

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE budget proposals of Mr. Hailey would not have come as a surprise upon people who have been following the trend of financial developments in India during the current year. Unfavourable monsoon conditions, depression of foreign trade, collapse of exchange and military situation on the frontier and beyond are factors which have upset the normal aspect of Indian finance. The Finance Member could not balance his income and expenditure and fill up a wide gap of enormous deficit. It was a bitter irony of fate that the first budget under the new constitutional dispensation should have to show a deficit and should require the huge addition of 19 crores to national taxation. The heavy expenditure that had to be provided for and the general economic depression which broadens on the face of the country impelled Mr. Hailey to perform the unpleasant task of approaching the Assembly with taxation proposals. Members of the popular legislative chamber were confronted with a situation, military and financial, in which they could not but support Government in its proposals. The assurance has been given on behalf of Government that the strictest economy will be exercised in expenditure and every effort will be made to rehabilitate the financial position.

THE very manner in which the Finance Member handled crores upon crores of rupees and proposed an additional taxation of 19 crores bespeaks the nature of India's post-war finance. His proposals regarding the making up of the de-

ficit covered a wide ground and his taxation is calculated to reach all classes of the community. The additional burden thrown upon the mass of the population by the increased tax upon railway traffic and even enhanced postal charges will be keenly felt, though the raising of import duties and additional taxation upon the rich through articles of luxury are unobjectionable. The enormous floating debt of Government and the general trade depression render the outlook gloomy. Mr. Hailey's defence of Government's exchange and currency policy will fail to convey comfort or conviction to the trading and general public. The Assembly will of course have a very difficult task before it. It will be called upon to support Government in its embarrassing position and yet it will not be satisfied with the way in which the ordinary expenditure of Government is growing with leaps and bounds. The enhancement of import duties is a move in the right direction, but the currency policy requires altogether different treatment.

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ONE of Sir Edward Maclagon's wisest acts was to leave the question of the Amritsar indemnity to the Punjab Legislative Council. Raja Narendra Nath lost no time in bringing forward the following resolution :

"That the sum imposed in connection with the disturbances of April 1919 on the inhabitants of the city of Amritsar as indemnity for loss and as payment for additional police be remitted and that the money advanced by Government to the Amritsar Municipality to meet the liabilities incurred on this account be debited to the accumulated balance of previous years in the provincial revenues."

He questioned the legality of the levy by the Punjab Government and the right of the Amritsar Municipality to collect it and further urged political considerations in support of the resolution. Who would have thought that any Indian would oppose this resolution? Yet one member is reported to have said that 'the indemnity should be taken from Amritsar as otherwise people would think that others would suffer for them and therefore they need not care what they did,' and another member that 'in debiting the indemnities to provincial revenues they would side those who defied the law.' The resolution was no doubt carried by a large majority but that as many as thirteen members voted against it is enough to make any Indian feel humiliated. Class feeling, rural against urban, was exhibited by some members during the discussion.

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WHILE His Excellency Lord Sinha was on a visit to Bhagalpur he had a round table conference with the prominent non-co-operators of the place headed by Mr. Deep Narain Singh. The conference lasted for over an hour and, according to a correspondent of the *Searchlight*, 'the result was that the N. C. O. representatives came back with the very highest regard for Lord Sinha and sense of futility and danger of the movement so far as it was an appeal to the students and the masses. The prevailing idea is that His Excellency is the very pink of courtesy and refinement, who intends to mix freely with the people and to do permanent good to the people so far as in him lies and to redress real grievances, if any, from which they may be suffering.' We congratulate Lord Sinha on having produced this impression on people who certainly were not biased in his favour. We hope the district authorities in his province will recognise the superiority of the round table conference method to repression and follow the excellent example set by their chief.

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THE discussion which took place in the Council of State on Sir M. Dadabhoj's resolution urging the rehabilitation of the 3 and 3½ per cent. Government stocks which have enormously depreciated, to the loss of a number of middle class and other holders and to the detriment of Government's financial credit, threw into relief the present situation of the national debt of India, floating and temporary, and the immediate prospect in connection therewith. The main contention of the mover of the resolution was that the depreciation of the old stocks had resulted in the loss of public confidence in Government loans, a circumstance which militated against the future State borrowings which were so necessary for schemes of national development and the remedy he suggested was the consolidation of Government loans and the conversion of the old stocks into new ones bearing a higher rate of interest. Government sympathised with what Sir M. Dadabhoj had said about the effects of depreciation and the maintenance of the credit of the State, but pleaded the urgency of dealing with the floating and the temporary debt and the expense to the general tax-payer that would be involved in the process of conversion, as a strong argument against the acceptance of responsibility that would be thrown upon its shoulders. All the same, Government promised to give careful consideration to the suggestions put forward and to consult non-official expert opinion on the matter. The position of Government is indeed very difficult, particularly with reference to treasury bills and the temporary debt and the heavy expenditure it has to meet on general administration, and it is to be seen what expedients the Finance Member devises to meet the financial situation.

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BY the death of Sir Rash Behary Ghosh on Monday last, India loses one of her most eminent jurists and a scholar of great learning. He was a

self-made man upon whose cradle fortune had not in the least smiled. One of the most distinguished scholars of the Calcutta University, he tried to repay the debt he owed to his *alma mater* both by devoted work and princely donations. His connection with the Congress, though not associated with very happy memories, coincided with perhaps the most eventful period in the history of that body and the credit of reviving the national organisation after its death at Surat and safeguarding it against ill-natured attacks in future must in a considerable measure be given to him. As a colleague of the late Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council during the troublous days of the anti-partition agitation he fought hard against the enactment of the Seditious Meetings Act. His services in this connection will be remembered for a long time to come by his grateful countrymen. Fate ordained that he should not participate in any of the meetings of the Council of State, of which he was an elected member on behalf of his province.

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SOME time ago we pointed out that the spinning wheel was not at all wanted, because after satisfying the Indian demand for yarn our spinning mills were in a position to export about 20 per cent. of their output to foreign countries. In criticising this view Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*, "The writer does not seem to know that more cloth is to-day woven by our weavers than by mills, but the bulk of it is foreign yarn and therefore our weavers are supporting foreign spinners". How does Mr. Gandhi know that the bulk of the yarn used by our weavers is foreign yarn? Trade figures are altogether against him. During the last few years the quantity of yarn imported was only 6 per cent. of the yarn produced in the country by mills and after the war it is less than 3 per cent. The bulk of the yarn used by our hand-weavers must therefore be indigenous yarn. We shall quote figures from a paper whose views are generally diametrically opposed to ours. In a recent issue the *Kesari* mentioned that in 1915-16 the yarn

produced in Indian mills was lbs.	72'24	crores
imported from foreign countries	4'04	"
exported to	16'10	"
consumed by mills in India	31'45	"
consumed by hand-weavers	28'73	"

Supposing that all the imported yarn was used only by hand-weavers, which is not the case, even then it would be only one-seventh of the total yarn consumed by hand weavers.

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FROM the published proceedings of the Council of state we find that Sir William Vincent did mention in referring to Mr. Gokhale's attitude to the Seditious Meetings Bill that "from the standpoint of Government" Mr. Gokhale thought the measure was a mild one, being stripped of its harsher features; but Sir William did not mention, as in fairness he should have, that Mr. Gokhale considered it necessary to refuse support to the measure from the people's point of view. His position was this: assuming the necessity for it, the bill was mild; but he contended that there was no necessity for it, and on that account he declined to give his support. That the measure was not urgently necessary is now admitted by all, the Act being first put in force ten years after it was passed.

### THE NANKHANA MASSACRE.

THE massacre of Sikh pilgrims at the Nankhana temple, which is the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, is one of the blackest deeds ever recorded in the history of India. The cold-blooded brutality of the perpetrators and the manner in which the dead bodies were disposed of, stupify the mind. The latest official estimate gives the number of persons killed at 130; while a non-official estimate places it at 195. Very few of the victims appear to have escaped alive. We shall get detailed reliable information perhaps only after the completion of the enquiry which is now being conducted by Government. But as very little has yet appeared in the daily papers regarding this great, and for the Sikhs a national, tragedy, we are giving below extracts from *The Sikh* which is a bi-weekly published at Lahore. It gives the version popularly believed by the enlightened Sikhs. The tragedy seems to be the culmination of differences which arose regarding the management of temples between the Mahants and Pujaris on the one hand and the reformed or puritanical Sikhs on the other. It will be remembered that some days ago a similar tragedy, though on a smaller scale, was enacted at Taran Taran. The Governor and his cabinet went to Nankhana as soon as it was possible for them to do and arranged for all necessary steps being taken to allay fear and anger. But a perusal of the extracts from *The Sikh* reproduced by us will show that the Mahant of Nankhana was collecting weapons and arms for quite a long time and that it was well-known to the local authorities, being also the subject of newspaper comment. When asked by Sirdar Mehtab Singh, M. L. C. and Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council, why he did not check these preparations, Mr. Currie, the Deputy Commissioner of the district seems to have told him, according to *The Sikh*, that he did not believe that such a high-placed Mahant, enjoying an income of five or six lakhs of rupees a year, would so run amock and expose himself to utter ruin in one day. It is hard to believe that a responsible officer in charge of a district could assure himself so easily of peace against murderous preparations that were being openly made. We have no desire to prejudice the local officials; but it is incumbent on them to clear themselves of this serious charge.

We are glad that a discussion was raised in the Indian Legislative Assembly on this subject, as a matter of urgent public importance. Sir William Vincent expressed the view, in the course of the discussion, that it would set an unsound precedent, as it was not the Central but the Local Government that was primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. We do not think that in such important matters the Central Government can divest itself of all responsibility. It was a grave blunder on the part of Lord Chelmsford to have left Sir Michael O'Dwyer so much to himself and he has been blamed for it. Sir William Vincent

perhaps explained what was correct official etiquette; but in some matters we ought not to be bound by etiquette. Curiously enough, the matter was not discussed in the Punjab Council, as the required number of members did not rise in their seats to permit the discussion. They were obviously impressed by Sir John Maynard's statement that the Government did not possess sufficient information for a useful discussion at that stage and that when it would be available, an opportunity for discussion would be given.

The following are extracts from *The Sikh*. After they were put in type we have seen an account in the *Khalsa Advocate* which substantially corroborates this version and gives more harrowing details:—

"Even the history of the Moghul anarchy and that of the anarchic deeds of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani do not furnish a single instance of the sort—inviting a couple of hundred men of an itinerant preaching jatha, desirous of paying homage at the holy shrine of Shri Guru Nanak Dev, and when they get in, shutting the door, firing at them first and then butchering them in cold blood with chhavis, followed by consigning the dead and the dying to fire, in the broad daylight at the headquarters of a Tahsil and a distinguished grain market in the civilised British Raj, sparing no Sikh found anywhere. . . . A body of Sikh pilgrims formed by the combination of various jathas of the Panth was, on the last auspicious anniversary of the Great Guru's birth, received by a strength of over 1,000 mercenaries and nearly as many Sadhus, armed with lathis (chavis being concealed) and cudgels and arrayed like a regular regiment. There was also a reinforcement of the armed Police, and as has never been denied, loaded rifles with a stock of munition were kept ready for use if need be. The Deputy Commissioner and the Police officials witnessed all that and were further convinced of the motive of the Mahant joined by his fraternity from places near and far with a quota of men and arms from each, and we, for our part, did not fail to point out such a flagrant connivance on the part of the officials. But in vain, as nothing was done to show to the Mahant what a breach of law he had committed and was further preparing himself to commit."

"Nor was this alone. The manufacturing of chhavis, storing of arms and ammunition and kerosine oil continued in full swing, a considerable strength of men under the command of one Ismail Bhatti added to by a body of about 100 Pathans was kept ready to strike whenever the Sikhs came to visit the Shrine. These reports continued to appear in the Press and have also been clearly mentioned in the warnings of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. Even the Mahant's own organ, the *Sant Sewak* is said to have mentioned that he had under his command 400 men (Bhattis) to accord the Sikhs the "deserving reception." But how strange and astounding it is that all this failed to rouse the Police, the D. C. and the Commissioner from their torpor, not even the fortifications of the shrine with

lofty iron walls and perforating of iron sheets and doors to enable the Mahant's men to fire through, nor the purchase of rifles and munition without license!"

"It appears that with the object of collecting subscriptions and exhorting the Panth to attend a Dewan to be held in the neighbourhood of Dharowal in the District of Sheikupura, a Jatha of Sikh workers headed by Bhai Lachhman Singh of Dharowal reached Nanakana Sahib early in the morning on the 20th instant. They asked the Mahant's permission to get in and pay obeisance to the Satguru. The permission was granted apparently gladly with the words—come in, Sardar Sahib; all this belongs you. Thus were,

#### TWO HUNDRED LIVES ENTRAPPED.

But as they got in, the only door (the front-gate) open was closed and the noise of some thing like the explosion of a bomb heard. Immediately were they fired at by the Mahant's mercenaries through the holes of the iron doors perforated pre-meditatedly for this very purpose. As the wounded ran to and fro for safety while there was no way to escape, they were fallen upon by ruffians with chhavis (billhooks) which, as is well known, had been especially manufactured for the day at Nanakana Sahib. Then the wounded and maimed victims were brought before the butcherly Mahant who, after showering all the abuses he could on each, ordered the final stroke which separated his head from his body. It is said that Bhai Lachhman Singh, the leader, was subjected to still more cruel and brutal tortures. A boy of 18 managed to escape, but as he was being carried by some one of the town he was overtaken, caught and thrown alive into the "burning bhatti" of a potter!

#### CANISTERS OF KEROSENE OIL USED.

On the fired-at and butchered victims were then emptied canisters of Kerosene oil so that flames of fire went up to the sky alarming the people of the town. But they had not long to wait. The rabid Mahant at once rode his horse and followed by his infernal followers went out shouting 'kill the Sikh wherever you find one.' Meanwhile the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Currie, who happened to be touring the neighbouring places and was informed of the havoc, arrived and went straight to the shrine. But look at the murderers' courage, they would not open the door till after an hour the Mahant appeared with the *fryad* that the Sikh invaders had come and killed all his Sadhus whose dead bodies were now being cremated inside. . . . The burning of the dead and the dying continued for 9 hours, from 7-30 a. m. to 4-30 p. m.; while the D. C. was there at 12-30 p. m. But this is true that his arrival saved the lives of the Sikh population in the Mandi or else the number of the victims would have risen to thousands. At last the special carrying the troops accompanied by the Commissioner Mr. King, D. I. G. and six leading Sikhs arrived at 8-30 p. m. immediately after which some of the murderers, the devilish Mahant, his two assistant Sadhus and 26 Pathans, all 29 were arrested and taken to Lahore.

by a special. The investigations continue. The arch accomplice, Ismail Bhatti, his five hundred ruffians and the Majha mercenaries are still at large."

#### THE PRESS ACT.

It will be remembered that when Government agreed to appoint a Committee to examine the repressive laws on the statute book, they excluded the Press Act from the scope of its inquiry, on the ground that they had already taken the matter in hand and even consulted the local Governments on the question. The inquiry in regard to the Press Act having arrived at an advanced stage, Government thought it better to entrust this investigation to a separate committee, which also would be composed as to two-thirds of its members of non-officials. Government had contemplated nothing more than a modification of the Press Act, and therefore the resolution that was put down for the Home Department in the Legislative Assembly asked for the appointment of a Committee with a view to finding out what amendments could suitably be introduced into the Act. Public opinion, however, strongly favours the demand put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri in the Council of State that it should be totally repealed. This feeling was voiced by many members of the Assembly and by none more strongly than by Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar who, as Judge of the Madras High Court, had to hear the appeal in the *New India* case. Since Government was appointing a Committee, there was no reason why its reference should be limited to considering only the advisability of only modifying it, as the resolution originally tabled implied. Government agreed to widen the terms of reference, so that repeal of the Act was also brought within the purview of the Committee's investigations. The Incitement of Newspaper Offences Act also forms the subject matter of the inquiry which the Committee will undertake. The Home Member, when speaking to the resolution, claimed that the Act was applied very sparingly and with great forbearance, which may be true enough of the last few months, but is not true of the earlier period. We need not however attach much importance to these *ipse dixit*s, which cannot stand the scrutiny to which they will be subjected by the Committee. But the Home Member made several admissions which are valuable, that the Act was not administered equally both against English and Indian owned presses, that it might have been applied so as to prove oppressive by overzealous officials and so forth. But what is far more important than any of these admissions is the frank recognition on Government's part that, in the altered conditions introduced by the reforms, the Press Act cannot be retained except with the approval of the legislature. It is just for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the legislative Houses to exert their influence on the administration in a matter on which the public mind is greatly exercised that, Mr. O'Donnell, Home Secretary, explained, that the resolution is moved by Govern-

ment. The Home Member assured the Assembly that the names of the members to be appointed to the Committee will be acceptable to the Assembly. It must not be imagined, as seems to be imagined by some who have made adverse comments on the proceedings of the Assembly on this question, that the non-official members have agreed to have only a modification of the Press Act instead of repeal. The Committee will consider both modification and the more drastic procedure of repeal. The non-official members have not committed themselves to modification any more than official members committed themselves to repeal. One thing that deserves to be noted in this connexion is the claim advanced by the Home Member for the retention of the Press Act for the benefit of the Native States. The princes have, it is urged, helped the Government during war, and they must be protected from blackmail. Blackmailing, of course, every sane man will unreservedly condemn, but is the Press Act to be used for the purpose of preventing blackmailing? Why is not ordinary law set in motion to this end? Again, under cover of affording protection to princes from newspapers which abuse their power, there is likelihood of several newspapers being gagged when engaged in their legitimate function of criticising the administration of Native States. For one editor who levies blackmail now and who will be prevented from doing so hereafter, there must be a hundred who will refrain from performing their duty of criticising the acts of the princes if a special Press law is retained for the purpose. This must be averted. We must beware of such arguments, because already princes have begun to claim that no agitation must be allowed in British India in regard to any of the grievances which their subjects may feel against themselves. It is to be hoped that the Committee will not let itself be beguiled into an overready complaisance with such restrictions, on account of a misplaced tenderness for the princes.

#### FISCAL AUTONOMY.

THE Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas's resolution on fiscal autonomy evoked a lively discussion. Unfortunately it was so worded that it gave occasion for a vigorous assault from the front bench. It would be useful to quote the terms of the resolution here: "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that his Majesty's Government be addressed through the Secretary of State for India with a prayer that the Government of India be granted full fiscal autonomy under the direction of the Indian Legislature." If the last word in regard to fiscal matters were to lie with the Indian Legislature, it was argued on behalf of the Government, this resolution would drive a coach and four through several provisions of the Government of India Act, which had at several points placed checks upon the legislature, from the veto of the Crown down to the special machinery provided in the Act to override the legislature on certain occasions. This objection, emphatically put on the side of the Government of India, wa

technically quite valid. If Mr. Lalubhai wanted the Indian legislature to regulate India's tariffs and fiscal policy in general without any reference to any higher authority, obviously it could not be done under the Government of India Act; and as it appeared from Mr. Lalubhai's speech that what he really cared for was fiscal autonomy and not political autonomy, it was pointed out that the one could not be had without the other, as all vetoes would have to be done away with and that obviously required a modification of the Government of India Act. It was clear from his speech that he wanted as much of it as was possible within the limits set by the Act. But it might be asked: If Mr. Lalubhai did not want to travel beyond the provisions of the Act, what need was there to approach the Secretary of State at all? The answer is that even to have the fullest effect given to the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee in regard to this matter, it is necessary that the Secretary of State should forego two of the powers which he now possesses whereby, although the Government of India and the Indian legislature may agree on fiscal matters, the Secretary of State may use his veto and defeat the common object of the central executive and the legislature. The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri therefore intervened in the discussion to clear up the position and he pointed out that the Council might ask for the abrogation, not in law but in practice, of these powers which the Secretary of State still had—the powers, in Mr. Sastri's words, of initial consent and interim veto. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas at the end of his speech did say that he would be satisfied with an assurance from the Government that they would request the Secretary of State to forego these powers. If this assurance had been received, the discussion would have had some useful result. But, as it happened, this assurance was not forthcoming at the time it was asked for. In any case it was unfortunate that Mr. Lalubhai did not accept the amendment moved by the Government to make it clear that the resolution did not ask for anything outside the Government of India Act, if, as a matter of fact, he did not wish to go beyond the Act. The chief limitation in the Joint Committee's report is that the Government of India and the Indian legislature should agree. If Mr. Lalubhai desired to secure that, as a general rule, the Government of India should take the same view as the legislature on fiscal matters, even then it would be unnecessary to go beyond the provisions of the Government of India Act, and so there was no harm in agreeing to the amendment. At several points in the discussion it became apparent that the issues that were involved were but feebly grasped by the members that took part in the debate, and altogether it could not but be observed that a great subject received somewhat perfunctory treatment.

### NATIONALISATION OF EDUCATION.

WE are aware that many persons were under the impression that, although the whole of education, including higher education, was a transferred subject, the powers of control secured by this transfer extended only to administration, and that if any change in the constitution of the universities was required, it had to be effected in the central legislature, where the popular element is not so strong as in the provincial legislatures. We have always maintained that this was too narrow an interpretation of the provisions of the Government of India Act, and we are confirmed in our view by the pronouncement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi in his speech on the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri's resolution relating to the Universities. It is quite competent to the local legislative councils, the Education Member declared, to revise the constitution of their universities without even a reference to the Government of India. The previous consent of the latter will be necessary only in cases where the universities into whose constitution modifications are sought to be introduced embrace more than one province in their field of operations; after such consent is obtained, the local legislatures will be perfectly free to determine what the constitution of the universities shall be. Where the jurisdiction of a university extends only to a province and does not go beyond, the local legislature can undertake amending legislation without any reference to the Central Government. This authoritative interpretation of the scope of the Government of India Act will, we are sure, set all doubts at rest and rejoice the hearts of educational reformers. We trust the necessary amending legislation will be taken in hand at once in all the provinces and universities placed on a proper footing.

The entire field of education, both in regard to legislation and administration, being thus placed wholly under popular control, we would ask: Is not our education, now and here, national education in the fullest sense of the word? We would put this question specially to those non-co-operators, who are actively engaged in ruining present educational institutions with a view to "nationalising" them. The institutions are no doubt defective, but the remedy lies ready to our hands. We have only to make up our minds as to the kind of education that will suit the genius of our people, and that kind of education we shall have. The ministers will ordinarily bring about the necessary reforms; if they do not, the people's representatives in the legislatures can call them to account and make them do so, for the ministers are the people's servants. If, again, the popular representatives fail to introduce the reforms desired by the people, these representatives can be dismissed and the constituencies can return members who will undertake to remodel the universities. Higher education is, as other kinds of education, thus fully under popular control, and is really and truly national in that sense. It is not yet fully national in one sense be-

cause it does not now meet fully our national requirements as we understand them. But neither is the education imparted in the Gujrat Vidya Peeth or the Tilak Maha Vidyalaya fully national in that sense. It is fully national in the sense that it is under popular direction, and its being imparted in Government or aided institutions does not take away the least from its character.

One leading politician, who is of the extremist persuasion and who only recently has thrown himself heart and soul into the educational part of the non-co-operation movement, declared before the Reform Act was passed: "If only we have complete control of education, if we could teach our younger generation what we liked, if we could actively and by direct precept foster patriotism in high schools and colleges, I shall unhesitatingly say that the reforms are well worth giving a trial, whatever be their drawbacks and imperfections in other respects." This test has been fulfilled in its entirety. We have complete control of our education; in that sense our education is now perfectly national.

### THE BOMBAY BUDGET.

THE Budget for the ensuing year presented to the Reformed Council on Wednesday last will cause serious anxiety to many thoughtful minds. The budgetted revenue for the ensuing year is roughly 14 crores and the expenditure 15 crores and a half. There is a deficit of a crore and a half which is likely to widen itself by the end of the year. Increase in expenditure due to various causes and failure of monsoon involving the loss of half a crore of Land Revenue, have widened the last year's budgetted deficit of 93 lakhs into one of 168 lakhs. But this deficit should have been largely covered during the ensuing year, if the Government had not gone in for greater expenditure still. For, the complete provincialisation of certain heads, according to the new arrangement, has resulted in a net increase in provincial revenue of about a crore and a quarter. But new increase in expenditure has swallowed almost all of this and we are faced with a deficit of a crore and a half which reduces the provincial balance from 389 lakhs in the budget of 1920-21 to 176 lakhs in the new budget.

It is evident that the deficit is due mainly to increased expenditure on reserved departments. If we take, for instance, Land Revenue, General Administration, Justice, Jails and Police, what do we find? The increase in the present budget over the revised estimate for 1920-21 is about forty-seven lakhs; but if we look to the figures in the budget for the same year, the increase goes up to more than three-fourths of a crore! For the Government has already exceeded the last year's budget in regard to these departments by about thirty-one lakhs. The following figures (in lakhs) will make this clear:—

	Budget 1920-21	Revised 1920-21	Budget 1921-22
Land Revenue ...	137	133	140.50
General Administration ...	26.36	34.25	60.53
Justice ...	67	77	77.85
Jails ...	23.81	28	28.70
Police ...	167.68	181	192.71
Total...	421.85	453.25	500.29

The transferred departments, however, such as Education, Medical Relief, Public Health and Agriculture tell a different tale. The increase in expenditure on these departments over the revised estimate for 1920-21 is more than sixty-three lakhs; but reference to the budget figures of the same year narrows it down to about thirty-three lakhs and a half. For, about thirty lakhs of the budgetted amount was not spent at all.—

	Budget 1920-21	Revised 1920-21	Budget 1921-22
Education ...	148.80	145.61	181.30
Medical ...	51.39	41.00	56.36
Public Health ...	28.77	18.78	26.40
Agriculture ...	29.31	23.05	27.66
Total...	258.27	228.47	291.72

So in one year the expenditure on the reserved heads mentioned above has gone up by about eighty lakhs. A part of this increase is due to revision of salaries and establishments rendered necessary by the abnormal rise in prices. But this should have been counter-balanced at least partly by some sincere attempt to reduce the number of officers wherever it was possible. It is generally felt that there are great possibilities in this direction in several departments. The Finance Member himself admits the need for retrenchments and even doubts "whether the revisions have not been made in too liberal a fashion." Indeed it is so, especially in view of the fact that prices are going down and may go down still further for ought we know.

The Finance Member speaks of retrenchment but past experience in the direction is rather disappointing. Expenditure on the reserved departments has risen enormously since 1918 and the tendency to exceed the budgetted amounts and then again to demand more for the next year has been continuous. The Government obviously seem to have been entrenching their position against the reformed councils, and the stages in the growth of expenditure on these departments synchronise with those in the progress of reforms. The Reform proposals were published in the middle of 1918; and the accounts of the year 1918-19 show that the expenditure on the reserved departments mentioned above had risen by 40 lakhs in one year. By this time the Reform Bill had been introduced in Parliament and in March 1919 the Government budgetted for 28 lakhs more in regard to these departments. Since then the prospects of the Bill went on improving and it became law by the end of the year. And the Government expenditure on these departments also exceeded the budgetted amounts by 32 lakhs. In March 1920 Government again budgetted 36 lakhs more for elections were held in the same year and the revised figures for these heads again exceeded the budgetted amounts by 32 lakhs! Now in this year the new council actually meets and the Government think it prudent to demand 47 lakhs more! The following figures for the departments mentioned above will make this evident:—

		Rs. (in lakhs)
Accounts	1917-18	284.81
Accounts	1918-19	325.61
Budget	1919-20	353
Accounts	1919-20	385.37
Budget	1920-21	421.85
Revised	1920-21	453.25
Budget	1921-22	500

So in four years the expenditure on the departments of Land Revenue, General Administration, Justice, Jails and Police has increased by 215 lakhs or by 75 per cent., while the revenue of the province has not increased by more than 33 per cent. if we take the figures in the last year's budget, since the figures in the present budget are misleading owing to the redistribution of heads between the Local and Imperial Governments.

The reforms are obviously intended for the development of transferred departments and this unfortunate tendency of the bureaucracy to demand more and more for services in general and for reserved services in particular, augurs ill for the future of the reforms. Indeed the Education Minister has secured for his own department about thirty-seven lakhs of rupees in excess of the revised figure for the current year; but out of this amount five lakhs are snatched away by the higher services, while about twenty-two lakhs go to the revision of primary teachers' pay. And the Minister proposes to make very little progress in primary education. Nor has any adequate provision been made for the educational uplift of the backward and the depressed classes. The Finance Member wants the Council to tap new sources of revenue; but Government is not likely to evoke any response to this appeal either in the Council or in the country unless the bureaucratic tendencies of extravagance are properly checked. It is to be hoped that the Council will compel the Government to make substantial alterations in the Budget and take effective steps to bring about every possible retrenchment in all directions.

V. R. KOTHARI,

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, FEBRUARY 10,

THE TIMES ON THE INDIAN SITUATION,

BESIDES publishing an admirably sympathetic character sketch of Mr. Gandhi from the pen of Sir Valentine Chirol, (Mr. Gandhi figures as the central figure of a brief contribution, evidently from inside knowledge, to the *Daily Mail* and of an illuminating press-letter from Mr. Percival Landon, the special correspondent in India of the *Daily Telegraph*, upon which that paper writes a very unusual type of editorial on Indian matters), the *Times* has some nice things to say of the scaring criticisms of the *Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Globe* (which, by the way, has now been absorbed in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and thus disappears from the ranks of anti-Indian papers). The *Times* says:—"The new Moderate Party in India, which calls itself the National

Liberal Federation, is steadily growing in strength, and has just held a most successful conference at Madras. We take not the smallest exception to the vehemence of a few of the Madras speeches, for we do not expect even the Moderates in India to be mealy-mouthed, and we think none the worse of them for their plain speaking. The great thing is that the Moderates have formed a powerful party on constitutional lines, which seems likely to endure when the non-co-operation craze is dead and buried." Fancy that, now! Indian unrest has entered upon a new phase when even the vehemence of the Moderates stands unrebuked by the "Thunderer," which has even gone so far as to speak pleasantly and approvingly of the visit to India of Messrs. Spoor and Wedgwood. Whatever are we coming to? Surely the new age has dawned, when men see things from the new angle of vision.

In some editorial observations and reflexions upon Imperial Delhi, the scene of a fresh series of historic events—which do not apparently include the triumphant announcement that the Government of India have seen fit to cry "peccavi" over the Punjab disaster of 1919 or that it is their intention to introduce legislation repealing the retrogressive and coercive laws fit and proper, perhaps, for the days of autocratic government but not for these brighter days of dyarchy—the *Times* suggests that "she has never until now witnessed such a courageous and specious attempt to unite the immemorial spirit of the East with the principles of popular representation derived from the West... We... believe that the best public men among India's millions will make the most of the opportunities now opening out before them, and that the trust reposed in the preponderating mass of Moderate political opinion in India will not be misplaced. We do not share the dark forebodings and predictions of bureaucrats in retirement, with whom the world has stood still. Very similar predictions were made during the disturbed period when Crown Government was proclaimed in India more than sixty years ago, and none of them came true... The Council of State, and still more the Imperial Legislative Assembly, have now reached a point at which their success appears to be assured... The elections have all been held, and both the Imperial and Provincial Councils are at full strength. The Provincial Governors have chosen their new Indian Ministers for the separated Departments... In every Province the new Ministers include men who have long been progressive in their aspirations... The constitutional reforms in India have emerged from the stage of preliminary criticism. They are actually in being, and now the new men are at work, they may be expected to exercise a steadying influence." So the *Times* at any rate is prepared to give its blessing to the work of the Councils, and to extend a sympathetic benevolence to the efforts of Ministers to bring to fruition the hopes of those who believe that the Reforms will, in the fullness of time, bring India to the height of her powers as a wholly responsibly governed Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The

O'Dwyers and their friends will doubtless gnash their teeth at this evidence of confidence in India's future; but, in the words of the youthful Indian Nationalist on another occasion, they are back numbers. The Duke of Connaught's reference, in Bengal, to the testing period of ten years was doubtless well intended, and strictly in accord with the official attitude towards the Reforms, but it is very unsafe in these days of quick political changes to look forward so far ahead as ten years, notwithstanding that the Supreme Council, in the matter of German reparations, have made calculations on a 42 years' basis. By the way, I notice that, in His Majesty's Message on the opening of the new Indian Legislature, the word *swaraja* is openly and undisguisedly mentioned, not once but twice. And yet the heavens have not fallen! It will, in future, be a little difficult for the sedition-hunters in the British and Anglo-Indian Press to fasten upon the term, as a sure sign of the anarchist and revolutionary. And I observe also that His Majesty speaks of "my other Dominions", in referring to the complete liberty enjoyed, in their relations to the Mother Country, of the self-governing Dominions. It is plain, therefore, that, in official circles, India is imagined as already enjoying the status of a Dominion. Why not, then, describe her as such in official language and documents? It sounds much pleasanter and more in accordance with the hopes held out in the King-Emperor's messages than the continued use of the expression "Dependency" which is more properly applicable to such places as Aden, which, I learn, is to be attached in future to the Colonial Office under the new dispensation.

#### INDIA AND "C" MANDATED TERRITORIES.

What has India done in regard to the "C" mandates to be issued by the League of Nations to Great Britain, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia? Under these mandates, applying to Nauru, "German" South-West Africa, Samoa, and the former German Islands in the Pacific south of the Equator, including New Guinea, the mandatories are empowered to administer the mandated areas "under the laws of mandatory as integral portions of its territory." This, if it means anything at all, implies that Indian immigration into the territories to be administered by the Dominions will be excluded or restricted by the application of the Dominion immigration laws, and that the existing anti-Indian legislation in any of them, such as South Africa, may and probably will be applied in the mandated areas. If this be done, undoubtedly the position of Indians will be worse, both in theory and in practice, in the ex-German colonies and protectorates than if it was under the German regime, and this will actually be done under the authority of the League of Nations, of which India is an original member. I see that Japan has issued a declaration that her assent to the present form of the "C" category of mandates must not be taken as an acquiescence on her part in the submission of Japanese subjects to a discriminatory and disadvantageous treatment in the mandated



territories, nor as the discarding of her claim that the right and interests enjoyed by Japanese subjects in these territories in the past should be fully respected. Japan stands for an assurance of equal opportunities for trade and commerce in the mandated areas. What has the Government of India done, if anything, to safeguard, in a similar manner, the rights and interests of Indians either resident in or desirous of residing in these territories to be administered under the authority of the League of Nations by fellow-Dominions as integral portions of their territory under their systems of law? Who will try, in India, to find out? The matter is urgent, if not even too late.

#### ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY.

There is another matter in which India is vitally interested, and in which she will have to give precise instructions to her delegates to the Imperial Conference to be held here next June. The renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty will come up for consideration by the Conference. In addition to America, it is believed that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are strongly opposed to the renewal. And as the maintenance of peace in India is one of the objects of the Treaty, it is obvious that India is greatly interested in the question of whether the Treaty should or should not be renewed. Whether it is renewed in the present form or not, it is quite clear that India cannot tolerate, what would be violently objected to by her fellow-Dominions, that the aid of a foreign power could be called in to maintain internal peace. Self-respect and honour alike forbid it. It is thus of urgent importance that public opinion should be directed, in India, to this problem of international politics, in which the interests of India seem to lie, for once, with those of the other Dominions. It is time that the Indian leaders began to understand and apply their powers under the reforms to the sphere of foreign politics. These are matters in which Downing Street cannot be allowed to have the final word.

#### INDIANS IN FIJI.

I was very glad to see that endeavours are being made to put Indian Imperial affairs in a proper focus by a demand that the interests and rights of Indians abroad should no longer remain a sub-department under the Member for Commerce and Industry, but that they should be administered as a new department or portfolio by an Indian member of Government. They are important enough, in all conscience, for a special department, and it was interesting to note that you have, in editorial remarks commenting favourably upon the demand, cited the case of Fiji as warranting the creation of a department that will provide a better machinery for the Government of India to inform itself of matters affecting the welfare of Indian citizens abroad. The *Times Trade Supplement* contains an important special article on the subject of the treatment of Indians in Fiji last year and its bearing upon the labour supply. An editorial note dwells upon this aspect of the matter. It remarks that "the events related have created a most unfortunate impression

in India, and, taken in conjunction with the grievances of Indians in East Africa and elsewhere, have done a great deal to destroy the possibility of any colony which may wish to attract Indian labour, succeeding in its desire. It is not unlikely that the hitch in the negotiations with regard to the proposed visit of an Indian Commission to British Guiana to examine the prospects for Indian immigrants in that colony may be traced to the recent occurrences in Fiji. Apparently half the Indians now resident in the Pacific colony have asked to be repatriated, and the sugar planters are now looking to China for labourers, a course which will certainly not be viewed with favour or even tolerance in Australia and New Zealand. At this distance it is difficult, to form an absolutely accurate opinion as to the responsibility for the events which culminated in the use of fire-arms against the Indian strikers, but we are entitled to resent the veil of official secrecy with which the troubles in Fiji have been almost completely hidden from the people of this country." Indeed, had it not been for brief telegrams appearing early last year in the *Times*, the Indians Overseas Association, whose representations on this subject have been specially referred to and quoted in the article, would have been without any information until months later. The most recent information that I have been able to obtain is that the Association has just received a communication from the India Office, stating that, in view of the despatches of the Governor of Fiji, the Secretary of State does not see any grounds for suggesting a further inquiry into these events. But, it is added, Mr. Montagu recognises that it is his duty to take all possible action in support of the interests of Indians in Fiji, as of those elsewhere, and while he does not see any useful purpose in asking for a specific inquiry into this particular matter, he will continue to consider any other steps that might be usefully taken in regard to the present position of Indians in Fiji. It is not very satisfactory, is it? By the way, the New Zealand Parliament has recently approved of the continuation of Chinese indentures in Samoa, in the face of the Labour opposition.

#### OUR DELHI LETTER.

DELHI, FEBRUARY, 27.

#### THE NANKANA SAHIB TRAGEDY.

A DISCUSSION was raised in the Legislative Assembly on February 25, on a motion for adjournment of the House—the first motion of the kind in the Assembly. The Nankana Sahib incident is no doubt alarming in its character, but the propriety of raising this matter in the central legislature is doubtful especially when the Punjab Council, which is competent to discuss the question, is in session. News has since come that the Governor of the Punjab sent a message to his Council placing before it full information about the episode and the measures taken by Government to deal with it. The Governor gave an assurance that the offenders would be brought to justice and also announced the appointment of a Committee to manage the shrine which has an annual income of five lakhs of rupees. Recently much discontent is felt by the Sikhs as to the manner in which their temple properties are administered. The *malanats* in most cases belong to the old class of Sikhs who regard themselves as a sect of the Hindus and

any case are unwilling to make any sharp differentiation between themselves and the Hindus. Indeed, in particular families some members are Sikhs and some Hindus, and the distinction is not as a matter of fact much observed. But the separatist tendency has since grown, largely, it is believed, under official inspiration, and the so-called *Tat Khalsa* movement insists that the Sikhs shall have nothing to do with the Hindus. There is no doubt that the temple properties of the Sikh communities are mismanaged and point is given to this feeling of dissatisfaction by the fact that the *mahants* are generally averse to the *Tat Khalsa* sentiment. Latterly attempts have been made to take forcible possession of the temple properties, and it is believed, though the causes of the outbreak are yet unknown and have to be investigated, that some such design must have led to the tragedy in the present instance. Thus much significance attaches to the announcement that the shrine property is placed under the management of a committee of Sikhs. I will only add that a few months since a press *communiqué* was issued by the Punjab Government to the effect that they were alive to the feeling of dissatisfaction in the community as to the management of the property of the temples and that an inquiry would shortly be undertaken to investigate the whole question. In spite of this, however, the Nankana tragedy occurred, with much loss of life:

#### THE NEAR EAST CONFERENCE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri raised the question of Indian delegates being allowed to plead the cause of the Khilafat in the Council of State on a motion for adjournment. The motion was supported by official members, the latter being as a matter of fact very anxious to have the earliest opportunity to explain the action which Government had taken in the matter. Mr. Bhurgri put his case with the sobriety and moderation which we have learned to associate with him. While sympathising deeply with the legitimate aspirations of Islam, Mr. Bhurgri showed in his speech that he had little sympathy with the sentiment which sought to aggrandise Turkey at the expense of other nations. He made it clear that he was an Indian Nationalist first and pro-Turkey Islamite afterward. He cannot reconcile his love for freedom with the desire to keep the Arabs under Turkish rule. The Arabs, he recognises, must be liberated from the yoke of Turkey and set at complete liberty to govern their country in the way they choose. So also the minorities, who feel a sense of grievance under the administration of Turks, must be guaranteed protection and given freedom to work out their own political destiny. Even so, he realises, Turkey will have more than what Kemal Pasha asks for his country. The Government's reply was most sympathetic. The Viceroy since declared at the Calcutta Club that he disliked the Turkish peace terms more bitterly than any Mahomedan and that his Government never ceased representing Moslem feelings to the Imperial Government. Sir William Vincent narrated the steps they had taken to this end and said that they were going to send a delegation of H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Husan Imam, Mr. Chotani, president of the All-India Khilafat Committee and Dr. Ansari to London to give them a chance to place their views before the Near East Conference. They had already telegraphed requesting the Secretary of State to obtain a hearing for the delegation. Sir William emphatically declared that no Mahomedan could have done more than what the Government had done to impress the Moslem view on His Majesty's Government. I must add that the statement has produced the best possible impression. Government have also cabled home the views of Moslem members of the Assembly and the Council, which views, it will be noted, are characterised by sanity and restraint and do not savour of the fanaticism which marks the proceedings of the Khilafat Committee.

#### LABOUR CONVENTIONS.

Of the labour conventions passed at the Washington Conference and which were now ratified by both chambers of the legislature I need but say little. Mr. Joshi has written at great length on that subject in your paper. In the Council of State many objections were urged in the employer's interest,

but unfortunately the conventions found strong supporters in the Hon'ble Mr. Labubhai Samaldas, the Hon. Prof. Kale and some other prominent members. The speech made by the Hon. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee in proposing the resolution on the minimum age at which labour should be allowed was marked by great eloquence and fervour of feeling in the interests of the labouring community. Legislation will be introduced in the Assembly on March 1 to incorporate these conventions into law.

On the question of giving vakils the same status with barristers, Government decided to invite opinions of local Governments, High Courts, bar libraries, pleaders' associations and so forth, and to formulate proposals after the receipt of those opinions. Mr. Eardley Norton admitted the justice of most of the grievances felt by Indian vakils; for instance, it is absurd, he said, that a barrister of, say, two years' standing should take precedence of a pleader who had grown old in the practice of his profession. He also stated that there was no need to set apart any branch of the profession only for the barristers who had received legal training in England. Munshi Iewar Saran, who moved the resolution on this question, was satisfied with the assurance given by the Law Member.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE SERVANT OF INDIA."

SIR,—Mr. C. F. Andrews's tribute to the merits of the Government of India's Dispatch on Indians in East Africa, and to the notable stand that they have taken against the attacks upon Indian interests there and the differential policy enforced by the local administrations at the instance of the Colonial Office, is well deserved; but Mr. Andrews's natural modesty and reticence forbid his reminding us of the extremely useful part that he played in the education, both of Indian public opinion and of the Government of India, on this question.

There is, however, a substantial recommendation which is absent from both the Dispatch and Mr. Andrews's valuable articles, but which has been made with considerable emphasis by the Indians Overseas Association, and which, I am sure, will commend itself to him. Whilst major policy is decided in London by His Majesty's Government, who have final authority and jurisdiction in East Africa, minor policy and the details of administration are matters that are settled by the local Governments in conjunction with their Executive Councils. On these Councils, besides a certain number of officials there actually are, or will be, European non-official representatives, but so far there have not been any Indian appointments to the Executive Councils, and in the opinion of the Indians Overseas Association, it is essential, in the interests of the Indian population of the various territories, that wherever there is an Executive Council, there should be adequate Indian representation thereon.

I venture to hope that the Association's recommendation on this point will be strongly and unanimously supported in India. Yours etc.,

Hy. S. L. POLAK,  
Hon. Secretary.

INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION.

47-48, Danes Inn House,  
265, Strand, London. W. C. 2.  
February 10th, 1921.

## SELECTION.

### MR. SASTRI ON FISCAL AUTONOMY.

In speaking in the Council of State on Mr. Labubhai Samaldas's resolution regarding fiscal autonomy Mr. Sastri said:—

The House, I am sure, will feel indebted to the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru for a very lucid exposition of the legal

aspects of the case. But it has apparently been forgotten in the course of this discussion that what is called fiscal autonomy has till now been generally understood to have been granted to the people of India—partially if not fully, substantially if not in legal form. The Joint Select Committee's Report makes that point absolutely clear and, if I may remind the House for one moment, Lord Curzon, a competent authority in the interpretation of documents, in speaking on this subject in the other Upper House, bade us remember that we had a very great principle accorded to us in the Reforms Scheme, namely, that of fiscal autonomy. It is necessary to remember that what fiscal autonomy we are to enjoy has been granted to us as part of a large proposition that has been enunciated. That proposition first found place in the report of what is commonly spoken of as the Crewe Committee which sat on the constitutional relations of the Indian Government with the Secretary of State in Council, as part of the arrangements preparatory to the Reforms being passed. That Committee laid down the proposition, which the Joint Select Committee subsequently accepted and which Parliament ratified by implication, namely, that the Secretary of State was not to interfere wherever the Government of India and their legislature concurred. In matters of fiscal legislation they themselves instanced a very particular and pointed application of this doctrine which they designated the doctrine of non-intervention. Well, in fiscal matters they laid down in a special paragraph: "If the Government of India and their legislature agree, let not the Secretary of State interfere, except in a certain very limited class of cases. In that way the people of India will come to enjoy fiscal autonomy. We cannot grant fiscal autonomy," they said, "in statute or by law, for that is an impossibility." That would interfere, as the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru pointed out, with the operation of the various provisions in the Government of India Act. It would defeat the veto which vests in the Crown and in the representative of the Crown. It is not that, I hope, which the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas desired. He only desired that this fiscal autonomy which purports to have been granted to us as part of this doctrine of non-intervention should be effectuated, so that it may grow by continual practice into what is known as a constitutional convention. In order to effectuate it, it is necessary that we should come to some understanding with the Secretary of State. Now, a concurrence between the Government of India and their legislature is laid down as a condition precedent. A concurrence on these matters, as a matter of history, we know is fairly common. I do not think the severest critic of the Government of India will question this fact, that on most occasions when our economic interests have come into collision with the economic interests of England or a section of the English people, the Government of India have stood manfully by the people of India. [A voice: The Council Bills.] The instance of reverse Council Bills of a very recent date goes only to prove the general rule: I half suspect, and I believe it is a secret which is fairly well-known, however, to the public, that the Government of India in that matter were not their own masters. Altogether, therefore, this concurrence between the Government of India and their legislature is an expectation that we may reasonably entertain, and this condition precedent of fiscal autonomy will be attained.

"Nevertheless, the Governor-General may exercise his veto. Wherever the Government of India—I am distinguishing for the moment between the Governor-General and the Government of India—even where the Government of India and their legislature agree in fiscal matters, it will be open to the Governor-General to veto such fiscal legislation. Let us hope that that veto will come to be nearly forgotten. So that, while it may exist on paper, as so many other things exist in the English constitution, it never will be utilised, and we may take it that this concurrence between the Government of India and their legislature will always be achieved. Now what is the other part? It is this. There is another power which the Secretary of State at present enjoys in controlling legislation in India. There are two ways in which he does it. First of all, the Government of India must submit certain Bills of importance before they are initiated, to the Secretary of State so

that he looks over them in a general sort of way and tells the Government of India: "Very well, you go on." Now, we must ask the Secretary of State to forego this power—as a matter of practice, not as a matter of law—in regard to fiscal legislation that we may undertake here. For, once we submit our fiscal Bills at this stage to the Secretary of State and ask whether we may go on with them, it is quite likely that he will impose his will upon the Government of India, which may really be the will of Manchester or some other part of England. Now that power the Secretary of State must consent to forego. Besides, during the course of the legislation, it is also open to the Secretary of State, according to current practice, to order the Government of India to stop progress. Now, that power also he must give up. Initial consent and interim veto are powers which the Secretary of State now enjoys over fiscal legislation as over all other legislation. Now these two powers he must surrender as a matter of practice. I think the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas will be quite content if the Government of India will undertake to write home to the Secretary of State and ask him to say whether as a matter of policy he is willing to forego these powers. I know it will be said by constitutional lawyers, meticulous about precedents and so on, that although one Secretary of State may for the moment forego such powers, it is open to a succeeding Secretary of State to revive them. Certainly it is so. But we are perfectly willing to take the chance of an erratic Secretary of State coming into power and upsetting things. We do believe that as a matter of constitutional precedent and usage, if one Secretary of State during successive years never exercises these powers and also expressly states, that, as a part of the policy of His Majesty's Government, these powers will be held in abeyance and will be called into exercise except on the most extraordinary occasions such as those that are mentioned in the limitation, the Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas will have achieved all that he desires. I do not understand him to say that he wanted a legislative enactment. I only understood him to ask that we should address the Secretary of State with a prayer that he must for his part take such action as will make the fiscal autonomy that has been granted real and substantial."

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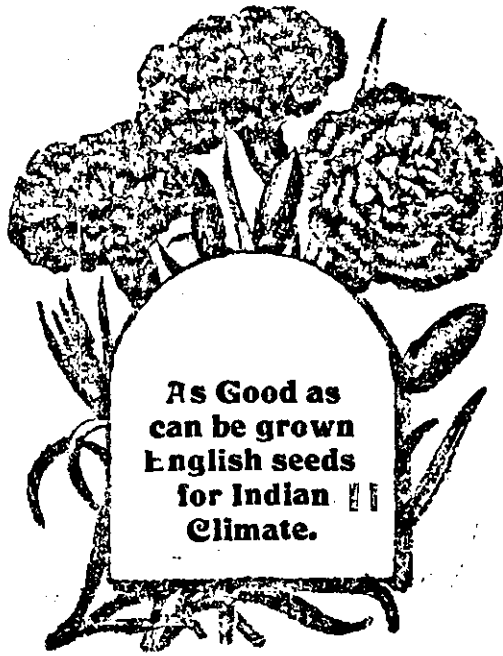
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