the proposed conference, the ground for which can be prepared by emphatic expression of opinion in councils to the effect that India will not rest satisfied with anything short of justice within the Empire. Indeed, India has not been forgotten in one thing, viz. in bearing the burden of the Empire.

India has been the ass of burden and unless India is watchful of her rights, the new policy of the Empire foreshadowed by the Esher Report will drag it to a breaking point. The hollowness and injustice underlying the report have been already exposed by able men like Sir P. S. S. Iyer and H. H. the Aga Khan. The criticism of the *Times of India* sounds an emphatic protest against the 'Danger Ahead' on behalf of India. The Despatch of the Government of India on the condition of Indian labour in the colonies is not disappointing and it is for the Councils to force the hands of the Government to a bolder stand in the work before it in June. What with the fears of the Russian danger and what with the strength of its man-power, India has been made to bear practically "the brunt of Imperial adventures, in the acceptance of which India was not at all consulted." It is highly probable that the Imperialist, in their passion for protecting the oil fields in Mesopotamia—the new centre of exploitation—will point to the Bolshevik danger and plunge India in a policy of feeding a huge army for the Empire. As Lord Hardinge said, India is bled white in playing her part in the struggle against the Kaiser. Unless India sits tight in her rights, it is likely that in June the old story of the monkey and the oats may be repeated in the distribution of rights and risks. India will always be prepared for a proportionate share of risks; but it can never agree to bear only the burdens. It must be made clear in the Councils that India will refuse to grow under the already heavy burden of risks and responsibilities unless she is given her due in the Empire. India looks for justice and will it be too much to expect it from the ex-Chief Justice of England?—Yours, etc.

L. G. G.

Bombay, Jan. 25.

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