

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE memorandum of the Secretary of State attached to the Reform Bill makes clear two of the points which were left in doubt in the text: the question of a separate purse for either section of provincial Governments has been left open, and the safeguards recommended in the Joint Report in regard to legislation on reserved subjects have been definitely withdrawn. We have no doubt that our deputations in England will represent to the Select Committee the evils of the adoption of the Government of India's proposal for a divided purse. The latter involves as a necessary corollary the giving of power to either half of Government to present proposals of fresh taxation to the council as it may think necessary and the use of the Governor's certificate in regard to such proposals, if they proceed from the official section, so as to remove them to the safe anchorage of grand committees. This works to our detriment in two ways. First, the council will thereby be deprived of the power, proposed to be conferred upon it in the Joint Report, of effectually controlling additional burdens of taxation. It means, as we said last week, that even the "new charter" will deny to India in the year of grace 1919 what was conceded to Egypt nearly forty years ago by the earlier Organic Law of 1883—not to speak of Lord Kitchener's Organic Law of 1913 which embodies textually the old provision about new taxation. Second, the exclusive power of initiating taxation measures vested in the ministers by the Joint Report placed in the hands of the council a means of exercising a potent, if indirect, influence over the supply of reserved services. If this is taken away, as will necessarily be the result of adopting the Government of India's recommendation, there

will be no check whatever, direct or indirect, upon the extravagance of the executive council, except its own good sense which must be put out of account when devising a constitution.

* * *

THE other point with regard to which the Secretary of State's explanatory memorandum serves to clear all doubts is about the scope of the Governor's certification power. The Bill does remove every one of the "embarrassing restrictions" which the Government of India's dispatch so earnestly deprecated. The memorandum says: "The proposal of the Joint Report to allow an appeal to the Government of India against the Governor's certificate in respect of any particular bill is abandoned." The Governor's instructions will necessarily be in very general terms, and if the propriety of calling this exceptional power into play cannot be challenged in any case, it can easily be imagined how the power will come to be used in practice. There is nothing to prevent what is intended as an exceptional procedure becoming a normal one in regard to bills on reserved subjects. Again, the Government of India's proposal to reduce the elective element on the grand committees seems also to have been adopted, which means that Government will leave nothing whatever to chance, when a bill is certified. And if any contentious bill can be certified under any circumstances, as will be the effect of the former provision, it is clear that popular representatives will have as little influence as at present in the case of legislation relating to reserved subjects.

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THE single purse system recommended in the Joint Report is decidedly superior to the alternative plan of separate purses for the two halves of Government proposed by the Government of India, but the joint purse scheme, too, will be deprived of much of its merit if it is subjected to the limitation contained in clause 9 (2) (d). This clause is thus explained in the memorandum: "The Governor is entrusted with power in cases of emergency to authorise expenditure which is, in his opinion, necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department. By the exercise of this reserve power the Governor will be able to provide funds for any unforeseen emergency, and also in the last resort to prevent the temporary closing down of a transferred department owing to refusal of supplies." In the

italicised portion of this quotation the intention is avowed of taking away from the council its ultimate means of relief from possible encroachment of the supply for reserved subjects on the common purse. The power of refusing to initiate taxation bills vested in the minister under the Joint Report and the power of refusing to vote supplies for transferred subjects vested in the council, between them, made up a power by means of which the rapacity of the executive council could be effectually resisted. For the feeling that "the King's Government must be carried on" was sure to rise superior in the mind of the executive and they would certainly have to yield to the pressure of the legislature. This is the key to popular control over the administration in all constitutionally governed countries, and there is no reason why even in the restricted sphere made over to non-official control this principle should not have full play.

* * *

THE *Pioneer* in its article of June 28 defends the separate purse plan much in the same manner as the Government of India do in their dispatch. The article is specially noteworthy for the avowal it contains that the joint purse system is condemned because it "accords insufficient protection in the future for reserved subjects" inasmuch as the expenditure on these subjects must eventually, "with the inevitably increasing cost of administration, come to depend upon the complaisance of a minister who has no responsibility for their efficiency." The reserved subjects are generally of an unexpanding character, and the expenditure ordinarily incurred on their behalf has been guaranteed. Thus, the scheme of the Joint Report only makes it necessary in practice for the executive council to convince the ministers and the legislative council of the propriety and necessity of any sudden or drastic increase in this expenditure. Is not the official part of the new provincial Government to be subjected even to so much control hereafter? If it is said that there should be no manner of popular influence or control over supply for reserved subjects and these new financial arrangements are recommended with that object, it follows that Indian opinion should resist this modification resolutely.

* * *

IT is stated in the Secretary of State's accompanying memorandum on the Reform Bill that the council's power over supply for transferred subjects "involves making the ministers from the start more directly responsible to the legislative councils." So the Government of India's modification that the ministers should be removable from the outset seems to have been adopted, but how is the responsibility to be enforced if the Governor can set aside the council and appropriate funds for the transferred departments?—Again, the memorandum states that the Governor should be enabled to use his certifying power also for the purpose of blocking legislative proposals which

encroach on his responsibility for a specified reserved subject. But no attempt is made to explain why it is necessary to vest in the Governor a power which was not so far required even under the old constitution. Heretofore a bill could be blocked only when the majority of the legislative council desired it, but the Governor had no power of stopping a bill. And even under the present Bill, no legislative proposal relating to a reserved subject could be so blocked. Where then is the need for taking a power in the case of bills only touching the reserved province of legislation at a few points, which is not required in the case of bills on wholly reserved subjects?

* * *

THE arguments used by the *Pioneer* for the transfer of primary and the retention of secondary education are ingenious. The popular branch of Government supplies enthusiasm and the official section supplies experience; therefore, primary education which only requires an immense expansion of educational facilities should be committed to non-official hands; but the higher branches of education which require administrative experience and expert guidance must continue in official hands. The experts seem to be crying, "Let us first get the system into proper shape, and then hand it over." One wonders where these experts had retired for the last sixty years and how long they would take in getting an educational system into perfect trim, before it becomes fit to be made over to inexperienced hands. We are told that in England the tendency is for the State to assume larger control over secondary, technical and higher education. But of what avail is this argument? To transfer these branches of education to ministers is not to transfer them to private bodies; the ministers are as integral a part of the State as the executive councillors. Again it is said elementary education will consume all the available energies of public men; we wish to take over more and afford to the bureaucracy a much-needed relief. The *Pioneer* is willing to transfer primary education which requires larger outlay, because it realises that the popular half of Government has access to sources of revenue which it alone will be able to tap. This is true, but will not ministers require to be satisfied before they tap new sources of revenue that the present revenue is utilised to the best advantage? But the provisions in the Bill for dealing with provincial finance forbid this.

* * *

THE meeting held in Madras last week to protest against the sentence imposed upon Mr. Kali Nath Roy was impressive. The President, Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar, roundly declared that there was not one single expression in Mr. Roy's articles to which any objection could be taken in reason. And when Mr. Aiyar, who it is well-known gives to every question meticulous examination before he pronounces on it, passes such an unqualified condemnation. Indians know what a cruel wrong has been inflicted on Mr. Roy. One is naturally

amazed to see that the tribunal which tried this case found seditious matter in the articles of Mr. Roy, but it must be remembered that "the so-called sentences of the so-called courts-martial held under a proclamation of martial law are not judicial sentences at all; that is to say, they are not founded on any precise law, but are merely acts of a peculiarly solemn nature done in the course of repressing disorder." In no other way can the sentence be explained. The Western India and Central Provinces Liberal Associations have protested against it.

* * *

SYED HASAN IMAM has raised a question of the first importance in the telegram which he, as counsel for Mr. Harkishan Lal and others, has despatched to the Secretary of State. Whatever justification there was for the declaration of martial law in the Punjab, there could be none for trying cases under martial law after it has been withdrawn. There is no reason why cases instituted while the law was in force should not be tried in ordinary courts when the necessity for it has admittedly ceased to exist. For the law of the matter is that "the moment the disorder has ceased, the continuance (of courts-martial) becomes strictly illegal." Now that order has been completely restored, there is not a vestige of justification for continuing the machinery of martial law called into being when there was "open rebellion" in the country. Even acts of open rebellion can and ought to be tried by ordinary tribunals after the "rebellion" has been quelled and the State ceases to be in peril.

* * *

AS there is a widespread feeling that a state of "open rebellion" never existed in the Punjab which alone could justify the acts done in the closing period of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime and as this is going to be investigated by a Commission to be sent out from England, it is but right that at any rate the capital sentences awarded by the Martial Law Commission should be held in abeyance till the result of the Commission is known. For any injustice done in these cases is irretrievable, and there is no particular urgency in carrying out those sentences. The Government of India, if they refuse to stay the executions as requested by several public bodies, will be taking upon themselves an enormous responsibility which we must say it is extremely unwise on their part to assume.

* * *

THE Indian community in the Transvaal is faced with total extinction. The Union Parliament has passed the second reading of a bill making it impossible for Indians to obtain a trading license for a new business and prohibiting them from acquiring an indirect right of ownership of land. As Mr. Polak says, trading rights are the life-blood of the community that so largely subsists upon trade, and to refuse these rights to Indians is practically to banish them to outer darkness. It is said that under the Gold Law Indians cannot rightfully trade in the proclaimed areas; but as

Mr. Alexander observed in the House of Assembly the law was designed only to prevent an Asiatic from obtaining mining rights in gold areas; it did not prohibit them from trading. The embargo which is now sought to be laid upon trading is said to be based upon the Gandhi-Smuts compact; but the question of trading rights was never made an issue of the passive resistance struggle. Again, at the time of this famous settlement there were companies of Indians which had fixed property registered in their name, and the prohibition now being enacted could not be founded upon the compromise of 1914. The most tragic part of the whole thing is that even tried friends of India, like Messrs. Duncan and Alexander, supported the Bill as a reasonable compromise. It is a cruel irony that immediately after the close of the war fought for liberty and freedom—with India's help—a bill should be introduced in a British colony reducing Indians to a position of helotry!

* * *

A PAMPHLET published by the Oxford University Press professes to enlighten the misguided peoples of India on the joys of the Rowlatt Act. The leaders of Indian opinion who opposed the Act, it tells us, failed the people inasmuch as "they did not search the past for the reasons that led *inevitably* to the passing of this measure," the reasons being terrorism practised over witnesses, the delays of the law, and so forth. If the use of intimidation, which is not unknown to other countries, leads infallibly to such an Act, it may be asked why India alone is to be blessed with such monstrous legislation. Surely the writer of the pamphlet has heard of the Irish Sinn Feiners whose very constitution excludes every "person who has taken the oath of allegiance to the British Government" and of their depredations. Only the other day the Chief Secretary for Ireland had to relate in the Commons how guardians of law and order were being "massacred and murdered wholesale in every direction." He said:

"I am not going to recite once again the proclamation of the Sinn Feiners of that particular district. It is a well-known fact that they had made up their minds to shoot or kill anybody who would give information to the police about two or three dastardly murders. So bitter is the feeling at the present moment in that part of Ireland that no man's life is safe who endeavours to come forward to help the Government to maintain law and order and preserve the rights and liberties of law-abiding citizens. . . . What happened to-day? A Sinn Fein prisoner was being taken from Thurles Gaol to Cork Gaol when armed men attacked the train. They killed one constable, another is wounded, nothing has been heard of a third, and the other is in one of the barracks, and the prisoner has been rescued." (*Hansard*.)

Such outrages, happening far more frequently and on a vaster scale, are not followed in Ireland by a Rowlatt Act. They do not therefore establish the inevitability of such a measure, even if it should be, for Indians, "the safeguard of the charter of their liberty" which, with, a lavish use of rhetorical expression, it is represented to be. Does not Irish liberty stand in need of protection?

THE FALL OF THE CURTAIN.

AT last the eventful drama which began five years ago in the first week of August has come to an end. After a good deal of fruitless whining the German delegates have after all signed the treaty of peace in exactly the terms which were presented to them. There could have been no alternative. The conditions of the armistice were laid down in such a manner that Germany was made absolutely incapable of renewing the war with the least hope of success or even of prolonged resistance. When Germany agreed to the armistice terms she for all practical purposes undertook to sign whatever peace was offered to her, and her only hope lay in the magnanimity of her adversaries or their disunion. But Germany and her rulers had behaved in such a manner that the Allies, though some of them were actuated by the highest humanitarian sentiments, could not but make the conditions so severe as to remove for some time at least all fear of danger from her. Germany has in fact become a real pariah among nations and it will take long indeed before she can rehabilitate herself in the society of nations. Except in a few unimportant particulars the terms in the first draft of the treaty have been adhered to. Germany thus for the moment ceases to count among the great Powers. The Entente Powers thus have all their own way in shaping the destinies of the world, and history will judge them by the manner in which they perform their formidable task.

The first thought of every man is one of intense thankfulness at the close of this great war. His Majesty with his usual felicity of phrase has expressed the sentiments of all the citizens of the British Empire. "The signing of the peace treaty will be received with deep thankfulness throughout the British Empire. The formal act brings to its concluding stages the terrible war which has devastated Europe and distressed the world. It manifests the victory of ideals of Freedom and Liberty for which we have made untold sacrifices. I share my people's joy and thanksgiving and earnestly pray that the coming years may bring to them ever-increasing happiness and prosperity." Everybody feels as if a great load has been taken off his chest and is able to breathe freely. Though peace has not been formally concluded with Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, still that need not detract from our sense of relief, for it was Germany who was the life and soul of this foul conspiracy against modern civilization, and she has been well accounted for.

But with this first feeling of relief come immediately thoughts for the future. Is the world going to be a better place to live in? Can all nations live in reasonable confidence that they will not be again subjected to such a terrible ordeal? Further, can the various component parts of every nation also feel that the winning of this war has been of advantage to them severally? Unless these questions can be answered unhesitatingly in the

affirmative, the war will have been waged and won in vain in the eyes of some. In other words, unless the problems of reconstruction are properly taken in hand and rightly solved, and that in a very short time, the world may have to face calamities and trials even harder than those through which it has gone during the last five years. On the one hand, the proper solution lies in a further advance along the path of socialism though the modern name for it may perhaps be slightly different. The labouring classes in England and other countries have become very restive, and on one pretext or other they have been for some time showing signs of unrest. The old capitalist regime will have to be greatly modified if this war of nations is not to lead to a more bitter class war whose end nobody can venture to prophesy. The war just ended has left burdens which tax the capacities of the strongest Powers and cannot be borne unless every human unit in every country is prepared to do its utmost. But this cannot be expected unless there is a universal feeling that everybody else is actually pulling his weight. The labouring classes have unfortunately not yet got this feeling, and an impartial review of the situation can hardly satisfy us that they are altogether wrong.

On the other hand, a further and more rapid progress must be made in the direction of self-determination for all peoples. The peace treaty has tried to apply this principle to various nationalities which were subject to the enemy Powers. But the same principle has to be applied even as a matter of self-defence to the component parts of many of the Entente Powers. We say *self-defence*, for the innate possibilities of the situation must not be lost sight of. It is hardly possible for a proud nation like Germany which aspired to rule the world and very nearly succeeded in its object to sit quiet under its mortification. The Germans are a clever people and the ideas of a *revanche* are certain to be entertained. An idea of their latent spirit can be obtained from their recent ignoble exploit in sinking their ships which they had surrendered under the armistice terms. Other indications are not wanting. Here Erzeberger is said to have written a private letter as to the German policy of the future while outwardly agreeing to sign the peace treaty. He says that Germany will in future try to strangle the newly reborn Poland, consolidate and organise the vast resources of Russia, and weave again its intricate net of foreign relations as before but with greater cunning. France, he says, is already exhausted with all her sacrifices. German policy is thus bound to lie in the direction of sowing dissensions among her opponents. Who knows how far it will succeed? In any case to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Each unit of the Big Five must be prepared to raise its efficiency to the highest pitch. The British Empire, so strong if properly organised as it nearly was in the later stages of the war, must, be ready to stand on her own legs, not always

trusting to the good fortune which in this war made her the ally of France, the United States, Italy and Japan. But it has a veritable Achilles' heel in Ireland. Egypt and India may possibly become festering sores if they are not properly handled in a spirit of liberal statesmanship. The Empire must solve these three problems if it wishes to be certain of the comparatively distant future. So far as India is concerned, there are immense potentialities for the good of the Empire if she is properly managed or rather if she is allowed to manage herself properly. With a prosperous and contented India, England can defy half a dozen Germanys. The narrow policy of divide and rule entertained by some, the insensate pride of race which galls self-respecting people, the suicidal wish to exploit the black or brown races for the good of the white, and the proud boast of bearing the white man's burden—all these must give way to the newer policy of brotherhood in the Empire. India must be fitted, and that very soon, to pull her full weight in the Imperial bark; that, however, she will not be able to do if she is chained to her oar like a galley slave. It is a good sign that the pilots at the helm are coming round to this view, but this new view must be thoroughly imbibed—and not merely done lip service to—by those who manage the affairs on the spot here. But O'Dwyerism in the Punjab and other similar manifestations like the dispatch of the Government of India and the Rowlatt Act must not longer be possible. The policy of the reforms—sufficiently thorough-going and liberal—must be adhered to and carried out soon. Another war may face us before we have time to get ready, and then woe to the vanquished! This is the lesson that Erzeberger's private letter teaches every one that has eyes to see and brains to understand.

INDIA IN ENGLAND.

By general testimony this year's May has been exceptionally fine and dry in London. The weather changed two days ago. Yesterday there was slight rain and it became rather cold. Being a perfect stranger, I cannot say anything of the aspect of this place in a comparative sense. But it is difficult to a superficial observer to see that London has just been through the anxieties of a terrific war or that its people were till the other day in hourly dread of air-raids. The rush and roar of the world's metropolis goes on as ever. Even the threatened strike of the police, which might have paralysed the life of London, was scarcely felt as a danger. You must get into particular groups before you can find out how affairs move: And how many are these groups? India and her troubles vex only a very few persons. It is amusing how an Englishman tells you of his countrymen's complete ignorance of India with almost the pride that attaches to a confession of an amiable weakness. We wish to deal fairly and justly with India, so seems the general attitude,

but we don't know anything; do tell us something. But before you have opened the subject, your knowledge-seeking friend seems tired, says "how interesting!" and turns to another region of thought where his mind has a surer foothold. Generally speaking, I have been able to gather that, among the people that are interested in Indian affairs, the recent disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere have not retarded, but accelerated, the cause of constitutional reform. Most men have not taken the impression that India is in mutiny, but that it is desirable to push on with the Bill as fast as possible.

The papers do not contain any criticisms or illuminating comments on the provisions of the measure to be debated by the Commons this afternoon. As far as one can say now, there will not be any serious opposition to it. The second reading will go smooth, and the resolution for the constitution of a Joint Committee will be adopted almost *nem con*. The Lords will consider the message only after the Whitsuntide recess, but even in that House much difficulty is not anticipated. Thanks to the courageous and patriotic stand taken by the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, which one could wish was more generously appreciated in India than it is, the propaganda of Lord Sydenham and party, though envenomed and ceaseless, does not carry far. Still it is well to be prepared for bad weather in that quarter. Friends are aware of the need. The other day I was one of the guests at a small dinner in the House of Commons. As it was private I shall not disclose particulars. But there is no harm in your knowing that the party consisted of members of various shades of opinion, and that every one of them spoke. General support of the Bill was the burden of every speech. Of course the rules to be hereafter made are to settle the scope of the reforms. The Bill merely provides the framework. The Joint Committee will go thoroughly into the Bill and the rules as well. I hear that both Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha will have seats on the committee. Much depends on the personality of the Chairman. Still one may hope that the parliamentary skill of the one combined with the sureness of grasp of the other will convert the Committee into a firm ally of India.

The future of the British Congress Committee and of the paper "India" is still doubtful. Like the deputations from India, the Committee seem to have an inner division. The Congress deputation have begun to carry out their aims and make their views known to the Committee. I am more than ever convinced of the imperative need of keeping up a vigorous organization here for our propaganda. Not certainly to the neglect of work in India—which of course is paramount. But let us not forget that without corresponding activity in London, our work there cannot bear full fruit. Sir Binod Mitter and Sir Krishna Gupta have arrived; their advice and assistance will be of invaluable use in our mission. Our party have to be augmented by

Messrs. Surendra Nath, Prithwis Chunder Roy and the Rev. Mr. Nag. After them are expected Messrs. Chintamani and Mocherla Ramachandra Rao—though we have not yet heard here of their starting. Dr. Sapru is expected in the first week of September.

I have heard it said that a Commission will be appointed to investigate the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere, and that its terms of reference will not exclude the methods adopted in the interests of tranquillity. The probability is that the President will be chosen from among prominent men in England. Another rumour I will set down for what it is worth. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla will be Sir Sankaran Nair's successor and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad will be the next executive councillor of Bombay. Both appointments would be excellent.

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THE CURRENCY PROBLEM.—IV.

THE SOLUTION.

FROM the terms of reference issued to the Currency Committee, which we quoted in our last article, it would appear that its enquiry is not expected to be comprehensive, and Government wants expert advice only as to the method in which the Indian exchange and currency system may be rehabilitated after the storm and stress through which it passed during the time of war. It is obvious that certain modifications will be found necessary in the system and practice owing to the developments forced by war conditions, which could not have been anticipated by the Chamberlain Commission. The expansion of note currency which has gone up above 150 crores of rupees and the total investment of about 98½ crores out of the Paper Currency Reserve, mainly in British securities, will demand careful consideration, especially as to the way in which paper circulation will be reduced and the size of the fiduciary portion of the Reserve that may be safely fixed for the future. The Gold Standard Reserve has now reached sufficiently large proportions, and it has to be decided how the future profits on rupee coinage will be utilised. The Chamberlain Commission did not fix any limit to the size of the fund, because at the time of its enquiry it was comparatively small and the experience of the exchange crisis of 1907-08 was not regarded as an adequate guide to the amount which might be required in a similar crisis in future. The report stated: "... and we do not think, therefore, that it would be useful for us to attempt to lay down at present any hypothetical limit beyond which additions to the Gold Standard Reserve should cease. We are accordingly of opinion that, even after allowance is made for the ear-marked gold in the Paper Currency Reserve, the suggested total of

25,000,000 *l.* is insufficient." The total now exceeds that figure by £ 10 million, and the question is, should Government go on indefinitely adding whatever profits may accrue from the coinage of rupees to the gold, or should the future profits be used in some other way?

A committee appointed to consider the question of Indian railway finance advised the Secretary of State in 1907 that, the Gold Standard Reserve and the gold in the Paper Currency Reserve being adequate to meet any contingencies that might arise with regard to the exchange, a portion of the profits on the coinage of silver should be used for capital expenditure on railways instead of being invested in British Government securities. The Government of India did not approve of the suggestion, but Lord Morley decided to adopt it, and about one million was thus diverted from the profits which should have gone to swell the gold reserve. With reference to this departure from previous practice, the Chamberlain Commission emphatically laid down the following proposition: "While, therefore, looking beyond the immediate future, we hold that the Government of India ought to be alive to the possibility of the aggregate sterling reserves eventually reaching an unnecessarily high figure, we recommend that the whole profits of the silver coinage, together with any interest accruing from investments or loans made from the Gold Standard Reserve, should for the present be continued to be placed to the credit of that Reserve, and that no diversion similar to that made in 1907 for railway development should be under any circumstances permitted until further experience allows of a much more accurate definition of the calls which the Reserve may have to meet than is at present possible."

We feel that the aggregate sterling reserves of the Government of India have now reached a sufficiently, if not unnecessarily, high figure and the time has come to decide how the profits on future rupee coinage should be dealt with. It may possibly be contended by some that the recent war was not an adequate test of the sufficiency of the gold assets of India, because this country gave credit instead of receiving it from England, owing to the peculiar relative position of the two in the matter of the exchange of commodities. Others may press for the utilisation of the profits on coinage on capital expenditure on railways, a diversion which was strongly deprecated by the Chamberlain Commission. We are inclined to the view that these profits should be looked upon as part of the normal revenue of Government and should be available for expenditure on national education and other reforms so urgently needed.

The most important problem that requires immediate attention, however, is the fixing of the sterling value of the rupee, and we have already discussed the two alternative courses that are open before Government. Whether we have the gold exchange standard or an effective gold standard, the rupee must be a token coin and its

nominal value must be fixed at a level above the value of its bullion content. It is difficult to foresee the course the price of silver will take; and it will be wise in any event to put the value of a token coin sufficiently high so as to protect it from the melting pot. The easier course seems to be to raise the exchange by 2 or 4d. but it will prove disastrous to the rayat, and we would decidedly prefer a light weight rupee. And we can allow this as a merely temporary measure. It will indeed be something if the whole seigniorage on rupee coinage is returned to the public by its being added to the revenues of Government to be spent on the amelioration of the condition of the cultivating and other producing classes, who will suffer by the rise in exchange. It is, however, impossible to accept as a permanent arrangement a system under which almost the whole of the country's currency consists of a token coinage. You may put whatever sterling value you choose upon the rupee; but let us have a true gold standard, and let the token currency tend more and more to be what it ought to be under a good system, a subsidiary currency merely.

It is for this reason that we earnestly desire that the Currency Committee ought to be asked to go beyond mere palliatives and to discuss the very basis of our system. The Chamberlain Commission was obsessed by the paramount need of the maintenance of a stable exchange and was of opinion that the people received what currency they wanted, gold or silver, under the existing system and that therefore it was unnecessary to encourage the use of gold coins. Whatever we may do, gold bullion and coin will persist in coming into India in part payment of foreign debts to her, and we shall have the anomaly of a country with such enormous gold reserves being on the exchange standard basis! Not to speak of gold bullion, India imported British gold coins to the extent of £ 97 million during the years 1901-13. The net imports were £ 73 million and the absorption by the public £ 60 million. The absorption of sovereigns was just equal to the absorption of rupees. The sovereigns are legal tender, but, circulating with the rupee tokens, they are naturally hoarded or melted. And when this happens we are told that India is a sink of the precious metals and that the people do not want a gold currency. The arguments urged by the Chamberlain Commission against the encouragement of gold currency and the development of an effective gold standard require reconsideration.

The problem of establishing a State or central bank and the proper mobilization of India's money for a healthy development of Indian trade and industries also needs prompt attention. The relations of the Indian money market and the Reserve Treasury system of Government were considered by the Chamberlain Commission, and certain useful recommendations were made by it. But that question must be considered again along with the unsettled problem of a central bank. The experience

of war times will prove a very helpful guide in this matter. If the precious metals are to be more economically used by the public, if our industries are to grow and thrive and if our wealth is to increase, organization of banking on a large scale and on sound lines is essential. Vested interests or inertia ought not to be allowed to stand in the way of the solution of the banking problem, and all available capital must be used for the promotion of India's material welfare. The location of the Gold Reserve and other sterling assets of India in London has been strongly criticised in the past and that aspect of the problem also may be reconsidered in the light of recent experience and the needs of the country.

(Concluded.)

V. G. KALE.

THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT. XIV.*

THE Commissioners recognise that there is likely to be strong opposition to their proposals about the control of technical and industrial education being vested in the Director of Industries and not in the Director of Public Instruction. I do not hold a brief for the latter department, which has perhaps not given as much attention to the practical side of this branch of education as to the literary or theoretical side. I am even prepared to grant the indictment of the education department by the Commissioners that it has not tried to find out the type of employee required by an industry, nor made efforts to meet such requirements. But I still believe that to be the best course to introduce reforms in the organisation of that department, instead of taking away the control of any class of education from its hand. The department of industries has yet to be properly organised, and with the best paper organisation it cannot have the grasp of general education questions that a department dealing with educational problems for a number of years can have. The Commissioners have perhaps on account of their prejudice against the educational department decided in the first instance that the Director of Industries should have the control of technical and industrial education and then tried as advocates to justify this decision. The educated public will, I fear, resent the passing of the control from the organised educational department to a less than semi-organised industries department, about whose tendencies they are at present in the dark. The Commissioners recommend that while the actual control of this branch of education should be in the hands of the industries department, the education department should be consulted and its co-operation sought in fixing the syllabus and on other general educational questions. I wonder why it did not occur to the Commissioners to propose to keep the control as at present with

* Previous articles on this subject appeared in the issues of Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 13, & 19, Jan. 2 & 16, Feb. 6, 13 & 27, March 20 & 27, April 10, and May 8.

the educational department and to insist on their consulting and seeking co-operation of the industries department as regards the practical side of this branch of education. This would have meant no violent disturbance in the existing system of administration and would have remedied the deficiencies that may exist therein at present. By all means let them strengthen the education department by giving them the assistance of technical experts and the advice and co-operation of the industries department, but let them not revolutionise the whole system. At least till it is found that in spite of these reforms the department is not able to suitably meet the growing demands of this class of education and till the new industries department is properly organised to take over complete control.

The Commissioners further propose "the provision of a system of regular visits by specialist officers of the imperial Department of Industries" to create "a tradition of correct methods in these forms of teaching." The latter phrase seems to be a euphemism for standardization, and that is an evil much more to be feared than the evil of overlapping and waste of energies due to one province not being aware of the failures of some other province in the same line of work. Any interference from outside authorities is sure to be resented by the local Governments, and even though the recommendations of the imperial experts may be called advisory, they are sure to be understood as definite instructions, and I do not want anyone, however high his educational qualifications or official position may be, to swoop down for a few days on a province and issue instructions even if they be in the form of advice. If the only object of this proposal is to keep the provincial Directors of Industries informed of the happenings in the other provinces, it can be achieved by annual conferences of Directors of Industries. There is a very good precedent for this proposal in the conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies and leading non-official co-operators.

Chapter XI treats of Commercial and Industrial Intelligence. The Commissioners agree with the general complaint against the slipshod manner in which this work was done until recently, and they say that "this question has not hitherto been so treated as to afford Government sufficient basis for encouragement of industries in India or for political and diplomatic action abroad." Their recommendations are made with the idea of reorganising the existing department on such lines as may help the industrialists of the country in the struggle for markets, etc., which is very likely to begin soon after the Peace is signed. The Commissioners are quite right when they lay down the general principle that such information should be collected and tabulated by experts and that the results should be published in a form "which will make them readily accessible to the commercial public." Till now the statistics collected by the department are used for showing the material progress of the

country, and reasons are given as to why there has been rise or fall in certain figures. Sir Dinshaw Wacha is perhaps the only public man who has carefully studied these statistics or suggested to the department methods of making improvements in the then existing tables. He has publicly acknowledged that, during the past years and more especially since the appointment of the present Director of the commercial intelligence department, his suggestions have been sympathetically considered and where possible adopted. As the Commissioners well say, they merely "emphasise the commonplace that commercial statistics and intelligence are intended to serve as the basis of an active policy, and not merely as a means for explaining changes years after they have occurred." The words I have italicised show a fund of subdued humour in the writer.

It is proposed in the report that the Director of the reorganised department should be a member of the imperial Industrial Service and that his headquarters should be at Calcutta. Para. 334 in Chapter XXII gives the qualifications of persons who are to be recruited to the imperial Industrial Service, chief of which is a thorough theoretical and practical knowledge of mechanical engineering. It is not easy to understand why the Commissioners desire the post of the Director of Commercial Intelligence to be filled by persons with these qualifications. Under their recommendations it will not be possible to secure the services of a man like the present Director, who comes direct from the educational service and who has proved to be perhaps the best Director so far. This post should ordinarily be filled by students of economics and statistics who have done some work in the industries department. We have at least one first class London B. Sc. honours man with economics as his special subject, and some others who have taken a second class and done useful research work in the country. There is no reason why these gentlemen should not be given an opportunity of serving their country in this post.

The Commissioners are of opinion that the creation of the post of an Indian Trade Commissioner in London by the Government of India was a step in the right direction, and they want this post to be made permanent. As regards his duties the report says: "He will represent Indian trade interests, and his principal function will be to stimulate the development of Indian export trade by directing attention to fresh markets and by promoting the establishment of new commercial relations likely to be beneficial to India." How far these functions will be carried out with the view of assisting the export of manufactured articles and not of raw materials only will depend upon the outlook of the officer appointed as Indian Trade Commissioner. It is proposed by the Commissioners that this office should belong to the imperial Industrial Service, and the objections stated above in connection with the post of the

Director of Commercial Intelligence apply in a greater degree to the present case. We want as the Indian Trade Commissioner a person not only having knowledge of the Indian trade conditions and requirements, but with keen sympathy with Indian interests and a broad outlook. I fear the proposed imperial Industrial Service will not supply the kind of person required for this post and would, therefore, suggest that this post should as a rule be filled by direct recruitment from business men, Indians of equal qualifications being given a preference.

L. S.

THE REFORM SCHEME.—VII.*

THE SERVICES.

THE Report recognises the necessity of increasing the proportion of Indians in the public services and appreciates the reasons which led Indians to reject the findings of the Public Service Commission. Accompanying is a warning that there must be no swamping of any service with the new element so that its character suffers a rapid alteration. The warning may be taken for what it is worth, but it is not needed considering that the demands of Indians are very modest. This recognition of the claims of the Indian element in the services is nothing but a belated act of justice for which no gratefulness can be expected now.

Considering the infinite mischief created by racial bars, the removal of racial distinctions from the rules of service is a great step forward. Recruitment in India, for which Indian politicians are clamouring for an age, has also been projected. With these basic principles granted, the question of the details of recruitment may be regarded as secondary.

The percentage of appointments made in India for the I. C. S. is fixed at 33, and this must be pronounced as fairly liberal. This would give ample opportunity for those already in service to leaven the whole mass and preserve the characteristics associated with that service. There is a fear abroad that the Indianisation of the I. C. S. would mean a deterioration of its tone and a falling off from its high level of efficiency. But so far we have not seen any proofs adduced in support of this, and the fear is probably the nightmare produced by nervousness, engendered by the loss of a monopoly preserved for over a century. There is no reason to suppose that the Indians in the I. C. S. will be less conscious of their responsibilities or will handle the administrative machinery rudely and recklessly. On the contrary, a greater employment of Indians will lessen the rancour of the criticism directed against the bureaucracy at present, since the service would be in more intimate contact with the various shades of Indian opinion.

* Previous articles in this series, concluded with this article, appeared in the issues of April 10, 17 and 24, May 8 and 15, and June 19.

The advice tendered to the European personnel of the future services is well worth the consideration of all. Instead of dictating, the rôle, of the English official would henceforth be to "explain and persuade, argue and refute." We believe with the signatories of the Report that the future civil servant will do this effectively. The better the grace with which he accepts his new rôle the less will be the friction between educated Indians and the Civil Service.

The Report seems to be touchy about the criticism levelled against the I. C. S. that they will do their best to resist the policy announced in August, 1917. But considering the conduct of the service during the last few months one cannot help thinking that many of the old servants are inclined to regard the new arrangements as an onslaught on their position. It is the old story of the patrician and the plebeian of roman history. It is no wonder that the I. C. S. should regard its own monopoly as sacred and sanctified by prescription. But it must resign itself to the inevitable. If it does not do so and indulges in recrimination against educated, Indians, it will be doing the greatest disservice to the cause of reform.

We must congratulate the signatories of the Report on having gone beyond the recommendations of the Public Service Commission which had ceased to satisfy Indian aspirations. The new programme will automatically bring the percentage of recruitment to be made in India to one half of the total number after the lapse of twelve years. After the periodic commission will have viewed the working of the arrangement after twelve years it will be time to see whether the proportion can be increased without detriment to the efficiency of the service.

FISCAL POLICY.

The Report has recognized that beneath the rampant and aggressive Swadeshism there underlies the solid substratum of India's economic dependence upon foreign manufactures. It also candidly admits that the desire of patriotic Indians to have a larger share in the profits of Indian industries is perfectly justifiable. It also admits that English theories about State interference are inapplicable to India. It is clear that the war has been an eye-opener in many of these matters and has helped to explode the *laissez faire* theory which has led to the decay of Indian industries.

But after all this admission nothing more is offered except a bold outline of a 'forward policy in industrial development.' It is quite true that this matter is beyond the purview of the Report on constitutional reforms. Still considering the intimate relation existing between economic policy and the political constitution in any state, we wish that something more definite had been laid down. We cannot discuss here the intricate question of the Indian tariff. It may not be wise for India to plunge at once into a full-pledged protectionist regime; but it is quite certain that unless the Indian tariff is manipulated with a

view to subserve the interests of Indian industries no regeneration can take place.

The discussion in the Report about this vital question amounts to a recital of the opinions of the educated Indians, which are declared to be in favour of a protective tariff and a pious expression of a wish that this question would be decided by an imperial commission after adequate consideration of Indian views. This is a great lacuna, in our opinion. A report on Indian constitutional reforms which does not solve the question of tariff leaves a bone of contention, which will be a fruitful source of heart-burning in years to come.

On account of the weak sense of self-reliance in economic affairs and the traditional dependence on the State for economic development, the theory proper to Indian conditions is not that of Ricardo and Mill, but that associated with the names of Hildebrand, Knies and List. Unless the State regards it as its duty to establish and rear up industries, no economic progress is imaginable. It is the failure to do that which has revealed the economic bankruptcy of India during the stress of the war. The war has given the *coup de main* to the theory of Free Trade. But it is a pity that we should have required the shock of a war to prove the absurdity of that childish dogma. One moral taught by the history of the last few years is that the future civil servant should be taught a much more sensible course of economics than the one on which the present civil servant is nurtured. Time was when Mill's 'Principles' was the Bible of the rulers of India to whom the destiny of India was entrusted. In future, they should be made cognizant of the wider aspects of the problem of international trade brought into prominence by more modern treatises and especially the treatises based upon the historical method. The late Mr. Justice Ranade pointed this out long ago, but his voice was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. What we want now is an Indian Chamberlain who would scour the whole country laying before us a clear-cut scheme of a rational preferential tariff.

At any rate valuable service has been rendered by the Report by candidly admitting the past mistakes of a happy-go-lucky fiscal regime and by emphasizing the need of turning over a new leaf in economic policy. This will clear the ground for new investigations and new policies based upon these investigations. With this we may rest content for the present.

EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITIES.

The Report dilates on the services rendered to India by the non-official European community in starting business enterprises which have added to the material wealth of India. We do not gainsay this fact. In most of the manufactures the lead was given by European commercial men, and even now European factories and banks and insurance companies are amongst the model commercial institutions. But there is no denying that under the fostering care of a government carried

on by their own countrymen the European business community has been aggressive towards Indian businesses and has never risen above the consciousness of self-interest. There is no reason why as commercial men they should not follow their self-interest. But after having done that as human beings they should not pose as philanthropists and as martyrs. What is irritating in the conduct of European commercial men is their utter disregard of Indian feelings, and their want of sympathy for Indian economic aspirations.

With all this, however, it is a mistake to suppose that an Indianised administration would ask for privileged competition or would indulge in prejudiced attacks against European industries. If, however, such an attack is contemplated, the Report is right in saying that the Government would step in to resist such a procedure. But the very fact of the trepidations felt by the European business community is significant of the atmosphere of unfriendliness created, for which it itself is in no small degree responsible. In future we hope the European business men will try to identify themselves with the Indian point of view and adopt the national attitude. They are as much part of the Indian nation, at least for the time being, as the Indians themselves, and they ought to place the interests of their adopted country above the interests even of their own country.

There is even greater need for the Anglo-Indian to identify himself with the Indian point of view. So far he has been misled into believing that his interests are identical with those of the European community. But this is not true. Real benefit will accrue to him only if he joins hands with the Indians and makes common cause with those who want to claim more for the indigenous element of the population. In the matter of the monopoly of the superior posts he is as much aggrieved as the Indian, and when more opportunities are thrown open to the Indians he will benefit as much as the Indian. He is Anglo no doubt; but he is Indian also and he should gradually learn to be proud of that name. If he continues to despise the name and refuses to shake the proffered hand he would be simply creating bad blood and add another complication to an already intricate problem. He should never forget that India is his patrie.

As one reflects on the problem the truth is borne in upon one that the problem in India is essentially one of how to fuse the European and Indian communities together. At present each community lives its own life apart; there are very few points of contact and want of knowledge leads to want of sympathy. In the matter of exclusiveness the non-official European even excels the official European; and between themselves they succeed in creating a quiet corner for themselves where the Indian is forbidden to enter. This brings us to the problem of social relations.

SOCIAL RELATIONS.

The mention, however brief, of the problem of

social relations in the Report—a document professedly political—is really statesmanlike. With an unerring instinct the signatories of the Report have realized that beneath much of the political ill-feeling lies the 'social grievance.'

We need not refer here to the utterances of the late Mr. Gokhale about the 'atmosphere of inferiority' in which the Indian has to live, which have become classic. The theme has been dilated upon *ad nauseam*. For over a century the Indian has been made to feel that he is not the equal of the westerner, whose civilization is declared to be essentially superior. The last few years have brought to the surface many elements of the western culture which do not quite corroborate this self-complacent theory. The seamy side of western civilization has been revealed to Indians not only by a theoretical and bookish study of western institutions, but by practical observation and first-hand contact with life in the western countries through the mouth of those who have gone and lived in them. A closer study of their own culture has also engendered a national pride in the minds of Indians which, though sometimes exaggerated and occasionally grotesque, is in the main healthy and based on reality. Under these circumstances any assumption of superiority by an exponent of western culture is bound to be distasteful to the self-respecting Indians.

This is not the place to discuss fully the 'social grievance,' but a few observations are not out of place. In the first place, it is not true to say that acts of discourtesy on the part of Europeans are due merely to ignorance and "different habits of thought" and "directness of speech" which the Report says is misconstrued into discourtesy. This explanation may hold good in the case of a few acts of discourtesy. But in the majority of cases the discourtesy is rooted in habit and ultimately in thought and is caused by a *hauteur* and pride of race and consciousness of power. In many cases fresh Englishmen inclined to be hospitable and courteous have been warned off by their confreres with the idea that courtesy would lead to loss of prestige and all that sort of stuff. Unless, therefore, there is a change in the inner psychology there would be no change in demeanour and manners. We hope that the advice tendered in the Report would be taken to heart by all Europeans, official as well as non-official.

Toleration and sympathy are the only keys to open the hearts of men of a different race and a different culture. This is not often practised. I know of cases in which an Englishman was more friendly to an Indian fellow-traveller who was dressed *à la mode* than to one who wore Indian costume. Men wearing Indian costume are treated indifferently in dining cars on railways and in European cafés. Surely this is not toleration. It is topsyturvydom of the highest order that the Indian costume should be banned in India itself. It is these minor pin-pricks of insults that are sometimes more productive of mischief than a few acts of

official arrogance, which are tolerated as being official. The remedy in such cases lies more in the hands of the Englishman than of the Indian.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS.

The last appeal which is addressed in the interests of good relations between Europeans and Indians is to the press. "No good is done by harping upon the alleged deficiencies of another race." Wise words indeed. Both the Indian press and the English press ought to take them to heart. The Indian press is very often guilty of emphasizing the deficiencies of the European community and especially of the official section of it, not by way of political criticism but simply as a retort and a *tu quoque*. I think they ought to refrain from this course. But it must be said in extenuation of this that in many cases the provocation comes from the Anglo-Indian press which is no less guilty in the matter.

It is not infrequently that the Anglo-Indian press has indulged in rabid and senseless attacks on Indians, especially educated Indians. The only result of this was bitterness of feeling and consequent retorts which were equally rabid and senseless. We trust that after the new reforms are introduced, whatever may be the shape they would take, Indian as well as Anglo-Indian editors would behave better than they have done in the past and cultivate mutual forbearance and toleration. The improvement of social relations is not only to be desired on social grounds, but is a *sine qua non* of political progress. With two warring presses ready to belabour each other at the first opportunity, the task of administration is made needlessly difficult. We trust the appeal would not be addressed to deaf ears.

(Concluded.)

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