

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Servants of India Society has decided to allow its members, if free to leave their places, to attend the ensuing Congress session, and the President will himself attend. It will be remembered that when we first announced the decision of the Society to abstain from the special session we were careful to say that the abstention was from that session only and not from the Congress organization. We added that we continued to be Congressmen and should greatly grieve to be excluded from the national movement. Mr. Sastri in his subsequent speeches has emphasised this position, and the decision now announced is in accordance with it.

THIS, of course, involves no change in our views regarding the reform scheme or other vital questions of the day. Nor do we cease to belong to the Moderate party. We continue to hold that the best interests of the country require that we should accord a general support to the underlying principles of the scheme and then proceed to suggest the improvements that we may consider necessary for its complete success. The Conference of Moderates has fulfilled this important purpose for which it came into being: the expression in emphatic and unequivocal language of the favourable opinion held by that party of the reform scheme and the statement of the modifications conformable to the declaration of August 1917 and necessary to make the scheme fully and enthusias-

tically acceptable to the country. The scheme yet needs influential support, and the Moderates may have to meet in separate conference to re-affirm their support. But the question of attendance at future sessions of the Congress is entirely different and we are of the opinion that it is best that Moderates attended in numbers and, as opportunity offered, put their view before the Congress and voted accordingly.

ALTHOUGH, no doubt, English opinion in favour of the scheme will receive a strong accession of power by the support expressed in the Moderate Conference, we cannot be oversure that the scheme will go through Parliament or will not undergo any whittling down. Further stages of reform may require united action, and this is possible only in the Congress. It is necessary, therefore, that the Congress should be kept alive on a national basis, embracing all sections of Indian political thought which are constitutional and progressive. The entire withdrawal of the Moderate party will deprive the movement of a degree of influence and power with Government and the people alike, greatly disproportionate to the actual number of adherents that it lost. The Moderates, on their part, must definitely make up their minds to remain within the Congress fold, if they would acquire influence in the Congress once again. They can of course retain and solidify their party organisation, but that must be without prejudice to the integrity of the Congress. They will then be a party within the Congress and not without.

THE events of the last few weeks in Bombay, it must be confessed, must have impressed some minds with the conviction that reason has not much chance in the Congress. The unintelligent cry of self-determination and appeal to President Wilson must have deepened the conviction in many. It may be that the principal movers in these matters will play a serious part in the Congress and compel Moderates to assume the attitude of a regular opposition, which will be most unfortunate. But this unpleasantness must be faced, if it becomes unavoidable. On the other hand, our participation in the Congress will help to win over many sensible and sober Congressmen. Thus, all things considered, we think it the right policy, in the interests of the country, that the Moderates should as a party re-enter the Congress

and try to influence its proceedings as far as it may be possible.

DOES Government realise any profit on rice shipped from Burma into India? The Hon'ble Mr. Belvi asked at a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council on December 9 whether it was true that Government sold rice imported from Rangoon into Bombay at a profit of Rs. 5 or so per bag to people in the mofussil, and Government could answer, with a clear conscience, that the suggestion was unfounded, since it handed over rice imported by them to wholesale dealers at cost price. But the profiteering, if it exists, may assume a different shape from the one contemplated in Mr. Belvi's question. Has not Government increased the freight to such a height as to enhance the cost of rice approximately to the figure mentioned by Mr. Belvi? Dr. P. J. Mehta of Rangoon has asserted in the *Rangoon Mail* that it has. "The freight," says he, "charged by Government some time before the war used to range from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per ton. This year it is Rs. 55 per ton, the highest imaginable. So for every ton of rice the Government ships, or allows merchants to ship, to Bombay, according to newspaper reports, it makes a profit of about Rs. 45, and that out of the miseries of the starving poor." The result of this is, according to Dr. Mehta, that the price of rice has risen by about Rs. 4 per bag of about two Bengal maunds. The 97,000 tons of Burma rice which the Bombay Government has so far shipped or is shipping will alone leave it a profit, it is computed, of some forty lakhs of rupees, and as several times this quantity will have to be shipped during the present trouble, the resulting gain is only to be imagined. If the facts are as they are here represented, Government is guilty of profiteering on a colossal scale. An instant explanation of the real state of things ought to be published by Government.

DR. MEHTA, in his communication pleads earnestly for a reduction of freight on Burma rice to the pre-war rates. If on railways Government allows a concessionary rate of one-fourth for the carriage of fodder and food grains in famine times, he cannot understand, as no reasonable person can, why rice should not be allowed to be shipped from Burma at the old rate. It is urgently necessary that Government should remove popular misconceptions, if any, on this subject, or, for its good name, immediately mend matters, if it has actually made such a drastic increase in freight.

THE announcement of the intention of the Government of India to proceed with the proposed Excess Profits Bill has evoked a good deal of hostile criticism among mercantile and manufacturing circles. It was obviously a temporary war measure and was avowedly designed to enable Government to meet the additional military ex-

penditure for which it had undertaken the responsibility last September. Hostilities having ceased, it is thought the need for the tax also ceases. Besides, the unexpectedly early conclusion of the armistice brought down the prices of cloth and other commodities to a dangerously low level, from the point of view of several dealers who were consequently "threatened with ruin." Under these circumstances it is contended that the proposed imposition of the excess profits tax is unnecessary and is calculated, if persisted in, to prove detrimental to the progress of Indian trade and industries. We have no reason to think that Government will be impressed with these arguments and will give up its idea of raising additional revenue, which it badly wants, by means of an excess profits tax. The financial liabilities of Government have been reduced by the armistice, but they have not disappeared. Its resources will continue to be severely strained in the near future and the demand upon them will be heavy. There is hardly any other source of revenue which may be effectively tapped and it is not possible for Government to part with this prospective means of augmenting its resources. Those who will be subjected to the impost must bear in mind that it is a sacrifice necessitated by India's valuable contribution to the victory of the Allied cause and as such must be cheerfully shouldered in spite of the hardship it may cause.

WHAT will be the position of Indian exchange? The London *Times* points out that the urgency of the demand for rupees is less acute owing to the Allied victory and the reduction of exports, due also to the unsatisfactory condition of the monsoon. But it is difficult to say whether the reduced demand for rupees will lower the exchange. The principle on which Government have acted in this matter appears to us to have been, on the whole, sound, viz., that the Secretary of State would not sell rupees at a loss arising out of the high price of silver, and would regulate the rate of his bills by the price of that metal. We have huge funds accumulated in London, and Government can calmly face any adverse conditions that may arise in the near future. It will not be profitable to discuss whether the exchange should be allowed to remain at its present level or should be lowered to its former rate, as this will depend upon a variety of factors which are uncertain at this moment. In the meantime, Government have recently taken power to raise the limit of the invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve by 14 crores, and the total circulation has risen to 148 crores. The future is yet full of uncertainties, and Government will have to tread warily till their feet are planted on firm ground again.

WE notice that Mr. R. G. Pradhan, the well-known publicist of Maharashtra, puts a new gloss upon the resolution of the special Congress on the reform scheme in his magazine the *Bhārata Sevaka*.

According to him, the resolution, although condemnatory in appearance, essentially supports the scheme. It is wrong to think, he says, that the scheme is unacceptable to the Congress; on the contrary, it is acceptable. Only the Congress gave its support to the proposals in an indirect manner, whereas the Conference adopted the more direct and downright method. Mr. Pradhan thinks that in essence the position of all parties on this matter is the same, *viz.*, that all accept the scheme and call for certain amendments, and the misapprehension, which is widespread, that the proposals are unacceptable to the Congress, is due in part at least to what he calls the 'unstatesmanlike' utterances to that effect of some nationalist leaders like Mr. Tilak, which again were responsible, in the opinion of Mr. Pradhan, for the abstention of the Moderate party from the special Bombay session. He appeals to the Moderates to rejoin the Congress at Delhi, and to the Congress leaders to frame the resolution on reforms in such a way as to be entirely acceptable to all the parties—an appeal in which the *Tribune* also joins. If there is a substantial unanimity of views on the reforms, as is here contended, it should not baffle the efforts of the Congress to express it in terms which all parties can fully endorse. This indeed will be the test of the unity which is said to exist. Mr. Pradhan also suggests—and the *Tribune* wholeheartedly agrees—that a deputation representative of all parties should be sent to England, which again will depend upon the resolution the Congress will adopt on the reform proposals.

THE campaign of proscription which the nationalist leaders have been conducting against the Moderates in most provinces has met with a severe condemnation at Mr. Pradhan's hands, and newspapers like the *Tribune* and the *Searchlight* echo the sentiments. But at no time was intolerance shown in a more undisguised manner than at the last meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. The nationalists were then reminded of the glaring inconsistency between their professions as to unity and their acts, upon which Mr. Horniman clearly indicated the nature of the unity he and his fellow-nationalists desired. He said in as many words that he wished for that unity which would result from there remaining only one party—the left wing—in the Congress; he did not want the Moderates there at all.

THE *Tribune* has done well to expose the serious confusion of thought lurking behind the suggestion of the *Mahratta* that the Delhi Congress should put forward a demand that the principle of self-determination shall be applied to India. This phrase, as we have repeatedly said, has been variously interpreted, and the interpretations vary widely; but the suggestion of the *Mahratta* implies, if words have any meaning, that the official scheme should be abandoned in favour of a new scheme

which the Congress and the Muslim League are apparently to be invited to draw up which the Government must carry into effect. The *Tribune* well reminds the writer that the Congress and the League represent only a section, though an important one, of Indian opinion, and that the Congress-League scheme prepared in 1916 was only meant for the consideration of the Government and so cannot serve the purpose intended by him. Apart from the fact that such a proposal, if pressed, will only postpone reforms, the *Tribune* shows how it will present our political bodies in an unfavourable light if they were to change their attitude every three months.

IF the British Government is not committed to the particular reform proposals put forward by the Secretary of State, is it at any rate committed to carry through an equivalent measure of reform? This question arose in the course of the recent debate in the House of Lords. The Under-Secretary of State rebutted the objection raised by Lord Midleton and others by saying that the publication of the reforms report or the sending out of the committees did not by itself mean that Government could not withdraw from the proposals embodied in the report if they did not recommend themselves to it or if an alternative scheme is found preferable. The Marquess of Crewe, however, remarked that there was an element of truth in this observation, but it was not the whole truth. Although, conceivably, he said, "all the details of the report might be altered—it might be scrapped in most parts—yet at the same time the standard of advance which is indicated in the report is one which you will have somehow to attain. I do not think that it is possible to disappoint India by substituting something far less liberal in terms than this report, even though the details of what you promise and finally give may be in many respects different." It is gratifying to learn that the leading British statesmen consider themselves pledged, at all events, to the *quantum* of reforms contained in the present scheme, though Indians want it enlarged.

EVEN the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is prepared to acknowledge so much in favour of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals that they "offer us... considerable influence in the management of our internal administration in the provinces." Thus the *Hindu* is of all Indian newspapers singular in its opinion that the proposals as regards provincial Governments are retrograde, as it is singular in its opinion that India in her present condition of subjection must accept "reforms," which are not only imperfect and meagre but distinctly reactionary.

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### PROSCRIPTION !

IN the later days of the Roman Republic, when the true democratic instinct was already gone and the coming of the Empire was in sight, the definite success of any one of the individuals or parties that were fighting for power was always marked by a series of proscriptions. Thus Marius, Sulla, Antonius, Augustus, and others were each responsible for more or less extensive proscriptions. In the days of the last triumvirate, one of the triumvirs had to sacrifice his brother, another a cousin, while the third escaped lightly by sacrificing his friend Cicero to the hate of Antonius. The policy of proscriptions marks assuredly the decay of the true republican or democratic spirit. In India this democratic spirit does not exist in any strength. It is yet in its infancy, but the guardians—self-styled though they may be—of this new-born spirit do not wish a long life to the infant; at least their actions are sure to end its existence if the large sensible majority are not active and do not take the guardianship out of their hands.

The events that have been agitating Bombay during the last three weeks furnish ample justification for this gloomy prophesy. was not a question of a memorial to Lord Willingdon only. That was only the proximate cause. There might have been honest difference of opinion about the propriety of a public memorial to the late Governor. These things have to be taken in their accepted meaning, and not in their literal sense. How often have party organisations undertaken to speak on behalf of the whole public? But it does not follow that their opponents go and wreck such meetings. The only correct way of opposition would have been to make your protest in the press as strongly as possible and to hold a counter-demonstration in some other place. Neutral observers would have judged for themselves the weight to be attached to each demonstration and not taken at its face value the claims made by either party. If, when a meeting of the citizens of Bombay is called for a particular purpose, even a single citizen of Bombay were to oppose that purpose, the question may be raised on any and every occasion. To pass a loyalty resolution would be a political problem if even one citizen in his heart is of anarchical views. To praise the work of the volunteers at the time of the influenza epidemic would be a controversy of the rankest kind to one who may believe that such epidemics are nature's methods of solving the population problem and that it is a sin to oppose God's will. And even Mr. Horniman has not probed the heart of every one of over a million of Bombay's inhabitants to make sure that there is none such.

One may also ask: What right has the Congress to use the word "national"? Nobody has taken a plebiscite of over three hundred million Indians. The Muslim League has in the opinion of a large number of Muslims usurped the name "Muslim," and they claim that the vast majority of that faith

in India do not 'toe the line' to Messrs. Jinnah, Hasan Imam and Mazhr-ul-Haque. When three years ago an attempt in the true Horniman-Jamnadas-Jinnah style was made to protest against this usurpation, the *Bombay Chronicle* itself was strong—and at that time rightly strong—in protesting. Mr. Horniman is the head of a Humanitarian League in Bombay. What right has he to use the word Humanitarian, says one who does not believe in the methods of the organisers of Pinjarapoles to relieve broken-down cattle at the expense of the useful ones? But it would not justify the holder of these views to organise his followers and to break up the meetings of the Humanitarian League.

The incidents at the last meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee show the height of intolerance of which the so-called nationalists are capable. A new principle is being apparently laid down that the qualification for membership of the Congress is not the acceptance of the creed, but the acceptance of Hornimanism and Jinnah-ism. Every one who does not bend the knee to Mr. Jinnah or does not offer incense at the shrine of Mr. Horniman is to be ousted out of the Congress fold. Thus Mr. S. R. Bomanji who till recently was a *persona gratissima* to the Home Rule Leaguers has fallen out with them on the point of the Willingdon memorial and has made some charges against the motives of the anti-memorialists and the methods of the Home Rule Leaguers. We are told that these charges are to be the subject of proceedings in a court of law, but before the courts pronounce a decision the Provincial Congress Committee wishes to take the matter in its own hands and decide not to elect him as a delegate although he is still a member of the All-India Congress Committee. Even assuming that the allegations made by Mr. Bomanji are proved to be libellous in court, we have still to learn that the Congress is to ban everybody who makes libellous statements against anybody else. If that were so, Mr. Tilak himself who once suffered imprisonment for libel would be equally disqualified. Not that Home Rule Leaguers cherish a puritanical intolerance towards lapses of private morality. All that they care about is that nobody should have the courage to expose the H. R. League idols. Hence it is that even the creed of the Congress may now be signed with a mental reservation, but a word against Messrs. Horniman & Co., is to be met with instant proscription. Lucky that this firm is not yet all-powerful in the country; otherwise this proscription may take the form of the Roman proscription under which anybody was at full liberty to kill the proscribed individual. We wonder whether Mrs. Besant herself, who in language but thinly veiled considers the anti-memorial agitation as childish and absurd, will not fall a victim to this proscription epidemic sooner or later. Let those who are now busy driving their opponents out of public life beware. For the history of Rome and the history of the Reign

of Terror tell us that the men who for a time run a proscription campaign jointly fall out in a short time and the fate of Marius, Antony, Marat and Robespierre may be a wholesome warning to our political Jacobins of Bombay.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who was appointed Chairman of the Provincial Congress Committee has also incurred the wrath of our Jacobins and they, led by the redoubtable Venkat Ram, have resolved to dismiss him from the chairmanship. The gravamen of the charge against him is a certain speech made in Calcutta when the question of a separate conference was being discussed. We never knew that it was high treason to join any other organisation designed to forward the aims of the Congress as defined in its creed. If that were so, all the Home Rule Leaguers had joined such an organisation before the H. R. League was recognised by the Congress, and it was pouring daily showers of contempt and obloquy on the Congress as it was then directed. Taking even the case of the special session of the Congress, abstention can hardly mean losing the membership of the Congress, for if that were logically interpreted it meant that all Indians but the five thousand or so that assembled at Bombay in September last are not of the Congress party. The recent antics at Bombay only show to what depths our public life in this country is fast falling. The spirit of proscription, Jacobinism, or Bolshevism, call it what you will, is very catching. You can introduce the virus of any of these plagues into the society easily enough, but it is not so easy to get rid of it, once it gets a good hold over the whole body politic.

#### THE DELHI CONGRESS.

To attend or not to attend the Delhi Congress, is the question before many Moderates in India. Though personal difficulties do not allow me to be present, I have given much thought to this question as the arguments are not all on one side. On behalf of non-attendance it is contended that a demonstration of the existence of an influential party in India that on the whole supports and welcomes the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, that is not keen on finding differences of opinion with Government though ready, when necessary, to denounce any reactionary measures or policy, that always relies on methods of strictly constitutional agitation and does not resort to invective and misrepresentation as its daily food, and finally that is ready to give full credit for good intentions to the British democracy and even to some members of the bureaucracy in India, is one of incalculable value in the progress of India. Also the waywardness of some of the prominent members of the so-called extremist party, the occasional violence of their methods of agitation, their unwillingness to dissociate themselves unequivocally from agitators of a more extreme type, their tendency not to tolerate any difference of opinion as in the recent vote of censure on Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, their absurd

hero-worship which is altogether inconsistent with the true spirit of democracy, their continued laudation of the old regime and indifference or even opposition to all reform but political (except in the case of a few individuals in that party), all these make co-operation with them a matter of great difficulty. On the other hand, a palpable demonstration of the cleavage of opinion having once been made, it is contended, a permanent split is hardly yet called for. When India becomes fully self-governing, two parties may be necessary in the country just as His Majesty's Opposition is said to be an informal, though integral, constituent of the English body politic, and it may then happen that the Congress machine may be allowed to be captured for good by one set of opinions. Till then it is suicidal to hand over the whole organisation to the extremist party. Many may be there at present whose mental outlook is moderate and who, with a little lead, may be brought round if they come into intimate touch with responsible moderate opinion. For reasons of sentiment it may be that these men are not prepared to leave their old Congress. The presence of the Moderate leaders may serve as a rallying point for them. Moderate views have now-a-days not much chance of being heard. Again even extremist views may be perceptibly moderated by continual contact with moderate opinion. Witness the comparative mildness of the resolutions at the Special Congress, which may perhaps have been due to the presence of a few Moderates. If one is to go there he should go there simply to set forth his views on the biggest rostrum, to try to convert the public to one's own views, and in any case to give expression to one's own opinion by a minority vote, if necessary. This, of course, implies that one would receive decently considerate treatment. If that is not forthcoming, if there is any bodily violence or even personal abuse or palpably unfair use of the power of the majority and "the arrogance of numbers," then one would be justified in cutting oneself adrift for ever from the Congress. In such a case the extremist party would damn itself in the eyes of the democracies of the world.

It is difficult to strike a balance between these opposing views. But if one is determined to keep his position perfectly clear and preserves at the same time the separate Moderate organisation in vigorous existence, some good may perhaps come out of again taking part in the Congress. No evil will at any rate result from such a course. The fact that our friends in England like Dr. Clark and Mr. Polak are giving the same advice might also be allowed to weigh somewhat in coming to a positive conclusion on this question, "To attend or not to attend."

R. P. PARANJPYE.

#### Notice to Contributors.

*The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. or any other contributions sent to him.*

## THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

## IV.

THE fourth chapter is devoted to "Industrial deficiencies of India." "The list of industries, which, though their products are essential alike in peace and war, are lacking in this country, is lengthy and ominous." Thus say the commissioners and those who carefully read this chapter or those who without reading it have studied for themselves all these industrial deficiencies will not consider these remarks in any way extravagant.

Referring to the shyness of capital for modern enterprises, the Report says, "Important minor industries have been almost entirely neglected, partly through the ignorance of the country's resources in raw materials, but mainly because commercial firms have prospered too well along conservative and stereotyped lines to trouble about undeveloped industries with uncertain prospects." The question naturally arises "why is, then, this ignorance of country's resources?" The only answer is that Government have not been doing their duty in the matter. It is only recently that the Geological Department began its survey on correct lines, but even the reports of that department are neither written in a popular style nor published in a form likely to attract the reading public. They are fairly good enough as works of reference for intending industrialists but if they are to dispel ignorance, the surveys must be detailed ones and of practical utility and the reports must be written in a much more popular style than is the case at present. Some years back, I saw a book giving a chart comparing the material resources of various countries. I very well remember my friend who brought this book to my notice telling me, "What is the good of talking of the industrial development of India when her material resources are poor?" That friend is now managing one of the largest and most important new industries in this country. I have quoted this instance to show that not only is there an ignorance about the material resources, but there is, or at least was a few years back, information about it of a very misleading nature. The absence of information of commercial value regarding fresh products has been noted in a previous chapter as a deficiency, and I therefore, refer to it here. Remedies to meet this deficiency are suggested later on, and I shall speak about them when I come to the chapter on Commercial and Industrial Intelligence.

The first feeling that one has on reading this chapter is that the Government have not till the beginning of the war given serious attention to the ways and means of starting new industries in this country or keeping the old ones alive. Though this attitude may partly be due to the adoption of our economic *laissez faire* policy by all parties in England, there is no doubt that it was also due to the Government being more under the influence of the manufacturers and exporters in England, who

wanted to create markets for their wares, even if in doing so the indigenous industries were ruined: I will not go to the length of saying that the ruination of indigenous industries was the ulterior aim of these merchants. The second feeling of the reader is likely to be that of depression leading almost to pessimism at seeing the great lee-way the country has to make up if it is to come industrially in line with other advanced countries. The effort will have to be very strong, whole-hearted and persistent, for we will have not only to come up to the present level of their industrial development, but to the level which these countries will go up to by that time. For this purpose there must be co-operation between capital, brains, and labour, and also between these and the Government whose sole end and aim must be to put this country in the front rank of industrially progressive countries. The work of bringing about such co-operation will tax to the utmost the energies and intelligence of the most capable and sympathetic minister for industries that we are likely to have.

For the facilities of trade and commerce, it was considered desirable to have increased the mileage of Railways, but no attempt was made to build up industries here for the manufacture of rails and other materials, as well as wagons etc. As a result, we were dependent on foreign companies for the supply of these materials, and the more miles of railways were constructed, the greater was the demand for these materials and the greater the work given to the foreign manufacturers. Some of the ultra-nationalists have been so much frightened by this increasing dependence on foreign imports of railway materials and other machinery and chemicals, that they have publicly expressed their opinion against any development of the material resources by foreign machinery, unless the country is in a position not only to repair waste but to manufacture new machines to replace the old ones. Their voice was not heard either by capitalists or the Government and as a result, there was likely to be a break-down in many industries on account of the stoppage of foreign machinery during the War. Fortunately there was one industry started a few years back by the Tatas under the advice and the guidance of the then Head of the Geological Department—Sir Thomas Holland—which has reached the stage of development when it can be of great help in such a contingency. The assistance rendered by the Tata Iron and Steel Company by supplying rails not only for use in this country, but in Mesopotamia, Egypt and other places has been publicly recognised by the highest authorities. There is a probability of a large number of subsidiary industries being started round about the Company's works at Sakchi, that will remedy many of the deficiencies noted in Chapter IV.

The first deficiency noted in this chapter is about the equipment required for the manufacture of railway wagons etc. and textile machinery. The new carriage and wagon factory to be esta-



blished at Sakchi will meet the first requirement, while the second need will be met by the starting of a factory for the manufacture of textile machinery either at Sakchi or at Bombay. Similarly arrangements have been made for the establishment of a factory for the manufacture of agricultural implements and tea-machinery in the near future to meet the growing requirements of agriculture and the tea industry. Most of these factories will be managed by English firms who are specialists in the line, but the capital required for these will be rupee capital raised in India, and let us hope, subscribed for mainly by Indians. There are some persons who do not like to see such factories started under foreign management, and who would go on the present lines till a sufficient number of Indians have been trained to start and manage such concerns. In spite of certain disabilities under which Indians labour in concerns managed by non-Indians, I would welcome the establishment of such factories by Englishmen (I include Scotchmen and Welshmen and Irishmen in this term), than wait for an indefinite number of years for the training of Indians for this class of work. My reasons in this attitude are (1) that as a result of Indians shedding their blood for the Empire on the fields of France, Egypt and Mesopotamia there will be a stronger spirit of co-operation amongst Englishmen and Indians; (2) that under the new Reform Scheme, in whatever shape it is finally passed, the larger voice of the nation's representatives in the Government of the country will necessarily affect the attitude of non-official Englishmen towards the businessmen of this country; (3) that our young men will have under the new conditions better opportunities to get technical training here than hitherto, and (4) that if the country is to await theoretical and practical training of a *posse* men before any new industry is initiated, her economic condition will by that time—if that time ever arrives—be so bad that she will sink to the position of a mere second-rate producer of raw materials.

Even when these subsidiaries and other smaller industries are started by private industrialists a great deal of similar work will have to be done by Government. The Commissioners recommend that Government should take special steps to facilitate the manufacture of such essential articles as "magnetes, incandescent lamps, ferro-tungster, 'high-speed steel,' graphite crucibles, special forms of porcelain for insulators, chemical glass, and probably also certain forms of 'heavy' chemicals, rubber, and vulcanite."

Whether Government should start these industries themselves, or should grant concessions to foreign firms for doing so is not very clearly said in the Report. The general trend of the Commissioner's remarks leads me to infer that they are in favour of the latter alternative. Personally, I want the first alternative to be given a long and fair trial, and if it does not prove successful and it is found absolutely necessary to adopt the

second alternative, provision should be made at the time of granting of the concessions for the training of Indians in all departments, and the option to Government to purchase the same at a basis to be fixed from now as is done in the case of railways.

L. S.

## INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND PEACE TIME PROBLEMS.

### V.

#### THE CALL AND THE RESPONSE.

THE anxiety of the Finance Member in forecasting the financial developments during the year 1918-19, had reference only to the growing complexity and difficulty involved in meeting the call made upon India for assistance in the prosecution of the war in the matter of disbursements on behalf of His Majesty's Government in this country, the expansion of currency and the rise of exchange. The revenue position was eminently satisfactory and was calculated to yield a substantial surplus at the end of the year even after providing for a considerable increase in expenditure. It had been calculated that the total revenue, Imperial and Provincial, would amount to £ 98·8 and the expenditure would almost equal that figure. But the anticipated revenue now exceeded £ 110 million and the expenditure £ 102 million, leaving a surplus of £ 8 million.

The budget anticipations and provisions with respect to the remittances to England, war disbursements and Council drawings had become merely formal and nominal. The Finance Member had little idea as to how things would turn and gave only tentative figures based upon the incomplete and imperfect data he had before him. As a rule his calculations with respect to Council drawings and remittances were exceeded, and financial operations were carried out in response to the needs of His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State as they arose. The war disbursements recoverable in London would grow and had to be made out of balances augmented by Imperial and Provincial surpluses, and the receipts on account of Treasury Bills and the War Loan. This was equivalent to the transfer of enormous funds to London which accumulated in the hands of the Secretary of State. The supply of silver became restricted and its rising price put a limit upon its import. The Secretary of State, on his side, had to invest the funds accumulating with him in British Treasury Bills, on account of the Paper Currency Reserve, the limit of the invested portion of which had to be steadily raised. An amount equivalent to the war loans obtained in this country was deducted from the payments His Majesty's Government had to make to the Secretary of State, as part liquidation of India's obligation with respect to the gift of £ 100 million. The main interest of the story of Indian finance in the last two years of the war, in particular, centres round the adjustment and manipulation of the remittance machinery; and the operations of the year 1917-18, are not less instructive than those of the preceding year, already described.

Thus it was estimated in the budget for 1917-18 that our repayable outlay would amount to £ 39 million, and it was to be met to the extent of £ 24½ million from revenue, of £ 10 million from the proceeds of the war loan and of £ 4 million through purchase of silver by the Secretary of State who

was to finance himself for his ordinary requirements from the recoveries he obtained from the War Office. The amount of Council drawings could not be estimated, depending upon silver purchases and further investments from the Paper Currency Reserve. Now compare these calculations with the actuals. The repayable outlay reached the high figure of £ 66 million. The Secretary of State's drawings assumed equally large proportions, amounting to about £ 35 million. There was further the outlay for the purchase of tea for the War Office in Ceylon and for the payments of money orders issued by foreign countries on India, the latter alone amounting to £5.3 million. The Government of India had also to provide a sum of 2.7 million in this country in credits to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for the benefit of American importers of jute and other Indian articles required in connection of the war. This amount was to be recovered by the Secretary of State in London and the transaction was equivalent to his drawing of it by means of Council bills. The net result of all this was that India's special liabilities in 1917-18 were calculated to reach about £ 111 million, which was about three and half times as much as the Secretary of State's Council drawings in the last year of peace, 1913-14 and half as much again as our total Imperial revenue.

These heavy liabilities were met from the proceeds of the war loan and cash certificates (£ 34½ million), revenue, including the unexpected improvement in receipts, (£ 31½ million), the issue of Treasury Bills, (£ 30 million), fresh coinage of rupees or bullion awaiting coinage (£13½ million), profits from rupee coinage, (£1.4 million), additional investments in London on behalf of the Paper Currency Reserve, which set free rupees in India, (£ 8.7 million). The funds available in this country thus even exceeded the remittance liabilities. The whole amount of funds transferred to London could not be utilized by the Secretary of State and a balance of £ 20 million was left after the necessary investments and payments had been made there, and it was decided to invest the £ 20 million in British Treasury Bills as a kind of reserve against our liabilities in connection with the temporary debt which would be repayable in the course of the next few years. This investment was calculated to help the British Government in providing funds for the war. Adding this investment to the investment from the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves, we have a total of £ 32 million of fresh money put into the British Treasury Bills during 1917-18, and if there is added to it the £ 35 million invested during the preceding two years, the total rises to £ 67 million, which is exclusive of the special war contribution.

Putting up of the exchange appeared to the Government as the only safeguard to prevent the loss resulting from dearness of silver. What was the alternative? The loss could have been borne by Government and put down to the Gold Standard Reserve or made good from ordinary revenue. The Gold Exchange Standard system prevailing in India entailed upon the Government the responsibility to provide gold for remittance abroad when the exchange went down to the gold export point and to supply rupees when it rose above the gold import point. The latter contingency had hardly been contemplated during the long period of India's currency troubles when the sole anxiety of Government was concentrated upon devising successful measures to prevent exchange going below the fixed rate. Silver was then a

discredited and discarded metal. The war gave it a chance and it attempted to overthrow the empire, gold had established in the currency world. Sir William Meyer disowned all responsibility on the part of Government arising out of the high price of silver and declined to draw upon either the gold reserve or the general revenues for the purpose of maintaining the fixed exchange value of the rupee. It is true that Government would have been involved in an indefinite and unlimited liability if it had shouldered the loss and the country would have suffered through that loss. A higher exchange rate saved India a large amount of money and she gained considerably on her foreign remittances. But against this gain must be set the loss which fell upon exporters and through them, on the country in general. Sir William pointed out in connection with this that a country like India which has large payments to make abroad benefited by a rise in exchange, but ignored the fact that she likewise lost considerably upon the exports of her commodities which fetched fewer rupees for a stated amount of sterling. The only consolation which he could really throw out was that, as it was, the prices in India were high and exporters were not likely, on the whole, to lose much and the further fact that the exchange position in other countries was much worse than in India whose currency system had borne the strain of the war most creditably. The banks, merchants and the public bowed to the inevitable and cooperated with Government in a spirit of service and sacrifice.

There was little that was noteworthy about the budget for 1918-19. The total revenue, Imperial and Provincial was taken at £108.3 and the expenditure at £106.1 as against £110.4 and £102.3 respectively in the revised estimate for 1917-18. Even there the surplus was calculated to be more than £2 million. The Provincial Governments were complimented upon the restraint they had exercised upon their expenditure and were exhorted to continue the same policy in the ensuing year. As in previous years, members of the Viceroy's Council urged the Finance Member to make larger grants to Provincial Governments for the progress of education and sanitation. Sir William ultimately consented to grant Rs. 30 lakhs a year for technical education. It was contended that education and sanitation were provincial services for the promotion of which the Government of India was not directly responsible. We need not do more than notice in passing the ways and means and currency position as it was expected to develop in 1918-19. Government proposed to float a loan, as in the previous year, which was calculated to yield £ 20 million and to issue Treasury bills to the extent of £27 million. Notes of the small denomination of Re. 1 and Rs. 2½ were issued to augment the currency. It was likewise decided to start a gold mint in Bombay. The total remittance liabilities in 1918-19 were calculated at £ 78 million, not including Council drawings, which were an uncertain factor. The total note circulation had risen to 105 crores, about 56 per cent., of which was invested. Power was taken to further raise the limit of investment by about 24 crores. The circulation rose, in August, to 130 crores and in December, to 140 crores, the invested portion of the Reserve being 85 crores in the former and about 100 crores in the latter month.

We shall close this account of financial and currency developments with a few brief observations on one important measure of Government. At the War Conference held at Delhi in April, 1918



for discussing the steps which were to be taken to organize the man power and the material strength of India in order to defend the country against the threatened march of the enemy towards our frontiers, the question of the additional financial assistance to be rendered to the Empire, was definitely mooted. Having taken some time to evolve a scheme in that behalf, Government adopted the extraordinary procedure of throwing the responsibility of rejecting it on the non-official members of the Supreme Legislative Council. The number of Indian troops, in India and Overseas on 1st April, 1918, was about 4,90,000 as against 1,60,000 before the war. It was then decided to raise 5,00,000 additional combatants commencing with 1st June. Moving his resolution in the Viceregal Council on 9th September Sir William Meyer explained that his scheme contemplated taking over as from 1st April the normal cost of 2,00,000 men (in addition to the 1,60,000 troops whose cost was being already borne by India) and 1,00,000 men more as from 1st April, 1919. Assuming that the war would end with 31st March 1920 and the subsequent year would be one of demobilisation the Finance Member calculated that the additional expenditure in the first year would be £ 8.8 million, in the second year, £ 13.5 million, and in the last, £ 6.8 million. To this were to be added the non-effective and other charges undertaken and the total figures were worked at thus:— For 1918-19 £12.17 million, for 1919-20, £14.7 million and for 1920-21, £ 7.7 million and with the addition of £ 10 million for pension charges, an aggregate amount of £ 45 million. To the agreeable surprise of the people, Government did not propose to levy additional taxation for financing the scheme, in 1918-19, the £ 12.7 million being met out of existing resources which were expected to be sufficiently large; and whatever additional taxation was imposed in the next year, was to be adjusted so as to fall largely upon the well-to-do and especially on those who had made large profits from circumstances arising out of the war.

Though the assumption by India of additional financial responsibility, had been hinted at as pointed out by Sir William Meyer, his scheme came as a surprise upon the Council and the people outside. While the burden was heavy to poor India it was not likely to afford any substantial relief to Great Britain. The executive Government had taken the unusual course of leaving the decision of such a momentous question to the non-official portion of the Council and placed the members in an extremely awkward situation. They were given little time to consider the scheme in all its aspects and would be taking a tremendous responsibility if they rejected it. What the Empire required of India was a larger contribution of man power and supplies of war material and food stuffs. This she was liberally giving and a further contribution of £ 45 million was not absolutely necessary. If a gift had to be made, it could have been made out of India's surpluses accumulating after a reasonable provision had been made for the urgent needs of reform and progress. No one objected to a war profits or excess profits tax. Such a tax should indeed have been imposed earlier, and we have already expressed the view that sufficient attention had not been paid to the problem of educational and economic development and taxation therefor. It was not at all a question of India's desire and readiness to help the Empire in the vigorous prosecution of the war. These had never been doubted and had been substantially proved but the need and the urgency of the additional financial contribution had not been estab-

shed. The non-official members, however, passed Sir William's resolution by a large majority, over-awed perhaps by the onerous responsibility thrown upon them and through the sense that there was no alternative left to them under the circumstances.

V. G. KALE.

## LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

### MADRAS.

Madras, December 14.

#### THE LABOUR SITUATION.

THE Labour trouble is not yet over. The lock-out still continues. Some people have taken exception to the strong language used in my previous letter on this topic, on the ground that it is unfair to the "other side," i.e. the mill authorities. I should be sorry to have said any such thing. I happen to be one of those who heartily appreciate all that the European managers of the Buckingham and Carnatic mills have done in the past for the material and moral well-being of their Indian mill-hands. I freely admit that the lot of their work-people is better than that of mill-hands in any other part of this presidency. Perhaps it is better than that of mill-hands in any other part of India. I wish to goodness some Indian capitalists treated *their* employees half as well. But after all is said, can the present lock-out in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills be justified? That is the point. Some men assaulted their European weaving masters. The managers have thereupon ordered a general lock-out of all the men, women and children who depend on them for their means of livelihood. The managers allege that their mill-hands know who committed the assault on their weaving-masters, but that they refuse to reveal them. It is generally felt here that this is only a vague and baseless suspicion of a very general nature that cannot justify or even extenuate the pitiless character of the lock-out condemning thousands of the poorest of the poor to privation and want in these days of universal economic sufferings from which even the rich have found it impossible to escape. When, on the 6th inst., a notice appeared on the doors of the mills offering to re-open the mills on certain conditions, all of us had hoped that the managers were coming to realise the unreasonableness of the thing and that the notice was the first indication of an amicable end, but as ill luck would have it, our hopes have been cruelly dashed to the ground. Those conditions—including the forfeiture of one-fourth of the amount standing in the name of each weaver in the gratuity fund and the reduction of wages for the period during which the mills remained closed for no fault of theirs—proved unacceptable to the men who, moreover, saw in their masters' offer a trick to divide their ranks and weaken their forces. They, therefore, put forward three counter-demands: 1st, that the dismissed weaving-jobbers should be re-instated, 2nd, that the forfeiture of one-fourth of the gratuity fund should be cancelled, and, 3rd, that they should be paid for the period of the lock-out. These, of course, proved unacceptable to their masters and the lock-out still continues, say the mill-hands. No, say the managers, the lock-out has now become a strike! Is it a strike or is it only a lock-out? Some of our leading papers have been recently discussing this metaphysical question with quite an unnecessary amount of heat. But strike or lock-out, or lock-out or strike, let sophists wrangle and casuists dispute; it is all one so far as the general public is concerned. One or two crucial facts stand solidly out of all this confusion and they cannot be blinked. The management seem bent on the destruction of the Labour Union. That is one fact; that is the whole significance of a long communication on this subject which they have sent to the local papers on the 10th inst. Against this fact, stands the solidarity of the Labour Union which has grown in numbers and strength dur-

ing the last few days—in fact, 500 men and—what is more significant—100 women have joined the Union as members after lock-out was ordered; an employment bureau has been established and they have informed the public that hundreds of labourers have migrated to other parts of India in quest of employment or returned to their native places. A Relief Fund has been started and the papers are daily publishing appeals for support. The labourers have come to see that in union lies their only chance of salvation and they cling to it with all their strength. These are the two fundamental facts of the situation—We do not know how it will all end.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS IN MADRAS.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has been in our midst for some days now. His visit has proved very timely, for there are few men in all India now, whether Europeans or Indians, who are so well fitted as he for the role of peace-maker in any quarrel between the members of the ruling caste and those of the subject race. As one of the best of Christians, he has the confidence of the Europeans; and as one of India's sincerest friends, he enjoys the confidence of all Indians.

Moreover, his long association with Mr. Gandhi has given him a real insight into and keen sympathy with the sufferings of the poor. His presence here was taken advantage of by the Madras Labour Union under whose auspices he delivered to the labourers of Madras a message from Mr. Gandhi to whom they had appealed for succour in the hour of their distress. Mr. Andrews said to them, "The first thing that he would like me to tell you is this, that in this work that you are doing, you must do nothing unfair, nothing unjust. The second thing is, you must stand united, all of you together as one. The third thing is, you must rely only upon your soul force. Mahatma Gandhi wants me to tell you that if he had been well enough, he would have himself come down to Madras to help you in this struggle. He will come down to Madras if there is any need and help you later on." After these golden words of hope and advice he finished on a personal note.

Said: "In conclusion, I want to tell you that my own heart goes out to you in what you are going through and I trust that all your desire for good will be accomplished." It speaks volumes for the justice of the labourers' demands that Mr. C. F. Andrews sympathises with them and not with their employers. Anyhow, as the *Hindu* says, he is the best man to make peace between both the parties and we all hope his advice will be taken by both and that the curtain will fall on this unfortunate episode before he leaves us. I may add *en passant* that ever since his arrival here Mr. Andrews has been busy delivering a series of lectures on the subject on which he is perhaps the greatest living authority in all India—Emigration from India. It is well known that most of the emigrants to Fiji, Java and other colonies are from the Madras Presidency and the men and women of Madras cannot be sufficiently thankful to Mr. Andrews for placing before them so vividly the conditions prevailing among their brethren and sisters living in far-off, foreign lands. The knowledge and interest thus aroused in them by his lectures are bound to bear good fruit in bettering the lot of Indian emigrants, in the near future.

THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

After I wrote to you last, the gentlemen who convened the meeting to protest against Mr. Patel's Bill, which collapsed before it really commenced, have had their meeting in Gokhale Hall this time behind closed doors and with a packed audience admitted by tickets. Gentlemen who wanted to oppose their resolution were not allowed to open their mouths and, of course, the resolution was carried and much good may it do to their hearts! Of course, no body can pretend that it was a "public" meeting in the true sense of the term. That meeting has been followed by two real public meetings in the same place supporting the Bill. These two meetings were much more influential than the first one from the point of view of numbers and the importance of those who convened them, people differing so widely as Mr. Mahadeva Sastri, the renown-

ed Sanskrit scholar of Mysore, and Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, the theosophist-Buddhist from Ceylon taking part in them. And they were also real public meetings in the fullest sense of the word; for contrast the attitude of the chairman of these two meetings with that of the chairman of the first. The former invited people to speak against the Bill. The latter shut up people who wanted to support it. From this fact alone it will be plain which opinion is stronger in Madras. Similarly, meetings have been held in several places in the moffusil supporting the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan's Muslim Marriage Registration Bill. Mr. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission has arrived here to canvass signatures for his Anti-Touchability Manifesto. The cause of Social Reform is slowly gaining ground. All Reforms are slow in this country of slow changes, especially social reforms. There is no use in complaining about it. On the contrary, one has got to feel grateful and glad that this country is at last waking up to its duties, social and civic. Orthodoxy is at least two thousand years old and one cannot expect it to die in a day. As we are assured of our own ultimate victory, let us watch its last gasping and struggles with sympathy.

[We learn since that an amicable settlement has been arrived at, thanks to the efforts Mr. Andrews, and the men have returned to work.—Ed.]

## UNITED PROVINCES.

### THE REFORM COMMITTEES.

On the occasion of the visit of the Reform Committees, to Lucknow last month, the premier city of the United Provinces gave a befitting and hearty reception to Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee and Srinivasa Sastri. They were received at the railway station by the members of the Gokhale Students' Brotherhood and Ramkrishna Seva Ashram, besides a large gathering of representative citizens headed by the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain. Sir Harcourt Butler accompanied by his staff and the chief and judicial secretaries was also present to receive the President and the members of the committees. All the Indian members were the guests of the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad, while the European members were accommodated at the Government House. The next day after their arrival a public meeting was arranged by the Gokhale Students' Brotherhood to be addressed by the renowned orator of India and the President of the Servants of India Society. Long before the appointed hour, the Refah-i-am Hall was packed to overflowing the audience numbering about 2500. Hundreds had to remain standing. The gathering consisted of all sections of the educated public, including, lawyers, doctors, professors, teachers, judicial and executive officers, besides the students and the general public, and this in spite of the efforts of some of the loud opponents of the Moderate leaders in the Extremist press. Though there was a nasty interruption by some young hot blood, which the meeting was not in a mood to tolerate, the reception given both to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, was most hearty and enthusiastic and their discourses were heard with rapt attention. The meeting was followed the next day by a dinner given by the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain at the Carleton Hotel to meet Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee and Srinivasa Sastri. About 50 guests were invited, including all the Indian members of the Committees and the leading men of both the wings of the nationalist party. Dinner was followed by happy references to the current day politics in the speeches of both the guests and the host, and thus terminated a very pleasant evening. The other functions were an entertainment given by the Bengalee community of Lucknow in honour of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and a tea party by Mr. A. P. Sen. The Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad gave a dinner to meet Lord Southborough and the members of the Committees at his palatial residence. Besides, there were more than one social function at the Government House. As

regards the work of the Committees, the public are not expected to know anything behind the purdah, still it may be said without disclosing any secret that the scheme put forward by the United Provinces Government before the Committees is the most liberal and well conceived of all that have been hitherto put before the Committees.

A NEW DAILY.

At the initiative of the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru a syndicate of a few gentlemen has been formed to start a new English daily from Allahabad which will be the exponent of the extreme wing of the Congress party in these Provinces. Strange as it may seem to believe, the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad, it is rumoured, is one of the chief partners. Mr. Sayyed Hussain of the *Bombay Chronicle* has been engaged as its temporary editor and the paper is expected to come out some time in February next. Though being unable to dissuade their Allahabad friends from starting the new daily from that city instead of Lucknow, the Lucknow leaders of the extreme wing have not quite given up their project of turning the *Advocate* into a daily, for it is expected that the *Indian Daily Telegraph* is going to cease publication very shortly.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE SCALE OF WAGES ON TEST WORKS.

SIR,—A question of great importance in connection with the existing famine conditions is as to the rate of wages paid to persons on test works. For it is the results yielded by these test measures which determine the intensity of distress and the necessity for the declaration of either 'scarcity' or 'famine.' In the case of the former only the distribution of gratuitous relief is necessary, and in that of the latter the institution of relief works, but both depend upon how test works attract necessitous persons, and this itself obviously depends upon the wage scale that may be in force. Now, the question is whether the wage rate has been enhanced in proportion to the general rise in prices and the enhanced demand for labour. The Government of Bombay has so far declared 'scarcity' only in eight districts, and knowing the acute distress which prevails in many areas, the public are anxious to know if Government is not applying a wrong test by keeping the old scale of wages or a scale not sufficiently raised. Two honourable members put questions at the last sitting of the council in order to get at the true state of things, but unfortunately the Government answer is evasive. Mr. Paranjpye asked for information about wages on "relief works." Interpreting the word too technically, Government cleverly avoided giving any reply about "test works." Mr. Upasani's question however related specifically to test works, and in answer Government refers him to Mr. Paranjpye! And thus no information is supplied to the public which will enable them to measure the accuracy of the test involved in Government's test works!

Let us now turn to the Famine Relief Code. The wage scale for workers on "relief works," as contradistinguished from "test works" is fixed at 18 chhataks or 36 oz. of grain for the best workers, the grain wage being converted into a cash wage at the retail price of the cheapest grain in common use. The basis of conversion for each district is to be fixed from time to time by the Commissioner. Dependents are paid at a lower rate, adults at 12 and 10 chhataks and children at from 8 to 4. One day in the week is given as a day of rest. The rate of wages on "test works" is lower. The wage scale on "relief works" constitutes the maximum, there being no minimum. The conditions of labour on test works are of set purpose made particularly strict, "their primary object being not to relieve famine but to test the presence of it." No rest-day wage and no allowance to dependants are allowed. These are hard conditions in normal times of scarcity, but

particularly hard now, and the people are anxious to know whether Government has made sufficient allowance for the enormous increase in prices in fixing the wage scale in the present year. Government could easily have allayed the public suspicion in the matter by making known the prevailing rate of wages on "test works." Its evasion in this matter only intensifies the popular belief that distress is far more widespread and sharp than Government acknowledges in its press note. If Government persists in its present, seemingly shuffling policy, public feeling will be greatly exacerbated.—Yours, etc.

A RELIEF WORKER.

## SELECTION.

### PRESIDENT WILSON AND INDIAN REFORMS.

SPEAKING at Lahore on 9th December, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru said as follows on the above subject:—

Some papers spoke of the Peace Conference. He was not one of those who would expect others to fight their battles. He could not suppose that President Wilson would say to the British nation,—They must give self-government to India or he would break off with them. That was pure moonshine. For self-government they must stand on their own legs, neither President Wilson nor any President in the world could give them self-government. For himself he would say with the Persian poet that it was equivalent to the pains of hell to enter heaven on the strength of another's manliness.

II.

Commenting on the above, the *Tribune* wrote:—

While on this subject we will state at once that we entirely agree with Dr. Sapru in much that he said in his Bradlaugh Hall speech about our own position with regard to the Peace Conference. President Wilson is at this moment a great moral force on the stage of the world's affairs; there are many who regard him as the greatest moral force. His association with British statesmen and the intimate relations now subsisting between the American Government and the British may have their natural effect upon British policy both in India and in other parts of the Empire. But anything like an active or direct interference by the President of the United States or the head of any other foreign State in our affairs is out of the question, while, so far as the Peace Conference is concerned, we do not think the domestic affairs of the British Empire or of any other Allied State will be at all an issue before that body, except in so far as those affairs may have a distinct and obvious bearing upon international relations. Nor would such interference be compatible with our own sense of national self-respect. Not only is it our right as well as our duty to fight our own constitutional battle ourselves, but it is only if we do so that we can hope to have the full fruits of the victory that is inevitable in all such struggles. We must not forget, moreover, that our case is essentially different from that of Ireland and that whatever Ireland may hope to gain by appealing either to the United States or the British Colonies, we have little to gain by the process.

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