

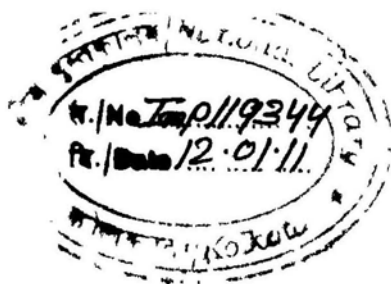
THE DEVELOPMENT
OF
INDIAN POLITY

BY
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PREFACE

THE scheme of reforms formulated by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League in December 1916 has been criticised as suggesting catastrophic changes in the present administrative system of India. The object of this book is to show that the proposals embodied in the joint scheme are based on existing foundations and constitute the next natural step in the evolution of Indian polity. The most important plank in the scheme is the substitution, as far as possible, of the control of the Legislative Councils for the present official control in the mechanism of Indian Government. I trust that, on a perusal of these pages, the reader will come to the conclusion that the suggested reforms are by no means revolutionary and that they have been under discussion for a long time. In the recent debate in the House of Lords, Lord Islington also pointed out that the proposals for the reform of the Indian Government have been under consideration for many years.

I have avoided, as far as possible, any lengthy reference to topics already dealt with in the political literature of the day. One of these is the way in which the proposals of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League have been received throughout the country. Those who contend that the

demand for self-government is the hobby of a few agitators will find an answer in the symposium of opinions on the memorandum of the Nineteen elected members and on the Congress-League Scheme collected by Mr. G. A. Natesan in his *Indian Demands*. The names of the many distinguished Indians who have expressed their approval of the memorandum and the scheme is a sufficient answer to this class of critics. Nor did I think it necessary to refer at any length to the growth of the National movement in India since 1885. A succinct and connected account of the Indian National Congress and other allied organisations and of the growth of Indian Nationalism has already been given in various publications during the last two or three years. The condition of the Colonies at the time when Self-Government was conceded to them and the general history of the movement for Self-Government in the Colonies since 1840 has also been dealt with by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his *Self-Government for India under the British Flag*. Any reference to those three topics, though relevant to the subject, was, therefore, unnecessary. I have, accordingly, confined myself to the actual proposals put forward by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League and have tried to point out their bearing on the present constitutional machinery for the Government of India. I have also alluded to the more important criticisms of the proposals made in the Press and elsewhere. Some of the topics herein have been dealt with by me in a series of articles in the columns of the *Hindu* with a view to elicit public criticism.

I am indebted to Mr. B. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, B.A., M.B. & C. M., for valuable help given to me in the preparation of this work, to Mr. C. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, B.A., for reading the manuscript and the proofs and for the preparation of the index and also to Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L., for correcting the proofs.

ELLORE,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY.
5—11—17.

M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN THE EMPIRE.

Necessity of Constitutional Reform—Separation of Imperial Functions of Parliament from the domestic functions—Application of the Federal Principle—Colonial and Imperial Conferences—Representation of India in 1907 and in 1911—Demand for Indian Representation—The Conference of 1917—The two problems for India—The Imperial Legislative Council—The Indian Delegates—Schemes for future representation of India—Mr. Curtis's Scheme—The proposals of Mr. Basil Worstfold—European States and Non-European States in the Empire—The position of India in a scheme of Imperial Reconstruction—Mr. Keith and Sir Charles Lucas on Imperial Reconstruction—The significance of the Imperial War Conference—The Dominion Ministers on Imperial Federation—Sir Robert Borden—General Smuts—Sir Joseph Ward—Mr. Lloyd George—The answer to Mr. Curtis—The Prime Minister on the Constitutional changes—Future Representation of India at the Imperial Conference ... pp. 1—28

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE.

The Indian view of immigration—Lord Hardinge's statement of the case—The Indian Memorandum at the Imperial War Conference—Reciprocity—Mr. Polak's criticism—Immigration to the Crown Colonies—Commercial Reciprocity—Colonial Conferences—Imperial Conferences of 1911—Indian Representation—The existing fiscal system in India—India and preferential tariffs—Resolution of the Imperial War Conference on trade and Commerce—The position of India—The Empire Resources Development Committee—Political status of India—India's contribution to the War—The Prime Minister's acknowledgment—Mr Chamberlain's Statement in the House of Commons pp. 24—49

CHAPTER III.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

The movement for Subordinate Legislatures in the United Kingdom—Congestion of business in Parliament—Mr. Gladstone on Devolution—Irish Home Rule—Sir Henry Dalziel's motion in the

House of Commons—Subordinate Legislatures in Scotland, Wales, and England—Mr. T. P. O'Connor—The National movement in India—The Indian National Congress—Scheme of Reforms in 1916—The Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Saha on Self-Government—Indian Nationality—Establishment of Self-Governing Institutions—The Bureaucracy—The Governing Service in India—The merits and defects of the Bureaucratic System—The Vital points of Reform—Decentralization and development of popular control—The Minto-Morley Reforms—Indian Reconstruction—Present Mechanism for the Government of India—The Congress League Scheme—Constitutional Reforms—Points for enquiry	... pp. 50—74
--	---------------

CHAPTER IV

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL

Scope of Parliamentary Government of India—Lord Morley and Self-Government for India—John Stuart Mill on the organ of Indian Government in England—Lord Morley on Self-Government in India—Lord Palmerston in 1858—Secretary of State's Council—India and Party Politics—"The Member for India"—The Indian Budget—Mr. Fowler's motions in 1873 and 1893—Mr. Caldwell in the House of Commons in 1899—Sir William Wedderburn—Sir Henry Fowler—The Secretary of State's Salary—Direct Representation in Parliament	... pp. 75—98
--	---------------

CHAPTER V

HOME GOVERNMENT

The powers of the Secretary of State and the Council of India—Sir Thomas Holderness's statement before the Royal Commission in 1913.—The constitutional functions of the Home Government—Change of positions in the Secretary of State's Council—Parliamentary opinion in 1858—Colonial experience—Mr. Willoughby—Mr. Rosebuck—Mr. Bright—House of Lords—Lord Broughton—Earl of Derby—The composition of the Council—Sir William Wedderburn's view—Home charges and the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure—India Office Reforms—Lord Crew's Bill in 1914—Reasons for rejection	... pp. 99—128
--	----------------

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The necessity for a strong Central Government in 1858—Sir Charles Trevelyan's views—The Constitution of Local Governments	
---	--

and the Government of India in 1858—The position of Local Governments before 1858—Necessity of Decentralisation—A Federal System for India—Anglo-Indian opinion—The Government of Bombay—A Scheme for the distribution of functions between the Central and Local Governments—The National movement—A Subnational Movement—Legislative Provinces—The control of the Central Government over the Imperial Services in India—The Congress and Muslim League Scheme	pp. 129—156
--	--------	-------------

CHAPTER VII.

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE.

The nature and scope of the Congress scheme—Lord Morley and official majority—Mr. Gokhale's scheme—India's voice in her fiscal, economical and currency policy—Sir Valentine Chirol—Lord Hardinge's views—Fiscal policy—Indian currency policy—Sir Stanley Reid—the executive and the Legislatures—election of the executive—relations of the executive Government to the legislatures—Lord Islington—Mr. A. B. Keith—Second Chamber—Federal system for India—Strength and composition of the Central Legislature—Mr. Curtis pp. 157—181
--	--------	----------------

CHAPTER VIII.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.—FINANCIAL-AUTONOMY.

The centralised Financial System—Sir James Westland on the powers of the Government of India—Local Governments as executive agents of the Central Government—Sir George Chesney's statement in 1870—Constitutional position to-day—Lord Mayo's Scheme of Provincial Finance—Quinquennial Settlements in 1882—Quasi Permanent Settlements in 1904—Permanent Financial Settlement in 1912—True nature and scope of the settlements—The Royal Commission and the Government of India—Variation in the proportion and percentages of revenue surrendered by the Provinces—Methods of Financial Control—Financial rules and restrictions—The present Budget restrictions—Views of the Government of Bombay—Powers of taxation—Borrowing powers—Objections to Provincial Public debt—Loans to Local Bodies—Restrictions on the Provincial Loan account—Federal Finance the only remedy—Mr. Gokhale on Provincial Finance—The Royal Commission's views—Sir Steynning Edgerly and Mr. Hitchens on the powers of Local Governments—The Congress Scheme—The Legislative Councils—Financial Autonomy and effective popular control pp. 182—203
---	--------	-----------------

CHAPTER IX.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.—ADMINISTRATIVE AUTONOMY.

The position of Local Governments—Agents of Government of India—Control of the Secretary of State and the Government of India—Land Revenue Policy—Famine Policy—Forest Administration—Agricultural Organisation—Educational Policy—Imperial Inspectors General—The views of a Local Government—Irrigation matters—Sir Arther Cotton's views—Provincial Railway Policy—Statutory Devolution versus Administrative Devolution—Government of India as the only effective critic—Provincial freedom and popular control—Alteration of the existing System—Sir James Macdonald—Mr Gokhale—Failure of Minto-Morley Reforms—Conditions of the change. pp. 204—224

CHAPTER X.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—LEGISLATIVE—AUTONOMY.

Position of Local Governments before 1833—Establishment of Local Legislatures in 1861—Limitations on the powers of Provincial Legislatures—Administrative control of the Government of India—Legislation and Public opinion—Legislation affecting more than the Province—Provincial Freedom in Legislation—The growth of Provincial Codes—Position of Local Governments—Despatches of the Court of Directors in 1834 and 1838—The views of the Royal Commission—The Regulating Act of 1773—The Charter Act of 1833—Organisation of Local Governments—Mr Gladstone's views in 1858—Mr John Bright—Lord Stanley—Changes in the machinery of Local Governments pp. 225—241

CHAPTER XI.

LOCAL LEGISLATURES, COMPOSITION AND STRENGTH.

Numerical Strength—Area and population of the Provinces—Principles of Representation—The Indian Councils Act 1892—Representation of interests and classes—The Minto-Morley reforms—The Non-Official Majority—Parliamentary opinion in 1909—The Non-Official Majority in actual working—The Official element in the Councils—Its usefulness—Communal representation—Opinions in 1908—The Board of Revenue—The Madras Government—The Muhammadan representation—Proportional representation—Territorial electorates—Extension of Franchise—Strength of the Councils under the scheme of the Congress and the Muslim League—Suggestions for the distribution of seats ... pp. 242—258

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER XII.

LOCAL LEGISLATURES, ELECTORAL MACHINERY, PROCEDURE AND POWERS.

Limitations of Parliamentary Legislation—Electoral Machinery determined by rules—The powers of the Executive Government to determine the composition of the Legislatures—The necessity for the alteration of the existing system—Rules of Procedure—Powerlessness of the Councils to frame their own procedure—Powers of the Governor-General in Council—The Governor as President—The cleavage between the Official and the Non-Official members—The appointment of the Speaker—Discretionary powers of the President—Rigid interpretation of the rules—Control of the Councils—The compartmental system—Lord Islington and Anglo-Indian opinion ... pp. 268—284

CHAPTER XIII.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION.

District administration in a scheme of Self-Government—The Collector's functions—The controlling authorities—Territorial Commissioners and the Boards of Revenue—The position of the Collector—New factors in District administration—The two remedies—Increase of the powers of the Collector—Advisory Councils—Mr. Gokhale's views—One man rule in the Districts—The representation of the people—The Royal Commission—Enlargement of the functions of the District Board—Village Panchayats—Inaction of the Local Governments—Local Boards and Municipalities—Lord Ripon's Scheme—Official composition and official control—Suggested reform—Withdrawal of official control—A new scheme of Local Finance ... pp. 284—301

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CIVIL SERVICES.

The dominant position of the Indian Civil Service in India—Its governing functions—Self-governing institutions and the Civil Service—Mr. Abdur Rahim's Statement of the Indian standpoint—Want of political talent in the I.C.S.—Exclusion of the highest administrative posts from the cadre of the I.C.S.—Reasons of the proposal—The Royal Commission and the nature of British responsibility—Simultaneous examinations—A governing Oligarchy—European and Anglo-Indian opposition to Indian claims—Some new objections—The Congress and Muslim League Scheme—The powers of recruitment of the services—Indian public opinion—The present position of Indians in the services—Educational facilities in India—Separation of the judicial and executive functions ... pp. 302—316

CHAPTER XV

THE MILITARY SERVICES.

The policy of distrust since the Indian Mutiny—Lord Kitchener's Army Reforms—Want of facilities for Military Training—The working of the Indian Arms Act—India's effort in the present War—India's possibilities—Loyalty of India to the Empire—Commissions for Indians—Indian disabilities—Lord Chelmsford's Statement—Self-Government and the present Military organisation—Field of recruitment—The Defence of India—The duty of Indians in regard to it—Indian Military policy—A citizen Army—Sir S. P. Sinha on the Military policy in India—Disabilities of students in the United Kingdom pp. 317—327

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NATIVE STATES.

The place of Native States in a scheme of Self-Government for India—Autonomy in the Native States—Sir William Lee Warner's prediction of the coming changes—Lord Islington's views—The present relations of the Native States with the Government—Common defence—External relations—Internal Administration—Jurisdictional arrangements—The Constitutional position—Types of Semi-Sovereignty—Lord Islington on the conditions of federation—Native States and British Provinces—Freedom from internal control—The Gaekwar—The Conference of Princes and Chiefs—Necessity for a constitutional tie—Princes and Chiefs as Members of the Legislative Councils—Conditions of a Federal Union—Sir M. Visweswarayya's Statement ... pp. 328—344

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCLUSION.

A brief Summary—Popular control and local autonomy—Lord Macaulay's prediction—Anglo Indian opposition—The Lord Bishop of Madras. pp. 345—353

CONTENTS

xiii

APPENDICES.

I	The Government of India Act 1915.	...	i to xiii
II 1916.		xiii to civ
III	Statement in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu on Indian Reforms on the 20th August 1907.	...	cv to cvi
IV	Mr. Gokhale's Scheme	...	cvi to cx
V	The Congress and Moslem League's Scheme	...	cxii to cxvii
VI	Memorandum of 19 elected Non official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council	...	cxix to cxxvii
VII	Note on the reorganisation of Indian Provinces	...	cxxviii to clx

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLITY

CHAPTER I.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN THE EMPIRE.

"There are times in history when the world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times." Mr Lloyd George —

(AT THE AMERICAN LUNCHEON CLUB, LONDON

April 14, 1907.)

The growing necessity for constitutional reform with a view to securing to all the component parts of the Empire an organic unity has been the theme of many writers and thinkers for over thirty years before the war. So early as 1872 Lord Beaconsfield discerned the need for co-ordinating the establishment of self-government in the colonies with a scheme of Imperial consolidation. The foundation of the Imperial Federation League in 1884 saw the beginning of a movement for the earnest consideration of Imperial problems in various parts of the British Empire. The British Empire had, at the beginning of the present war, an area of 11,273,000 square miles and a population of 417,268,000 being respectively one-fifth of the total area and one-fourth of the total population of the world. Great Britain is the sovereign state of the Empire and the British Parliament is the ultimate repository of power in the case both of the Dominions and of the dependencies. The domestic affairs of the United Kingdom as well as the common affairs of the British Empire

are in the hands of one Government and one Parliament. The need, then, for some organically connected administrative machinery for the whole Empire has been urged for a long time by constitutional reformers in the United Kingdom and the Colonies. Leading statesmen in all parts of the Empire have also expressed the view that under the present constitutional system, the Dominions and the dependencies have no voice in the declaration of war or the making of peace and that these questions are now entirely at the discretion of a Government elected by, and responsible to, the people of the United Kingdom. The Imperial Government is now responsible for the safety of the whole of the British Empire and the foreign policy of the Empire with its consequential liabilities of peace and war is now in the hands of the British Cabinet and Parliament and the people of the United Kingdom. The Dominions, India and other dependencies have no voice in the settlement of these questions. The application to the Imperial constitution of the federal principle by which every unit in the Empire may secure its legitimate share in the administration of Imperial affairs and also share the responsibilities has, therefore, been, strenuously advocated. An Imperial Parliament relieved of local administrative responsibility for the purely domestic affairs of the United Kingdom, and the transaction of the Imperial affairs by an Imperial executive responsible to an Imperial Parliament, with a new Imperial Treasury and new Imperial taxes have all been discussed with earnestness and vigour.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.

These ideals of constitutional reform are now generally accepted and have gained a firm hold in the United Kingdom, the dominions and to some extent in the dependencies. They took definite shape and have been formulated and discussed at the Imperial Conferences summoned from time to time for the discussion of Imperial questions. Their growth and development can be clearly seen in the proceedings of those Conferences. The position of India never came under consideration in the earlier years of these Conferences. At the Colonial Conference held in 1887 the Secretary of State for India attended the formal opening of the meeting, but at the subsequent meetings neither he nor any representatives of Indian interests was present. The Secretary of State for India neither attended nor was represented at the Conferences held in 1897 and 1902. In 1907 Lord Morley deputed Sir James Mackay, now Lord Inchcape, to attend the meeting not as a member of the Conference but as a representative of India. Lord Inchcape's enunciation of Indian economic policy at the Conference was repudiated at once in this country. In 1911 the Secretary of State for India was present at a meeting of the Imperial Conference but India had no recognized place. Till 1915, therefore representation at the Imperial Conference was confined to the United Kingdom and the Self-Governing Dominions and no one could attend the conference except a Minister. At a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council held in September 1915 a resolution was adopted that India

should, in future, be officially represented at the Imperial Conferences. The claim of India was put forward with great eloquence and strength of feeling by the non-official Indian representatives and Lord Hardinge's Government accepted the resolution. Her representatives were therefore invited to the last Imperial War Conference.

At the Imperial Conference of 1911 Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, dwelt on the constant growth of the self-governing dominions and their just claim to a share in the conduct of Imperial policy. He pointed out that it was within the power of the Imperial Government to involve the self-governing Dominions in hostility with other nations without their consent, though it remained with the Dominions to decide to what extent they would actually co-operate with the Imperial Government. He therefore proposed a Parliament of Defence for the consideration of foreign policy and of international relations in which the self-governing Dominions and the United Kingdom were to be represented by 300 members. He recommended the establishment of an Imperial Council of Defence consisting of 15 members which was to be the Executive Council with whom the executive responsibility was to rest. He also discussed the principles of Imperial taxation and the methods of raising the Imperial revenues. Sir Joseph Ward, however, recognised that this proposal involved the alteration of the constitutional system of the United Kingdom into a federal system. It is worthy of note that in the scheme put forward by him India had no

place whatever. Mr. Asquith, however, considered that Sir Joseph Ward's proposals were "fatal to the present system of responsible government in the United Kingdom" and would hopelessly impair the authority of the Imperial Government, while they would also interfere with the present powers of self-government possessed by the dominions.

THE CONFERENCE OF 1917.

In the Imperial War Conference held a few months ago the representatives of India were admitted on terms of perfect equality with those of the dominions and the members of the Conference unanimously recommended that India should be accorded the right of full representation at future Imperial Conferences. The resolution adopted is a momentous one in the history of the British Empire and is in the following terms:—

"The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. It deems it its duty, however, to place on record its view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several governments may determine."

The decision embodied in this Resolution is bound to have a profound influence on the political relations of the various component parts of the Empire. The Conference has for the present decided that the constitutional development of the Empire should proceed along the lines of improved consultation and co-operation rather than that any federal reconstruction should be undertaken immediately after the war. The Imperial Conference is the common deliberative organ now possessed by the Empire and until a representative constitutional assembly is created this will be utilized as the machinery for securing continuous action on all matters of common imperial concern. The status, powers and responsibilities of the nations of the Empire, though fairly well settled by the events of this war, cannot so easily be moulded into a definite and concrete shape. The Empire which has been fashioned and framed in prosperity has been subjected to the rigid test of adversity and the cohesion and solidarity by which the different units are held together have grown stronger and more potent than ever.

THE TWO PROBLEMS FOR INDIA.

The two problems that the constitutional reformer in India has now to consider are, first, the position of India in any scheme of imperial reconstruction that may be undertaken after the war and, secondly, the development, as rapidly as possible, of self-governing institutions for the realisation of responsible government for India as an integral part of the British Empire. The first question is not now pressing for

solution and will only arise for serious consideration after the conclusion of the war, while the second is under active discussion both by the authorities in the United Kingdom and in India. The object of this book is to discuss only the latter problem. The inter-relation between the two questions is, however, so obvious that a very brief reference to the position of India in the impending reconstruction of the Empire is a necessary preliminary to the discussion of the problem of self-government. Happily, that position is no longer in doubt. India has now asserted her claim to be heard in the settlement of fundamental questions of Imperial policy and her position to be fully admitted into the Councils of the Empire on terms of perfect equality with the self-governing dominions has now been conceded. She has been acknowledged a partner State in the Empire and she will no longer be a mere dependency hereafter. What is more the portals of the British Cabinet have been thrown open to the oversea Dominions and to India. "When it was in session," said Mr. Lloyd George, "the oversea members had access to all the information at the disposal of the Government and occupied a status of absolute equality with the members of the British Government. As far as the Government were concerned, they could state with confidence that the experiment had been a complete success." It was agreed accordingly that the conference should be held annually or more often when urgently necessary.

Even under the present elastic constitution of the Imperial Conference, this recognition of India's status

in the Empire raises many important questions for decision. How should its voice in foreign policy and foreign relations be adequately secured? In the matter of representation, at the Imperial Conference, the self-governing dominions depute their Premiers or other duly elected and accredited representatives of the people. In the case of India also it was claimed that the Indian representative should be selected by popular approbation. By a resolution adopted at the Indian National Congress in December 1915, the national assembly of India demanded that the persons selected to take part in the Imperial Conference on behalf of India should be elected by the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Indian representatives were, however, nominated last time by the Viceroy. It was happy indeed that the Viceroy's choice fell on three such men as the Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir Satyendra Sinha and Sir James Meston. Each of these represented three different points of view and formed a harmonious combination of administrative and political experience so necessary for the discharge of their delicate mission; but however good the choice this time, it is necessary to evolve a suitable machinery for a proper representation of India not only at future Imperial Conferences but in any federal assemblies that may be constituted in due time.

SCHEMES OF REPRESENTATION.

The problem of Imperial reconstruction has, since the beginning of the war, been dealt with ability and cogency by Mr Lionel Curtis of the Round Table and by Mr. Basil Worsfold. Mr. Curtis

has discussed at length the federal machinery, the constitution of an Imperial Legislature and an Imperial Executive and a scheme of Imperial taxation and its incidence, and he has at the same time examined the position of the dependencies in such a scheme of reconstruction. The views enunciated by him in regard to India in his "Problem of the Commonwealth" gave rise to a great deal of misunderstanding. He has subsequently explained his views more elaborately in a letter addressed to the people of India. Mr. Curtis has considerably changed his opinion on the subject since he came to India. He is now convinced that, in any Imperial Legislature that may be constituted, India must be represented in the Upper as well as in the Lower House and develops his views as follows :—

"Assuming then, that the Imperial Parliament is to include two Houses I will deal with the Upper Chamber first. I suggest that we want such an Upper House in order to give a voice to certain interests which could not be represented in a purely elective chamber vested with power to turn the Imperial Government out of office. Let me point to two such interests. Of the total population of India a quarter, I think, are in Feudatory States, which no less than the dominions, are committed to peace and war by the decisions of the Imperial Government. I submit that their princes should have a voice in the counsels which lead to such decisions. There is no more difficulty in representing them on the Upper House of a real Imperial Parliament, than there was in representing the Scottish and Irish Peers in the House of Lords. And then there are the followers of Islam, not only in India but also outside it. Turkey contains less than 20,000,000 Moslems. India alone contains 66,000,000, while Egypt and Central Africa must include some 34,000,000 more, making in all at least 100,000,000 followers of Islam. The majority of Moslems

are in fact citizens of the British Commonwealth although the principal centres and authorities of their faith are outside its limits. The result, as this war has shown, is that foreign relations affect the Moslem community at a sensitive point and in various ways as they affect no other important section of British subjects. Surely it would greatly add to the strength of this commonwealth if this vast cosmic community could feel that when foreign affairs were under discussion their views were voiced by spokesmen on their own faith. Here then are two great interests, the Feudatory states and the great Islamic community, a place for whose spokesmen could be found in an Upper Chamber, such as could scarcely be found in a Lower House which must be purely an elective assembly."

Mr. Curtis has also come to the opinion that the elected representatives of India should sit in the Lower House as well. He has not yet come to a decision as to the basis on which the various communities of the British Commonwealth should be represented in the Lower House. Nor is he in a position to indicate how many elected representatives of India should sit in the Lower House. These matters he has reserved for subsequent consideration. He is in favour of the proposal that the representatives of India in the Imperial Parliament should be eligible for seats in the Imperial Ministry.

The problem of representation of India in any federal machinery has also been considered by Mr. Basil Worsfold whose book "The Empire on the Anvil" has attracted a certain amount of attention in this country. Under his scheme the Imperial Legislature is to be composed of two Houses. The Lower House is to be constituted on the basis of a total representation for the Empire of 400 members,

of whom three hundred seats are to be assigned to the European states, apportioned among them in strict numerical proportion to their respective population and the remaining 100 for the non-European states. In regard to the latter he states his views as follows :—

“The second of the conditions special to the British Empire, the differences of race and civilisation in its various peoples may, and probably will, make it impracticable for the present, and for many years to come, to grant to the native races of India, Egypt, South and Central Africa, and the West Indies, the right of electing persons of their own race to represent them in the Lower House of the Central Legislature. In respect of the Upper House, however, the position would be different. Here the component states (or provinces) would be represented as states, and it would be for the respective Governments of the several states to determine in each case the methods by which the seats assigned to them were to be filled up. There would be nothing, therefore, to prevent the Government of India, and of other non-European states of the Empire, from selecting their respective representatives in this Chamber by the method of nomination; and since these Governments would be unlikely to choose any but fully competent persons, it would be possible to allow natives of these states, who had attained the standards of European civilisation, and were otherwise qualified for such positions, to be eligible for service in the Upper House of the Central Legislature. Indeed, both the desire to increase the representative character of the Central Legislature, and the long-established policy of British statesmen to do everything possible to secure “the gradual progress of the native races towards self-government, would cause such persons to be nominated whenever possible.”

“But whether the principle of limiting the membership of the Lower House to persons of European descent be adopted or not, the representation of non-European populations in an

selective Chamber is not a new problem, but a matter in which the Empire affords a storehouse of experience.

"It is India, of course, with its 300,000,000 people, that presents the salient difficulty. If India received a representation proportionate to its population, it would elect three-fourth of the members of the Lower House; and as these Indian members, if they combined, would always form a majority, no Ministry which had not secured the Indian vote could take or hold office. In other words, India would rule the Empire. Obviously, therefore, no one could propose that seats should be allotted to India on the same numerical basis of population as to England or New Zealand. There is, further, the fact that the vast majority of the people of India are illiterate and unversed in the methods of constitutional government, and in view of this fact the attempt to give them any voice at all in the choice of their representatives might well be regarded as hopeless, if the mass of the people of India (it may be argued) are to have no voice, or practically no voice, in the choice of the Indian members of the Central Legislature, then the representation of India will be a pretence; and it would be far better to exclude frankly her people, and the other non-European peoples, from any share in the government of the Empire, than to set up a mere constitutional fiction of the kind.

"The object to be attained is, therefore, to find an electoral system which will give the real people of India an effective representation in the Lower House of the Central Legislature, without endangering the control of the European states over it, or otherwise lowering its efficiency as the chief organ of Imperial Administration."

In drawing attention to those views it is not my present purpose to discuss their merits or to suggest any other scheme of representation of India in future Imperial Conferences or in any Federal assemblies where all the component parts of the Empire may be represented. Mr. Curtis and

Mr. Worsfold have each of them propounded their views prior to the admission of India into the Imperial War Conference on terms of equality, and it is doubtful whether these writers would still hold the view that in the matter of representation emphasis should be laid on the differentiation between European and non-European states in the Empire. I merely wish to draw attention to the supreme importance of adequate representation to India which, to quote Mr. Lloyd George, is now a partner nation and also of the development of a well considered scheme for consideration and adoption in this country. Indian public men have still to think out the requirements of this country in this respect.

THE POSITION OF INDIA.

Mr. Curtis is of opinion that a change in the constitution of the British Commonwealth is bound to come sooner or later—a change by which the present function of the Imperial Parliament will be divided between two Legislatures. There would be or should be one Government for British Isles responsible for its local, domestic affairs and therefore elected by the British people alone and another Government which would have nothing to do with the domestic affairs of Great Britain but whose sole function is the safety of the Commonwealth and on which other communities now included therein as well as the British Isles would be represented.

He, therefore, raises the question 'what would be the position of India in such a readjustment of the machinery?' India is a dependency, and at present the British Parliament is the ultimate authority

responsible for the affairs of India. If this were to be modified in the manner suggested and if the two legislative assemblies came into existence, what is to become of India over whose affairs, domestic and foreign, Parliamentary responsibility was established by the Government of India Act of 1858? In his own words "how is India to be worked into the settlement which ought to follow the war?" The Imperial Parliament, as at present established, will no longer exist. The two problems in relation to India are, firstly the management of her domestic affairs and, secondly, her position in regard to her external relations with the rest of the Empire. If responsible Government is immediately granted to India the management of her domestic affairs could be transferred to the people of India at once. But if this cannot be done at once and self-government in India is established by evolution, in steps and stages, of the machinery of Indian Administration, where should the ultimate sovereignty over her domestic affairs now vested in the Parliament, as at present constituted, reside till then? Mr. Curtis raises the question whether India would prefer that the Secretary of State should be answerable to the domestic Parliament of the United Kingdom or to the new Imperial Parliament in which the communities of the dominions including India would be represented and asks the people of India to consider this question from the Indian standpoint and make their choice. In his scheme of reconstruction, the domestic Parliament of the United Kingdom would represent only the people of the United Kingdom and its main function would

be the solution of essentially local problems of that country. In such an assembly the Secretary of State for India has no place. Mr. Curtis is convinced that India must be represented in his new Imperial Parliament and her spokesmen should be in both the Houses. He is, therefore, of opinion that the final responsibility for Indian affairs should, till responsible Government is fully established in India, vest in the new Imperial Parliament where India will have direct representation rather than in an assembly where her problems will not come up for consideration.

AN ANSWER TO MR. CURTIS.

These schemes for Imperial reconstruction attracted a great deal of attention before the Imperial War Conference began its sittings. Mr. Keith, the well-known authority on the subject, came to the conclusion that the constitution of a federal Parliament for the British Empire and a federal Executive must necessarily lead to the modification of the existing constitutions of the self-governing Dominions and that the proposals are not likely to find acceptance from the statesmen of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. In an article in the "Nineteenth Century and after" Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., came to similar conclusions. He was of opinion that the solution of the problem depended more or less on general considerations and past experience. What are the leading characteristics of the British race? Do they favour the creation of a brand new constitution? What guidance, if any, can we derive from the greatest cataclysm in the history of the Empire,

the war of American Independence? What guidance, if any, is the present war giving us? What is the dominating factor at the present time in the lives of men and Communities? On a consideration of all these questions Sir Charles Lucas was of opinion that the characteristics of the British race a stubborn, resolute instinct of self-government and the strong strain of conservatism, are against the establishment of a new federal machinery. The British are satisfied if the obvious need of the moment is met and they do not ask for a far reaching logical plan. The requirements of the immediate situation do not favour the plan of a federation of the Empire and the Imperial Conference with enlarged members and added powers would answer the purpose as well.

The soundness of these criticisms has been amply proved by the proceedings of the Imperial War Conference. The Dominion Ministers showed no enthusiasm whatever for the proposals for an Imperial constitution. A sufficient answer to Mr. Curtis, will, therefore found in the proceedings of the Conference. Sir Robert Borden said, "that he looked forward to development along the line of increasing equalization of status between the Dominions and the United Kingdom." He believed that the Dominions fully realized the ideal of a Commonwealth of the states in the Empire with the Crown as a tie, but under the present conditions he held that it would be unwise for the conference to attempt to enter upon the subject. General Smuts, considered that "the British Empire was the most important and most fascinating problem in political and

constitutional Government, the world had ever seen. When they came to the question of the constitution they touched the very gravest issue." "As a matter of fact," he observed, "we are the only group of nations that ever successfully existed as founded on principles of equality. We hope we may become an instrument for good in the whole world. Yet too much of the old ideas still lings to the new and growing organism. Although in practice there is great freedom, yet in theory the Dominions are the subject provinces of Britain. This would be a most important question when the permanent basis came to be considered." General Smuts was emphatically of opinion that the circumstances of the Empire entirely precluded a federal solution. An attempt to so run different races, languages, economic conditions and even common concerns would be absolutely to court disaster. It is not beyond the wit of man to devise a scheme of continuous consultation to keep the various groups together. Sir Joseph Ward strongly opposed any attempt to hand over the control of individual Defence Forces to any Empire of Parliament, but he reiterated his previously expressed views on the necessity for such a Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George practically agreed with the views expressed by General Smuts. "It is true," as he said, "that no attempt has been made to settle the constitutional developments to which the war Cabinet might lead. The whole question would be reserved for consideration by a special conference to be summoned as soon as the War is over to readjust the constitutional relations of the Empire.

It was felt, however, that the experiment of constituting an Imperial Cabinet in which India was represented has been so fruitful in better understanding and unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated and it is believed that the proposal would commend itself to all nations of the Empire." However commendable the idea of a federal reconstruction may look, "it is nevertheless full of perils and quicksands. Above all it is open to the fatal objection that it does not seem to be desired by the spokesmen of the dominions." Said the daily Telegraph (May 16-17) and the same journal added, "it may be taken, therefore, as certain that the special war Conference which will be called at the end of the war to consider the general problem of Imperial reconstruction will not favour the idea of a united Parliament of the Empire. Reconstruction will proceed on lines less sensational but far more consonant with the British tradition of gradual evolution. Indeed it has already begun during the last few weeks in the admission to the Imperial Cabinet of the statesmen of the Dominions and the representatives of India." The imperial war Conference and the Imperial war Cabinet, called into being under an emergency, have served the national purpose and may be trusted to do so for some time to come. An Imperial Parliament, an Imperial Treasury and Imperial taxes are but institutions of a remote future. They may come into being in good time but before the day arrives, the domestic constitutions of the Empire will have undergone changes of a far-reaching character. The problem of Home Rule for Ireland which has been under discussion for over

three decades is in sight of an early solution and a Parliament at Dublin will transact the domestic affairs of Ireland. In due course England, Scotland and Wales will have their autonomous Legislatures. When the different parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland have obtained their subordinate state Parliaments, India will also have succeeded in working her way onward to complete internal autonomy within the Empire and the Secretary of State for India, will be to India, what the Colonial Secretary will be to the Colonies. Until then the British Parliament in its existing form will continue to be in the ascendant, with new auxiliaries such as the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference, or a standing committee of the Imperial Conference, an enlarged committee of the Imperial Defence and a foreign relations committee such as Sir Charles Lucas has suggested or a committee of the Dominions delegates such as that recommended as a half way house by Mr. Worsfold himself.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

So much then for the question raised by Mr. Curtis. The changes brought about by the Imperial War Conference without the development of federal institutions are, however, of a very vital character and it is as well they should be described in the language of a minister who has taken active part in the discussions of the Conference. Sir Robert Borden said "it may be that in the shadow of the war we do not clearly realise the measure of recent constitutional development and the constitutional position which has arisen from the summoning of an Imperial

War Cabinet. The British Constitution is the most flexible instrument of government ever devised. It is surrounded by certain statutory limitations, but they are not of a character to prevent the remarkable development to which I shall allude. The office of Prime Minister, thoroughly recognised by the gradually developed conventions of the constitution, although entirely unknown to the formal enactments of the law, is invested with a power and authority which, under new conditions demanding progress and development, are of inestimable advantage.

"The recent exercise of that great authority has brought about an advance which may contain the germ and define the method of constitutional development in the immediate future. It is only within the past few days that the full measure of that advance has been consummated.

"For the first time in the Empire's history there are sitting in London two Cabinets, both properly constituted and both exercising well-defined powers. Over each of them the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom presides. One of them is designated as the "war cabinet," which chiefly devotes itself to such questions touching the prosecution of the war as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other is designated as the Imperial War Cabinet" which has a wider purpose, jurisdiction, a personnel. To its deliberations have been summoned representatives of all the Empire's self-governing dominions. We meet there on terms of equality under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom; we meet there as equals, and he is *primus inter pares*. Ministers from six nations sit around the council board, all of them responsible to their respective parliaments and to the people of the countries which they represent. Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern and highest importance as the deliberations proceed; each preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government, and the responsibility of its Ministers to their own

electorates. For many years the thought of statesmen and students in every part of the Empire has centred around the question of future constitutional relations; it may be that now, as in the past, the necessity imposed by great events has given the answer.

"The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes, publicly stated, which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole Empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written. It is not for me to prophesy as to the future significance of these pregnant events, but those who have given thought and energy to every nation may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth."

THE PRIME MINISTER

In the House of Commons, the Prime Minister described the new arrangements as follows:—

"The Imperial War Cabinet was unanimous that the new procedure had been of such service not only to all its members but to the Empire, that it ought not to be allowed to fall into desuetude. Accordingly at the last session I proposed formally on behalf of the British Government, that the meeting of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent Imperial concern required to be settled, and that the Imperial Cabinet should consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with Imperial affairs, of the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions, or some specially accredited representative possessed of equal authority, and of a representative of the Indian people to be appointed by the Government of India. This proposal met with the cordial approval of the Overseas representatives, and we hope that the holding of an annual Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy will become an accepted convention of the British constitution."

"I ought to add that the institution in its present form is extremely elastic. It grew not by design but out of the

necessities of the war. The essence of it is that the responsible heads of the Governments of the Empire with those Ministers who are specially entrusted with the conduct of Imperial policy should meet together at regular intervals to confer about foreign policy and matters connected therewith, and come to a decision in regard to them which, subject to the control of their own Parliaments, they will then severally execute. By this means they will be able to obtain full information about all aspects of Imperial affairs, and to determine by consultation together the policy of the Empire in its most vital aspects, without infringing in any degree the autonomy which its parts, at present, enjoy. To what constitutional developments this may lead we did not attempt to settle. The whole question of perfecting the mechanism for continuous consultation about Imperial and foreign affairs between the "autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth" will be reserved for the consideration of that special conference which will be summoned as soon as possible after the war to re-adjust the constitutional relations of the Empire. We felt, however, that the experiment of constituting an Imperial Cabinet, in which India was represented, had been so fruitful in better understanding and in unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated, and we believe that this proposal will commend itself to the judgment of all the nations of the Empire."

Judging from the trend of events in England and the tendencies of statesmen in the Empire Mr. Lionel Curtis's question regarding the position of India under a reconstructed Imperial constitution needs no answer at present. The probabilities are against the establishment at one bound of an Imperial Parliament just at this juncture. After the session of the Imperial War Conference the Round Table has also taken this view. It says that "the creation of a true Parliament for the Commonwealth may not come within the sphere of practical politics in the

near future. It is useless, unwise and dangerous to take short-cuts. For the present our task is to think out the best means of making effective the new imperial machinery which the special Imperial Conference is to perfect and regularise. But in welcoming the recent changes let us not suppose that they will in themselves solve the fundamental problem which lies at the root of the politics of the Empire." Further when an Imperial federal assembly does come into existence Mr. Curtis' question will need no answer. By that time India hopes to realise responsible government and to be placed on the same position in regard to her internal affairs as the self-governing Dominions. So long as the present British Parliament continues to play her present part in the domestic affairs of India the question does not arise and the day on which it ceases to do so will be a proud day in the history of India. She will hold a position of partnership in the Empire such as that held by the other component States of the Empire. Till then India pleads for two privileges that must justly fall to her share, namely, she should send to the Imperial Conference, the Imperial Cabinet and other allied organisations persons selected with the approbation of the people and that she should have a measure of representation equal to her position in the Imperial system.

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION OF INDIA IN THE EMPIRE

" Every nation must have the choice of its own destiny and not be cut and carved to please the Great Powers "

GENERAL SMUTS, *May 14, 1917.*

The story of the struggle of the Colonies for more than half a century reveals their desire for freedom to regulate their economic conditions and their political relations with the United Kingdom as well as with outside nations. The former comprises problems of immigration and tariffs between the various parts of the Empire as well as between the Empire and the outside world, while the latter relates to the establishment of a position of equality with the United Kingdom in the administration of Imperial affairs. The settlement of all these problems has, in the past, been reached more or less by judging conditions from the standpoint of the white races of the Empire and of the United Kingdom, much to the detriment till the interests of India which, as a dependency till now, has been obliged to rest content with decisions in the shaping of which she has been denied all part or share

IMMIGRATION

The first of these problems is immigration. The Indian view of the subject is that the full rights of citizenship of the British Empire include the right to settle in any part of that Empire, irrespective of the existence of local legislation barring or limiting

access. The Government of India have long and consistently contended for the principle of free immigration between all parts of the Empire, but without any appreciable results. The self-governing dominions have their own legislatures which, under their constitutions, are entitled to regulate their own internal affairs. The control of immigration, it is contended on behalf of the Dominions, is primarily an internal question, and each self-governing community is entitled to determine the material which should form its citizens. The right of free movement within the Empire is, therefore, conditioned by the exercise of the undoubted powers of local Legislatures to restrict emigration. Legislation on the subject of emigration in the Colonies became more and more drastic in proportion to the strength of the agitation for the removal of Indian disabilities.

LORD HARDINGE.

In reviewing the situation in 1914, Lord Hardinge stated that the Colonies naturally placed above all other conditions the interests of their own country as they understand them, just as we in India should put the good of India in front of our motives for legislation. He repudiated the idea that the Colonial Governments, in formulating their measures of exclusion, are actuated by feelings of animosity towards Indians and suggested that they are by no means unmindful of the possible effect of their action on the government and the people of this country. They are quite willing to consider the Indian requirements once they are satisfied that the interests of their own country are adequately secured.

The Imperial War Conference has afforded opportunities to the Dominion representatives to understand better the case for India. The utterance of Sir Robert Borden in the Canadian Parliament is a notable one. He said:—

“ I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at the Conference I invited the members of the conference to meet me informally at the hotel at which I was staying, and we had a free, full and frank discussion of the whole situation. In so far as the dominions are concerned India has had matters of difference, matters sometimes of controversy with South Africa, perhaps also with Australia and New Zealand and on some occasions with Canada. Sir Satyendra Sinha stated the case from the Indian standpoint with great ability, fairness, conspicuous moderation and very deep feeling. His address to us was not the less impressive because it was so fair and so moderate. On our part we spoke with equal freedom, equal frankness, and I hope with equal moderation. The net result was the resolution at which we arrived and which I have read. Its basis is that the self-respect of India shall be maintained by an arrangement that whatever measures we enforce in regard to the emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India. I do not think that any one in this House can dispute the fairness of that proposal. Upon certain other matters which we discussed I need not dwell to-day. I see nothing but good in the presence of India at that Conference, and I believe that there will be no objection in this House or in the country to having the great dependency of the Empire represented at future meetings. India has been splendidly loyal in this war and has contributed her manhood and her treasure for the purpose of enabling us to win it. We must take that all into account. Her civilisation is different from ours. It is more ancient in some respects and it may be said to be on a higher plane. There is more of idealism in their

civilisation, more perhaps of materialism in ours. I am not disposed to discuss the question as to whether one or the other is superior, but I do say that the Indian civilisation is entitled to our respect, and that we must do our part in making the inhabitants of that great dependency of the Empire feel that they are not treated with contumely or injustice by the people of any of the Dominions. I believe that the purpose will be carried out. I believe it will be materially assisted by the conference which we had with the Indian representatives."

THE INDIAN MEMORANDUM.

The memorandum on immigration from India to the Dominions presented to the last Imperial Conference by the Indian representatives refers to the restrictions imposed in the Dominions and puts the Indian point of view as follows:—

"Indians in their outlook upon the Empire are at present powerfully swayed by two ideas. They are proud of the fact that they are British subjects and that their country is an integral portion of the Empire and they wish to claim their Imperial privileges. They are at the same time proud of their Indian nationality, ancient civilization and great intellectual traditions which they have inherited. They have made sacrifices for the Empire and have proved their loyalty, courage and fortitude and ask that this should be recognised. Thus sentiment and imagination enter largely into the controversy. If the Dominions would meet feelings of this order, they would probably find that India would not be unreasonable on material points." The principle of reciprocity of treatment has now been accepted by the Conference and commended to the Governments of the Dominions. It is suggested that the facilities

for settlement accorded to the Indians should not be less advantageous than those allowed to the subjects of other Asiatic Nations. It was also demanded that facilities should be accorded to the educated Indians visiting the colonies for travel and study as apart from settlement; and that Indians who have already been permitted to settle in the self-governing dominions should receive a more sympathetic treatment. These recommendations, though they mark an advance on the existing position, do not really place us in terms of equality with the Colonial Governments. Reciprocity is a wide-term and it remains to be seen how this will work in practice. Mr. H. S. Polak, a considerable authority on Colonial questions, and to whose efforts in the cause of Indian emigrants we owe a debt of gratitude, has in a recent article in the *Indian Review*, indicated many difficulties. On the first question the racial discrimination is still clearly maintained and the memorandum recommends that Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. Mr. Polak therefore raises a pertinent question whether the Government of India will claim that Indian businessmen should be granted the same facilities of landing at South African ports and carry on their business as are apparently being granted to Japanese traders. He states the further position as follows:—

“And if they do make claim, are the Union Government at all likely to admit it? The extension of Japanese trade in South Africa, since the war, has been enormous, and no one acquainted with

Japanese commercial methods would, for a moment, suppose that it has been created by the European agency. A few weeks ago, two Indian graduates from Cambridge were refused permission to land at Cape Town, whilst permission was freely granted to European and Japanese passengers; these last were, presumably, not desirous of landing for the good of their health. But it is idle to expect the Indian or the Imperial authorities to insist upon better terms for British Asiatics, within the British Empire than are accorded to alien Asiatics. In the territories of Zanzibar and East Africa, which are directly under the control of the British Government, Portuguese Asiatics are allowed to land where British Asiatics are refused. Of course, in times of war, all kinds of restrictions may be deemed to be necessary, but that does not explain why a Portuguese Asiatic may be allowed to land on British soil, where permission is refused to an Asiatic of British origin, who has, of course, no consul to whom to appeal."

Without raising the question of unrestricted immigration the true position, therefore, is the establishment of preferential treatment to British Asiatics within the Empire.

RECIPROCITY.

In this view of the situation most people in this country will agree. Mr. Polak has also set out very fully the logical consequences of reciprocity of treatment. He has pointed out the outstanding grievances of the Indians in the different provinces of the South African Union which are of a fundamental and of a legislative character. They include the still

existing lo-cation byelaws which require Indians to reside in certain circumstances in a location, the refusal to issue new trading licenses to Indians by Municipalities in South Africa, the refusal of the right to own fixed property in the Transvaal, deprivation of the Municipal vote and the right of the Indians to be represented upon a Municipal Council by members of their own community. These and other acts of the Colonial Governments can only be undone by the introduction of appropriate legislation in the Colonies. A reciprocity of treatment without the removal of these disabilities would merely lead to the admission of a certain number of Asiatics, into the Colonies with a corresponding obligation to receive an equal of Colonial emigrants into India. In the one case they are subjected to most irritating racial restrictions in the Colonies and also restrictions on trade and on the exercise of the rights of citizenship; while the Colonial emigrants are not subjected to this harsh treatment in this country. Unless the parties are placed exactly in the same position reciprocity will secure no advantage and the bargain will be of a one-sided nature. Indian emigration to the self-governing Colonies, with the existing restrictions, will never be welcomed in this country.

THE CROWN COLONIES.

The resolution of the Imperial War Conference recommends the principle of reciprocity only between India and the self-governing dominions. The position of India in the Crown Colonies was not within the purview of the Conference. Indians in these Colonies are subjected to a good many of the same restric-

tions as are in force in the self-governing Dominions. The Conference held in London on Indian emigration, was wholly an official body, and none of these questions appear to have been considered. There were no representatives from India, no witnesses either Indian or Colonial were called, public opinion was not invited, no programme and agenda of the subjects to be discussed were furnished for public discussion. Nevertheless it is a matter for great satisfaction that as a result of this Conference, indentured emigration has been completely stopped. The Conference has no doubt formulated many necessary provisions for affording reasonable facilities for indian colonization in the Crown Colonies. But apart from these there are many questions of status. One of these is the subject of marriage and legitimacy. In 1916 the Government of India circulated a Bill prepared by the Government of Fiji relating to the marriage laws of the Colony. The Bill which was intended to be applied to every immigrant did not provide for the recognition of the rights of the migrating Hindu or Muhammadan to marry according to his own personal law. On the other hand the Bill proposed the imposition of formalities on Hindu and Muhammadan immigrants which appeared essentially like the preliminaries to Christian marriages. One of the other proposals in the Bill was that a wife should not be convicted of adultery where she was deserted by her husband or where the husband compelled her to leave his protection. Such a provision is entirely opposed to Hindu and Muhammadan sentiment in India. The

Bill contained many other curious provisions unknown in this country. It may be mentioned that one of the points very much discussed in South Africa was the right of the emigrant to have his own marital law recognised in the Colonies. The settlement of these questions of status of the indian emigrant in the Crown Colonies are still outstanding points of dispute.

COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY.

Then there is the whole group of questions relating to the fiscal and economic systems of the various states in the Empire which are now under consideration. This is a time of universal reconstruction and indian public opinion has not been as yet directed to the serious study of these vital problems. Her own somewhat subordinate position till very recently in the hegemony of the Empire has been a hindrance to her self-assertion. While the problem of immigration was largely viewed from the standpoint of the white races of the Empire, the problem of Tariffs has been looked at largely from the point of view of the United Kingdom and like disabilities have been imposed on the commercial and economic development of India and the Colonies. The economic rivalries between the United Kingdom and the Colonies are not of recent growth. So early as in 1872 when the Colonies and outlying Dominions were still considered a burden and an encumbrance to the Empire, Lord Beaconsfield urged that concessions of self-government to the latter should be accompanied by certain conditions of Imperial consolidation of which 'Imperial Tariffs' was

indicated as one. The Colonial Conference held in 1887 and 1897 urged the principle of preferential tariffs and trading notwithstanding the existence of treaties which prevented Great Britain and the Colonies from entering into agreements of commercial reciprocity. The next conference in 1902 re-affirmed the principle of preferential trade and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain actually resigned his place in the Government of the United Kingdom on a question of the repeal of the corn duty upon imports from outside the Empire as against a promise by the Cabinet of the day in favour of Canadian Corn.

In the following year Mr. Chamberlain became a convert to the policy of Imperial reciprocity as the only practicable way to Imperial consolidation. The Conference of 1907 discussed again at some length the principles of reciprocity, but the Imperial Government stated quite clearly that it was opposed to any scheme of preference and the question was not much discussed.

At the Imperial Conference held in 1911 the Conference again adopted a resolution in favour of the appointment of a Royal Commission representing the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and New Foundland "with a view of investigating and reporting upon the natural resources of each part of the Empire represented at the Conference, the development attainable and the facilities for production, manufacture and distribution; the trade of each part with the others and with the outside world, the food and raw material requirements of each and the sources thereof available, to

what extent, if any, the trade between each of the different parts has been affected by the existing legislation in each, either beneficially or otherwise, and what method consistent with the existing fixed policy of each part the trade of each part with the others may be improved and extended." This very comprehensive inquiry into the whole subject of trade and commerce between the Colonies and the United Kingdom and the outside world has since been undertaken by a Royal Commission and its report has been published a few months ago. India was not also represented on this Commission but its recommendation include a variety of matters in which they had to consider the position of this country. The fact is that, with the exception of the United Kingdom, India is by far the most important constituent State of the Empire and it is impossible to formulate any proposals, economic, industrial or fiscal affecting the whole Empire leaving India out of consideration. Up to the present moment India has had to abide by whatever tariffs and customs suited the self-interest of the United Kingdom which, in the one instance of cotton duties, paid till recently more heed to the well-being of Lancashire than the prosperity of India. The economic conditions of India as an agricultural country have been confounded with the wholly different industrial conditions of the United Kingdom and her right to separate treatment in regard to tariffs in support of her infant industries has been till now disregarded.

EXISTING FISCAL SYSTEM.

India at present possesses what is called a free trade tariff and the existing fiscal system under free

trade has been criticised in this country for several years. The excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton which has been imposed for over forty years in the interests of English manufactures has been recently removed. Sir Valentine Chirol said some years ago that "No measure has done greater injury to the cause of free trade in India or more permanent discredit to British rule than the excise duty on the Indian manufactures in cotton or none has done more to undermine the Indian faith in principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and on the whole legitimately claims, to be based." The late Romesh Chander Dutt was a resolute Indian protectionist and was wholly opposed not only to free trade but also to Imperial preference within the Empire. He demanded absolute protection against British goods as well as foreign and denounced the cotton excise duties as unknown in any other country in the world. It is not necessary to dilate further on the present fiscal system of free trade in India. The critics of the present fiscal policy come under two categories: (1) The advocates of complete protection for India against British and foreign goods alike, and (2) the advocates of Imperial preference for India with a moderate degree of protection against the protected countries outside the British Empire. Almost every known Indian politician, economist and publicist in India belongs to the Indian protectionist party. A large number of English Liberal politicians of considerable prominence on Indian questions such as the late Sir Henry Cotton, the late Mr. Dadabai Nowrojee, Sir

William Wedderburn and practically all the members of Parliament who were members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee organised by Sir Henry Cotton were all committed to a policy of protection for Indian Industries. On the other side there are, in the United Kingdom, a number of advocates of Imperial Preference for India. The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1913 recommending a system of preferential tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies. "A customs Union with the Colonies," Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis declared, "will gradually secure for India a better and more dignified position than we now have."

The motion was eventually withdrawn after a discussion in the Council of the respective merits of free trade, protection and preference. India has therefore not committed itself as yet to a policy of Imperial preference and the Indian National Congress has, on the contrary, adopted a resolution in 1915 demanding that, in the best interests of the people of India, it is necessary that complete fiscal freedom should be conceded to the Government of India. Sir Roper Lethbridge and other advocates of preference hope that the inclusion of India within the Empire system of preferential tariffs offers to this country the only possible chance of obtaining better terms from the various protectionist countries of the world who are, year by year, raising higher and higher their tariff walls. This benefit is more a potential one, at any rate for at present; Indian exports mostly consist of food and raw materials which are keenly

sought after by all the industrial countries of the world than of manufactured goods.

RECENT ECONOMIC ENQUIRIES.

The resolution adopted by the Imperial War Conference with regard to trade and commerce is of a comprehensive character. The principle of preference in tariffs; the development of imperial resources; the establishment of a mineral resources Bureau; the appointment of trade commissioners; these and other subjects have been discussed. They are all questions of vital importance to India, and sufficient consideration can only be given to them in this country when the full proceedings of the Conference are available. The Paris Economic Conference was summoned by Great Britain and the Allies for the discussion of questions relating to trade and commerce and for regulating future commercial treaties with allied and neutral countries. Another important committee composed of businessmen and a few politicians presided over by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, was also appointed to consider the commercial and industrial policy of the Empire after war. The deliberations of this committee involved problems of the greatest moment to India and yet India was not accorded any representation on this committee. The committee urged on His Majesty's Government "to declare forthwith their adherence to the principle of Imperial Preference and to establish in pursuance of this object, a wider range of customs and duties which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire." The committee also recommended that

a preferential tariff such as that suggested by them should be the basis of commercial treaties with the allied and neutral powers in accordance with the recommendations of the Paris Economic Conference. The proposal for the establishment of Imperial Preference has been put forward not only to safeguard British Industries but also for the sake of the unity of the Empire for which they think it necessary that "a serious attempt should now be made to meet the declared intentions of the dominions and the colonies for the development of their economic relations with the United Kingdom." They have also considered the necessity of finding alternatives by way of subsidies in lieu of tariff preferences. The committee have refrained from making any recommendations regarding India, but have reserved an examination of the case for India with the remark "that the special position of India as well of Egypt and Sudan will require consideration." There is a great conflict of interests between this country and the United Kingdom in the matter of trade policy and if the committee's recommendations are aimed, as they seem to be, at the promotion of certain industries in Great Britain with the raw materials from India and a corresponding discouragement of the growth of industrialism in this country, there is bound to be an emphatic protest against this policy.

THE POSITION OF INDIA

What, however, the Irish members of the committee have expressed in regard to Ireland, applies equally to India and may well be quoted here : "We are unable to subscribe to any resolution of the nature now

submitted by the Committee which does not deal with the special case of Ireland. Past experience has shown that Ireland has had to conform to whatever fiscal system suited the needs of Great Britain, without regard to her own needs. We therefore feel that when new arrangements are being considered it is necessary to secure that Ireland's claims to separate treatment should be recognised. Realising that the decay of her industries and of her agricultural cultivation which the consequent depopulation have been the result of confounding her economic conditions as an agricultural country with the totally diverse industrial conditions of Great Britain, we are of the opinion that the same fiscal liberty which is at present enjoyed by the self-governing dominions should be extended to Ireland. Only by this means we consider can Ireland's economic resources be properly developed." Similar sentiments have been expressed by the Indian delegates to the recent Imperial War Conference. Speaking at a Luncheon given by the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce, Sir S. P. Sinha referred to the expansion of industry and commerce in India and said: "The resources of India must not be exploited by other parts of the Empire for their own benefit. The first aim must be the welfare of India herself and this would be most advantageous to the Empire as well." Mr. Austen Chamberlain described the position of India and stated that "India could take a great part in the scheme of rendering the Empire independent of outside resources. She would be a great store-house of the Empire; but she

must not remain a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. It is essential that her industrial development which is only beginning should progress, enabling her to take a large share in manufactures and production. I emphasize the fact that we must watch and help the development of India without jealousy or suspicion." It must be made plain that schemes of reconstruction, in order to be acceptable to India and her growing aspirations, must satisfy the sentiments so unequivocally expressed by the Secretary of State.

It is also necessary to invite attention to the activities of the Empire Resources Development Committee. A question has been raised with regard to the exact position of India in the scheme for the development of the resources of the Empire, formulated by this committee. Lord Islington, the present Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, stated that it is in contemplation to organise an Imperial development Board in which India, the United Kingdom, Self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies will be represented. One of the duties of this board is the consideration of the lines in which Indian Industrial development should be pursued in the interest of the Empire as a whole. The appointment of the Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland is stated to be in pursuance of this new policy. Lord Islington declared "that the whole trend of the inquiry of this commission is in keeping with the policy of the Empire Resources Development Committee." We really do not know at present how in these important economic changes

that are impending India will be affected. Her representatives have never been asked to consider this new economic policy. The war has brought about a revolution in the ideals of economic policy. On the one hand, there is an attempt at the development of a policy of preference between the component parts of the Empire. On the other there is also a movement for the establishment of some kind of Customs Union between the British Empire and the Allied countries. The advocates of Preference apparently believe that their policy would make the Empire a virtually self-sufficient economic system on the one hand and a harmonious political system on the other. These views are not generally accepted even in the United Kingdom. A writer in the "Manchester Guardian", Mr. Hobson, controverts these assumptions. After reviewing the statistics of imports and exports immediately before the war, he came to the conclusion that not only Great Britain but the Empire as a whole is far more dependent upon trade with foreign countries than upon trade with its own members, and that it would be unwise to take any fiscal steps which would damage the trade relations of Great Britain with countries outside the Empire. "The establishment of a tariff such as that now under contemplation would injure commercial and political relations with our own Allies in the present war. The attempt to make the Empire a self-sufficient unit is attendant with a great many difficulties. Any scheme of Imperial Preference within the Empire is also bound to affect the present independence of the several self-governing dominions in the making and

changing of their tariffs in which they now enjoy perfect freedom." This is the essential difficulty in the creation of Preferential Tariffs. No mutual preference could work without some scheme of centrally controlled Imperial finance involving some fixity of tariff arrangements. It is also possible that any system of preference accorded in Great Britain might be also of unequal value to the several Dominions and India.

POLITICAL STATUS.

These large problems which will affect India along with the other parts of the Empire are looming in the horizon. But in a consideration of these and other questions India can no longer be ignored. The sittings of the Imperial War Cabinet have constituted an immense step forward on the path of Imperial organisation by conceding with all possible fulness the right of the Dominions and India to share in the framing of such policy as affects the Empire as a whole. India, as a most important unit of the Empire, has now for the first time been admitted to the innermost Imperial councils and henceforth has to take her share alike in advantages and obligations of the Empire along with the United Kingdom and the Dominions. At the last Imperial War Conference, the Indian representatives have taken part in all the deliberations of the Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet. It has now been made clear that this representation is to be permanent. The admission of India to the Imperial Conference, was recommended so early as 1905 by Mr. Lyttleton, the

Secretary of State for Colonies at the time, and yet it was not till she had mingled the blood of her warrior sons with that of the Canadian and the Anzac, the South African and the Australian on the battle fields of Flanders and France, of Mesopotamia and Egypt, of Gallipoli and the Suez, of East and West Africa, that her value to the Empire was recognised and demonstrated by an invitation to her to join the Imperial War Conference and the War Cabinet. The Maharajah of Bikanir spoke with legitimate pride when he referred to the heroism of the Indian troops in the following terms:—"But our greatest pride is that our troops were privileged to go out to France almost immediately after the outbreak of the war and to arrive at the opportune moment when the units as they came, were rushed straight from the Railway to help to stem what the Germans confidently anticipated would be their triumphant march on Paris and the Channel. I was there with the Meerut Division and I speak from personal experience. The fate of nations and of civilization then hung in the balance. Every additional man counted. We had veritably a thin Khaki line with very little but our loyalty, our patriotism and sense of duty to carry us through." India did not ask a price for her services to the Empire for, in the words of the Maharajah of Bikanir, her loyalty has no price. These services have been handsomely acknowledged in a spirit of grateful recognition by those responsible for the conduct of affairs of the Empire and they constitute the title by which she has established an altered status in the

Empire as a partner nation in common with the self-governing Dominions.

THE PRIME MINISTER.

India is, therefore, grateful to the statesmen throughout the Empire who have recognised her services to the Empire. It is enough to refer to the generous terms in which the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India have spoken of these services. On receiving the freedom of the city of London on 27th April, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George, speaking of India and acknowledging the help that India has given to the Empire, said, "I think I am entitled to ask that this loyal people should feel not that they are a subject race in the Empire, but partners with us. Timorous faint-heartedness is abhorrent in peace or war and in war it is fatal. Britain has faced the problem of war with a courage which is amazing. She must face the problem of peace in the same brave spirit." He is not the only Minister who has so generously acknowledged the services of the country.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

In moving the Resolution in the House of Commons accepting India's contribution of £ 100,000,000 towards the cost of the war, Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, said:— "I would ask the House, before we pass to the particular gift now under discussion, to spend a little time in reviewing other contributions which India has made. The figures which I shall use, partly of necessity and partly from choice, have not been brought up to date. It is not desirable that the latest figures and the latest position should be revealed to the world. I hope,

however, that the account which I shall be able to give will be one which shall do proper justice to India but at the same time satisfactory to this House, and not misleading to anyone in India.

INDIAN ARMY'S ACHIEVEMENTS.

"The army of India, before the war, consisted of 78,000 British troops and 158,000 Indian troops, or a total of 236,000 men. In addition to these, there were 18,000 Imperial service troops. That force was organised, for a purpose not confined of its own motion, by the Indian Government, but laid down after consultation with the Imperial Government at home, to discharge duties which was then contemplated the Indian Army might be called upon to fulfil. The Indian Military Budget in the year before the war amounted to £20,000,000. This country has, under the Resolutions of the House, borne the extraordinary charges attendant upon the employment of Indian troops elsewhere. The Indian Military Budget for this year, instead of being £20,000,000 is 26,000,000. That additional £6,000,000 of expense is, I may say, almost entirely due, and directly due, to the circumstances of the present great war. What use has been made of the Indian forces constituted as I have described in the course of this struggle? Indian troops have fought, I think, in almost every theatre of the War in France, in Egypt, at Aden, on the Suez Canal, in Gallipoli, in East Africa, and in West Africa.

Hon'ble Members : Mesopotamia !

Mr. Chamberlain: Neither the House nor I am likely to forget that they have fought in Mesopotamia nor will that Army! Let the House cast itself back to the anxiety felt in relation to our Army in France in the winter of 1914. Nearly one-third of the forces were drawn from India. They were the first of the oversea troops. The Indian Army provided the first defence of British East Africa and repelled the first Turkish attack on the Suez Canal. The Army in Mesopotamia, which in the last few days, retrieved—how gloriously retrieved!—the check and misfortunes of our earlier operations, and which has struck a blow that resounds throughout the whole of the Eastern world, and not the Eastern world alone, is an Army which, from

first to last through all its sufferings, hardships and disappointments—and in its triumphs!—is in the main an Indian Army. It is difficult when one reviews the deeds of the Indian Forces in this War to select for illustration any particular instance, but the House will not forget, and the country will not forget, such episodes as in France, the recapture of Neuve Chapelle in October 1914 by the 47th Sikhs and the 20th and 31st Company of Sappers and Miners. The 47th Sikhs lost in that attack 178 out of 289 engaged, and the Sappers and Miners lost 119 out of 300. They will not forget the attack of the Garhwal Brigade at Neuve Chapelle on 10th March, and I am sure the House will forgive me, on the occasion in particular, for referring to the action—the glorious action of the Indian regiments in Gallipoli. Who is there who can read without emotion of the action of the 14th Sikhs at Cape Helles, when the supporting troops on the other side unable to get to them fought their way, and held on to the last with the loss of nearly all their British and nearly all their Indian officers, and with a loss of 430 men out of 550 engaged? When a day or two afterwards the same ground was traversed again in a successful advance of our troops, the General who was in command has told me every Sikh had fallen facing his enemy, and most of them had one of their enemies under him. May I remind the House that on that occasion, fighting alongside them, were the Lancashire Fusiliers. No narrow spirit of sectional or racial jealousy animated either of them on that day, but one glorious emulation as to how best they might do glory to it.

STRENGTH OF THE FORCES.

"I am going to ask the House to listen to a brief summary of what the Indian Army has contributed. On the outbreak of War there were 530 officers of the Army in India on leave in this country. They were made over to the War office to help them to organise the New Armies which it was necessary to create here. Before the close of last year over 2,600 British Officers had been drawn from India, apart from those who accompanied their units abroad, and the total number of British

Officers in India before the War broke out was less than 5,000. On the outbreak of War the Indian Army Reserve of officers consisted of forty members. It comprises now over 2,200 of whom about 800 are on field service. Apart from the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, commissions have been given in the Indian Army to 271 cadets from Quetta and Wellington, where military schools corresponding to Sandhurst have been established since the War began. Of the rank and file—again, I say, I have not tried to get the very latest figures—the total British and Indian Forces which have gone on active service must approximate a figure of 350,000, and the Army, as I have reminded the House, before the War was 236,000. All the units of the Indian Forces have been kept well supplied with drafts, and in order that might be done, the establishments of the cavalry regiments in India have been increased by 20 per cent., and the establishment of the infantry regiments in India have increased by 40 per cent. New units have been created drawn not wholly from those classes or races which were recruited before the War: and in particular I note on this occasion—because I am anxious to correct a mistaken answer which I gave some months ago—that a company of Burma Pioneers was enlisted in consequence to the desire of the people to take their share in the great struggle. There is another experiment which has been made, which I am watching with the greatest interest and with earnest hope for its success. A Bengali Double Company has been created, and I hope it will justify its creation.

"I leave the direct supply of combatant troops, and the House will not blame me if I spend a moment over the medical services.

"The medical arrangements of the Indian authorities, whether at home or abroad, have come under severe criticism, and this is not the occasion for me to offer any justification or any defence, but I want to tell the House in a few words what the Government of India did from the narrow resources, for, after all, they were narrow resources, at their disposal. Forty field ambulances, six clearing hospitals, thirty-five stationery hospitals, eighteen general hospitals, nine-X-Ray sections, eight sanitary

sections, seven advanced depots and one general medical store depot have been sent on service overseas. The personnel provided for these units and other services amounts to 258 officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps, 704 officers of the Indian Medical Service, 40 lady nurses, 475 assistant surgeons, 854 sub-assistant surgeons, 720 British nursing orderlies, 2,840 Indian ranks, and nearly 20,000 Indian followers. In order to meet the heavy demands on the Indian Medical Service nearly 350 officers have been withdrawn from civil employment and some 200 private practitioners and civil assistant surgeons have been given temporary commissions. In the subordinate branches, 205 assistant surgeons and 560 sub-assistant surgeons in various kinds of civil employment have been released for military duty. May I say at once whilst abstaining from any plea in defence of either the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India in connection with the Military arrangements, that, as far as I know all the testimony from everyone who has had experience concurs in this, that the devotion and self-sacrifice of the officers of the Medical Service attached to the Expeditionary Forces have not been exceeded, and could not be exceeded in this War? The House knows that this is not the last word of the Government of India on the subject. They have just made service compulsory for men of European birth and Anglo Indians in India and they have opened registers for Indians to volunteer for the defence of their own country."

INDIA'S MATERIAL RESOURCES.

After referring to the Imperial Service Troops, output of munitions, German influence in India and Frontier troubles, Mr. Chamberlain proceeded:—

"Very briefly I would just like to say that my review of the contribution of India to the War is not complete and it cannot be complete, without some mention of the aid rendered by India in producing and supplying for our needs, products, raw or manufactures which were of vital importance to us. Her mineral resources have been of first-class consequence to the War. Take a single instance, that of the wolfram mines of

Burma. Before the War the whole output was 1,700 tons, and that went to Germany. The exports now are at a rate equalling half of the pre-War production of the whole world, and they do not go to Germany, except in such a form as we should all wish. Then there is manganese ore, saltpetre, mica, shellac, jute bags, raw jute, tanning materials, wool, army blankets, oil seeds, wheat, rice and forage. All these things we have drawn from India, and all these India has contributed to help the Empire in its struggle. The list of commodities is a long one, and it has recently been calculated that the value of the Indian exports of direct national importance is over £3,000,000 a month, a figure which may reach or even exceed £5,000,000 during the season of heavy wheat shipments. The significance of these figures will be appreciated when it is stated that the total value of Indian exports to all destinations is, roughly, £12,000,000 a month and to this country £4,000,000."

India is grateful to the late Secretary of State for this full and generous recognition of the services of India during the War and for bringing the same so forcibly to the notice of the British people.

CHAPTER III.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

"The British Empire is a Commonwealth which has come into being not through any consciously Imperial design, not as Seely said, in a fit of absence of mind or by accident but because it has supplied the needs of the people within it. It bridges in its law and in its institutions the gulf between east and west, between white and black and between race and race. It is even able to combine it with loyalty to a greater commonwealth. To all it promises not good government merely but eventual self government. Its whole purpose is to ensure that every citizen may lead the freest and fullest life consistent with the acknowledgment and discharge of his duties to the rest of the four hundred millions of human beings who are his fellow-citizens. Things can never be after the War what they were before. We need not hazard exact prophecies as to what ought and what can be done. But we can say that whatever steps are taken must be in the direction of helping the people of the dependencies to govern themselves as rapidly as possible."—MR. P. H. KERR, *Editor of the Round Table*, 1916

In the preceding chapters attention has been drawn to the great constitutional innovations directly resulting from the Imperial War Conference. Imperial consolidation has been effectively secured but not by the creation of a new political machinery. A great deal has been said and written on the subject of a new Federal constitution for the Empire, but it does not now appear to be within the range of practical politics. The impulse for this movement for participation in Imperial affairs has come partly from the self-governing dominions. Independently of this movement, for the establishment of Federal Institutions, another movement for constitutional reform, equally far-reaching in its consequences,

has been gathering strength in Great Britain for several years. The movement for Home Rule all round and the establishment of subordinate legislatures in England, Scotland and Ireland has been under active discussion and consideration by constitutional reformers and the Parliament of Great Britain. It has its origin in a desire to have the domestic business of the four Kingdoms included in Great Britain transacted by Provincial Assemblies. Such a reform has become more and more urgent with the advent of various new conditions. The assumption of sovereignty over India by the Crown, the vast growth of the Empire since 1833, the dominant position of Great Britain in the World-politics during the last fifty years, the rapid extension of legislation to social questions, have all tended to increase Parliamentary business to such a degree that the administration of Imperial affairs as well as of the affairs of the outlying parts of the Empire has been made impossible. Parliament has also been unable to discharge its domestic functions with efficiency or quickness. So early as in 1846, Sir Robert Peel complained of the immense multiplication of details in public business and in 1879 Mr. Gladstone definitely took the view that Parliament had become overweighted and overwhelmed with work of all kinds. He promised that if Ireland or any other part of the country was desirous of arranging and able to arrange its affairs by taking the local part or some local part of its transactions off the hands of Parliament, he would support any scheme that might be brought forward with this view. This declaration was followed by the Irish Home Rule

Bill in 1886 and its chequered history is too well-known to need recapitulation. Mr. Gladstone committed himself in 1890 to the adoption of what he called 'devolution' as a method of Parliamentary constitutional reform.

In Scotland, the principle of devolution for local affairs began to attract public attention from 1894. In that year, Sir Henry Dalziel proposed a resolution in the House of Commons that it was desirable, while retaining intact the power and supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, to establish a legislature in Scotland for dealing with purely Scottish affairs. In the following year the House of Commons accepted a motion of the same member which was much wider in its terms. It was an affirmation of the principle of devolution upon Legislatures to be constituted in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England respectively for the management and control of their domestic affairs. In 1912 when the Irish question reached an acute stage another resolution was adopted in the House of Commons that, in its opinion, the measure providing for the delegation of Parliamentary powers to Ireland should be followed by the granting of similar powers of self-government to Scotland as part of a general scheme of devolution. Apart from these resolutions, a bill for granting self-government to Scotland was actually introduced in Parliament in 1908 and its first reading was passed by a large majority. In 1912 another Bill for Home Rule was introduced to secure local autonomy for Scotland. "Home Rule for Ireland," the Prime Minister declared in 1912 in reply

to a deputation of Scottish Liberal Members, "would leave the Constitution lobsided, incoherent and logically inconsistent." There was again another Bill in 1913 which reached the second reading stage and was passed in the House of Commons. Wales has also strenuously supported the principle of Home Rule. During the discussion of the Bill for the Government of Scotland in 1913, the Welsh members of Parliament expressed the opinion "that the people of Wales regard that the management of the domestic affairs of the four nationalities in the United Kingdom by subordinate Legislature will redound enormously to the advantage of the entire British Commonwealth. They regard this as an essential initial stage in the way of enabling the Imperial Parliament to discharge properly its Imperial functions and responsibilities." Mr. T. P. O' Connor admirably summarized the present situation in regard to domestic legislation and administration in Parliament with his characteristic humour and geniality. He said: "The affairs in Scotland are discussed and decided not by the local knowledge of Scotsmen but by the ignorance of the Englishmen, Irishmen and Welshmen; and that is what goes on all round. Irish affairs are discussed and decided by English ignorance. Scottish affairs are discussed and decided by English or Irish or Welsh ignorance. Welsh affairs are discussed and decided by English or Scottish ignorance and English international affairs are decided not by English knowledge but by Irish or Scottish or Welsh ignorance. So far as local affairs are concerned they are decided in the

Imperial Parliament not by the knowledge of the Kingdom to which legislation applies but by the comparative ignorance of all the Nationalities in Parliament. In the Imperial Parliament hurried men scamped work, undebated Bills, and undebated great issues, and at the same time two or three hours during the several weeks of the sessions are given to a turnpike in Ireland or to a tramway in Scotland or to the question whether Liverpool shall have 32 or 26 candle power its gas." There was no doctrine more imbedded in his mind than that there is only one safeguard in the world for good administration and that is the responsibility of the administrators to local opinion.

The movement for devolution and the establishment of subordinate Legislatures is much more likely to come to fruition than the proposals for new Federal Institutions on the Imperial scale. The Parliament will thereby obtain some relief and be able to attend to the common affairs of the Empire.

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

In India the national movement for the attainment of self-government within the Empire began with the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The President, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, declared that "it was the desire of Indians to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe and that the people should have their legitimate share in the Government of their country." Among the aims and objects of the movement stated for the first time from the platform of

the Congress was the fuller development and consolidation of the sentiments of national unity which had already taken root in the country. Mr. George Yule, President of the 4th Indian National Congress pleaded for political institutions on a wider basis, for a change in Indian Polity and for the extension of representative institutions. Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee dwelt on Indian National aspirations at the Congress in 1893 and pleaded for justice and the rights of true fellow-citizenship for the vast mass of humanity in India. In 1902 Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee presided over the 18th session of the National Congress and implored that "the new Sovereign should enthrone himself in the hearts of the people by the gradual extension to them of that system of self-government which had been the invariable accompaniment of British power and civilization and which wherever it has been granted, has been the strongest bulwark of Imperial Rule." Sir Henry Cotton whose Indian experience as a Civil Servant is second to none warmly advocated, as President of the Congress, in 1904, autonomy for India so that the United States of India might constitute the brightest jewel of the Empire. In 1906 the grand old man of India—Dadabhai Nowrojee—presided for the third time over the Indian National Congress and pleaded for "such a systematic beginning in Indian Polity which would in no long time develop into full legislatures of self-government like those of the self-governing colonies. Self-government is the only and chief remedy," said the patriarch of Indian politics. "In self-

government lies our hope, strength and greatness." For the first time a resolution was adopted in 1906 declaring that the ideal of the Indian national party was the attainment of self-government of the colonial pattern within the Empire. The goal of Indian political aspirations was definitely laid down by the Indian National Congress in 1908. Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the President of the year, expressed the hope "that a future exultant President of the Indian National Congress may be able to announce to a united people, amid universal rejoicings, the extension to India of the colonial type of government." The scheme of reforms formulated in 1916 by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League is intended as a definite step towards the attainment of full self-government within the Empire.

The admission of India to equality of treatment along with the self-governing Dominions in the consideration of the common affairs of the British Empire has strengthened our cause in a variety of ways. It has secured to us the sympathy of the Imperial Government and the statesmen of the Empire for the movement for self-government which has engaged the public mind in India for a considerable time. Our own representatives to the Imperial War Conference were not slow to utilise their opportunities for pressing the claims of their country for constitutional changes for the transformation, as rapidly as possible of the present system of Government in India to the self-governing type prevalent in the Colonies. The Maharajah of Bikanir declared "that further steps in the internal and political evolution of India would

seem not merely a desirable but a necessary corollary to the momentous decision that India, with the Dominions, should be regularly consulted in peace, as in war, at the Imperial Conference and the Imperial Cabinet." The Maharajah "declined to believe that British statesmanship would not rise to the occasion and be able to handle Indian problems with sympathy, imagination and broad-minded and generous perspicacity." Finally he strenuously urged "that the advance to be made should be conceived with the breadth and generosity of view that have marked the British policy in so many other parts of the world and which, the history of British Colonial expansion has shown, Britain had never occasion to repent." Sir S. P. Sinha also spoke in equally emphatic terms. He said: "It is from our point of view less important now that we should have a perfect Government than that we should govern ourselves." His Majesty's Government have now affirmed that the goal of British policy in India is the establishment of self-Government with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire and that substantial steps in this direction will be taken as soon as possible. In arriving at this momentous decision British statesmen have set their seal of approval on the national aspirations of the people of India. It is in accord with the development of British constitutional system. The British Empire has been described as a league of nations. It presents the unique spectacle of the development of democracy under a monarchical Government and the evolution of separate

and distinct nationalities within the Empire. The variety of laws and systems of government which a bird's eye-view of this marvellous organization reveals to the student of politics, and the harmony with which they are administered are almost unparalleled in the history of the world, ancient or modern. In the fifty Colonies that the Empire comprises, there is the Roman Dutch Law as in Quebec, the modern French Law as in Mauritius, the Spanish Law as in Trinidad and the old Sicilian Feudal Law as in Malta. The several Dominions, the Crown Colonies, the Dependencies, Protectorates and spheres of interest and of influence represent various forms of sovereignty from a benevolent despotism to responsible Government. The strong point of the Empire is that it seeks to foster local autonomy with a sense of common interest in the corporate organisation, distinguishing Pax Britannica from a military Imperialism and maintaining order without imposing 'a limitation on the natural development of what is set in order.' The Empire receives its strength and support by the assiduous care with which it has fostered a sense of nationality. India has, therefore, entered on a new era in her national life and her hopes at the present day run high.

A CONTRAST.

The position of India as a partner state in the Empire having been acknowledged, the struggle of India for self-government in her domestic affairs, presents a contrast to the struggle of the Dominions for a position of equal partnership in the Empire after they have had the fruits of self-government for several

years. The emigrants to the Colonies carried with them their inherited and ingrained birth-right of self-government and now they are striving for a share in the administration of Imperial affairs, whereas in India which has been justly admitted to the innermost councils of the Empire along with the self-governing Colonies, the demand of self-government, however insistent it may have been for years, has only just now evoked the sympathies of responsible men in the United Kingdom. Again the synthesis of Indian nationality has preceded her demand or self-government while the people of the Colonies, "in equipping themselves to think and act as nations, have like those of the United States of America severally acquired a national consciousness of their own." There is another point of contrast. The component states or Provinces of each Dominion started as self-governing units and had to solve the problem of a Central National Government in order to co-ordinate their progress and consolidate the strength of each of them. India, on the other hand, has had a strong Central Government carried on by a bureaucracy for more than half a century and a devolution of powers to make the Provinces autonomous in domestic matters has yet to be undertaken. The control of the people over the administration does not as yet exist in India.

THE BUREAUCRACY.

His Majesty's Government have now stated that their policy in India is the establishment of self-governing institutions. This policy involves necessarily a change in the present administrative system.

of this country. Mr. Fisher, the present Education Minister in the United Kingdom, has very recently pointed out the difference between the present Indian system and responsible Government in the following terms:—"Administrations fall, in the main, into two types, those which are and those which are not responsible to immediate Parliamentary control. For the purposes of clearness, though the phraseology is far from being accurate, we will designate them as responsible and irresponsible administrations. The Civil Services of Canada and Australia are responsible because they are under the immediate eye of a democratic Parliament. The Civil Service of India is irresponsible because, although ultimately subject to the Parliament of Great Britain, it is exempt from interference from any popularly constituted body in India, and possesses therefore a liberty of action considerably in excess of that enjoyed by the administrative agents in our self-governing Dominions." The Indian Civil Service is the political, governing service of the country. The Indian Civil Service is the Government. The administration of India is no doubt theoretically subject to the control of Parliament. But the affairs of India are really in the hands of the Government of India and the Local Governments. Mr. Fisher has given a very correct description of the all-embracing powers of the Indian Civil Service when he said "It may accept amendments, it may withdraw a measure in the face of criticism which it judges to be well founded, it may profit by the non-official criticism but it is master in its own house. Cabinet Councils,

Government majorities, diplomatic agencies in the Native States, administrative agencies, in British India—all are provided by the Indian Civil Service, that wonderful bureaucracy recruited by a competitive examination in London, which is expected to turn out judges, revenue officers, heads of administrative departments, pro-consuls, legislatures, political officers or diplomatists, and under the new regime, parliamentarians as well." There is no limit to the capacity or ability of a member of the Indian Civil Service. He is the most efficient Accountant-General, Director of Agriculture, Director of Criminal Intelligence, Director of Industries, Director of Survey. He is qualified to be a member of the Railway Board. There is, in fact, no technical Department for which a civilian is not considered eligible and competent.

Now the Bureaucracy has been ruling this country for over one hundred and fifty years. So long ago as 1787, Sir John Shore condemned the bureaucratic form of administration as "inseparable from a system of government of a remote foreign dominion." Sir Thomas Munro pointed out in 1823 that, were Britain subjugated by a foreign power and the people excluded from the Government of their country, all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming in a generation or two a low-minded, deceitful and dishonest race. Referring to the bureaucracy in India, Lord Macaulay stated in 1844 that "of all forms of tyranny he believed that the worst is that of a nation over a nation." The proposal to place

the Indian administration directly under the Crown brought the subject of the bureaucratic form of government prominently before the British public in 1858 with a view to focus Parliamentary opinion on the subject. Amongst the friends of India in England at the time was Mr. John Dickenson, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.; who, in a pamphlet under the title of "the Government of India under a bureaucracy" dealt with the then existing evils of the political system in India and made an impassioned appeal to his countrymen in the following words: "Oh, my countrymen; may heaven itself soften your hearts, and awaken your sympathy for this interesting people; may it teach you not to reject your fated opportunity, nor again thrown such a pearl as India before an irresponsible Bureaucracy." Another Englishman, well known in India, Mr. John Bruce Norton, said at the same time that the executive civil service, with its associations, with its amour propre, its esprit-de-corps, its hereditary nomenclature, regarded itself as the "aristocracy" of India, and indeed was proud so to designate itself. It regarded with disfavour the instruction of any independent Englishman to the discharge of functions which savoured of civil administration. "It saw with alarm every encroachment on its privilege and prerogative; and even while the revenue collectors are exclaiming against the amount of work imposed upon them, and the numerous different descriptions of duties they have to perform, they at the same time protest against the separation of magisterial and revenue functions, because they know that this measure, so indispensable

to the well-being of the people, must, if carried, necessitate the employment of Indians largely in the magistracy. Notwithstanding that the members of the Civil service were taken in England, from the "middle classes" it must not be forgotten that their position was entirely altered from the moment they set foot in India. They became a sort of imported fictitious aristocracy; they were no longer of the middle classes, but constituted, in their own opinion on all points, and, in fact, so far as governing functions are concerned, the highest class. They are an oligarchy; and I consider that a "middle class oligarchy" is the worst theoretical Government in the world, for it wants all that nobility of feeling, largeness of view, politeness of demeanour. Hence the petty jealousy of the civilians towards all those who refused to look upon their body as one entire perfect chrysolite, or who trenched, however sparingly, upon the ruling functions which they have looked upon as exclusively appertaining to themselves." These opinions of cultured and unbiassed Englishmen reflect the public opinion of the day in 1858 on the administrative system in India, its tendencies and effect on the machinery of Government and are enough to show how powerful was and is the influence of the members of the great services who constitute themselves the governing class and how helpless even Englishmen with independent views feel in the advocacy of any cause which clashed with that of the bureaucracy. The position is practically the same to-day and it is perhaps desirable to refer also to more recent opinions on the character of the present system.

A remarkable confirmation was given, after a hundred years, to Sir John Shore's description of 1787, by the Secretary of State for India in 1886. In discussing some proposals for taxation made by the Government of India, the Secretary of State said: "The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenue is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change which is more specially exhibited to new forms of taxation but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in the hands of foreigners who fill the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the Army."

In 1894, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., pointed out in the House of Commons that India was the only example in the whole world at the present time, of the government of a great country entirely by a bureaucracy. They might imagine what it would be like if the Government of the United Kingdom was in the hands of permanent officials without the directions of Parliament and without the control of State for India, who was thoroughly acquainted with official life, could form for himself a pretty good idea of what the Government of this country under the control of permanent officials. Mr. Smith stated "that the system of bureaucracy necessarily produced a whole class of abuses peculiar to itself. The official classes looked upon themselves as a privileged class. They were drawn together by an *esprit-de-corps*. The tendency of all bureaucracies was to condone the faults of their members, and to white-wash the black sheep that might turn up amongst

them : for in all bodies of men they had a certain number of black sheep."

MERITS AND DEFECTS.

Like all human institutions, the bureaucracy has done its work in India and it must now make way for a system of government more congruous with present-day conditions. The bureaucratic system has its weaknesses and virtues, which are inherent to it anywhere in the world. There are now complaints in the United Kingdom that, within the lifetime of the present generation, the bureaucratic system has established itself firmly in the machinery of government and that officialism has silently spread its tentacles over the whole life of the people. It is also asserted that centralization has also come in its wake. These evils have grown in a democratic country like the United Kingdom and Mr. Harold Cox, the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, laments the growth of a paid bureaucracy in English political life. He said that "officials whose names are unknown, who work behind thick walls free from all fear of public criticism defy the elected representatives." They are, however, under the eye of Parliament where there is a possibility of bringing them under proper control. In India, there is no such fear and besides, the ruling bureaucracy is essentially foreign in its composition and has no permanent interests in the country. So long as the Government contents itself with the constituent functions of the state, such as the collection of taxes, the maintenance of law and order, the

construction of roads, dams and railways, the governing bureaucracy in India must be considered to have done its duty. However defective their performance may be, owing to difference of race and language and the importation of foreign methods and the neglect of indigenous ones, the utter good faith in which they have approached their task cannot be questioned. But the bureaucracy does not much concern itself with the ministrant functions of the state directed towards the advancement of the general interests of society and of every social organization, those which combat poverty, ignorance, distress, disease, death, those which elevate the masses of the country and train them in the ways of self-help and self-government. These are not its ideals. Efficiency of the administrative machinery is its sole aim, and a benevolent interest in the well-being of the people is, however, cultivated so long as they are docile. "Most bureaucracies seem to require from the people they govern a sort of reverent respect—reverence for their wisdom and respect for the admirable manner in which they conduct the affairs of the nation. They are shocked at the display of any feeling incongruous with this attitude. A nation, in their estimation, is best compared to a number of school boys working and playing happily under the supervision of benevolent and very wise school-masters." This is the considered opinion of a member of the Indian Civil Service who ought at least to know the characteristic points of his service. Few men give up power voluntarily which they have long wielded and no body of men in

this world are impartial judges when their own interests are concerned. No bureaucracy will voluntarily abdicate its powers, however irksome those powers may be to the common people, but which conduce to the convenience of the officials or which strengthen their grip on the country. The jealousy and tenacity with which the European bureaucracy has maintained its power can only be fully appreciated by a thorough study of its methods in dealing with the subject of the wider employment of Indians since 1833. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recent performance in the Indian Legislative Council shows how a bureaucratic administrator views the demand of the people for self-government. A bad situation was saved through the wisdom and political sagacity of Lord Chelmsford, whose conciliatory attitude on the occasion restored the confidence of the people in the intentions of the Government.

THE VITAL POINTS OF REFORM.

The two great evils of the present Indian system are, therefore, the want of popular control in the Indian constitution and excessive centralisation of administrative functions. The problem before us is the transformation of the present Indian polity from a bureaucratic system into a set of decentralized self-governing units. Although India has been under British rule for nearly one hundred and fifty years, Lord Ripon was the first Viceroy who introduced popular control in the administrative machinery. It has been

well said of him that "he was the first Viceroy to discover the new India, the India not of expanding frontiers but of expanding souls." The growth of knowledge, of Indian national aspirations in the Indian peoples and the necessity to meet these new factors, were clear to him from the very beginning of his rule in this country. The scheme of local self-government associated with his name aimed at the introduction of popular control only in one branch of district administration. The expansion of the Legislative Councils in 1892 by the Government of Lord Lansdowne was intended to provide suitable opportunities to the people for offering their views on matters relating to general administration. The privileges then conferred on the councils were inconsequential but they paved the way for others. The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 were, therefore, the first real steps taken, in India, since 1858, to associate the people with the task of administration.

THE MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

Lord Morley enlarged the legislative councils, and extended their functions to the discussion of administrative and financial questions. He had also in view, a larger scheme of popular government beginning with the village. He affirmed that the village in India has been the fundamental and indestructible unit of the social system surviving the downfall of dynasty after dynasty. He desired to see the initiation of a policy that would make the village the

starting point of public life and laid great emphasis on the fact that Lord Ripon's scheme was intended not so much to secure improvement in the administration but as chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education. He had also in view the linking up of the taluk and district boards with the legislative councils as one whole chain of representative institutions for giving the people a real and effective voice in the day-to-day administration of the country. He also recognised that the doctrine of administrative efficiency has been pressed too far and the wheels of the huge machine of Indian Government have been driven too fast. He, therefore, introduced the Indian element in the executive councils of the Governors and of the Governor-General and also appointed two Indians to the Council of India. The Decentralization Commission practically left the administrative machinery as it was and the Minto-Morley reforms have, in practice, proved futile. The bureaucracy has in framing regulations efficiently reduced the usefulness of the councils as exponents of public opinion. The Councils are at present merely ventilating chambers without any power whatever. In formulating the Minto-Morley reforms the Government of India claimed that their proposals will really and effectively associate the people of India with the work not only of occasional legislation but of actual every-day administration." Referring to this statement, Lord Morley said that "the claim was abundantly justified, yet the scheme was not, and hardly pretends to be, a complete presentation of the entire body of changes and improvements in

the existing system that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom the Government of India have consulted and, to the best of their judgment, are now demanded by the situation described in the despatch of the Government of India." It is evident, therefore, on the high authority of this eminent statesman that the reforms of 1909 fell short alike of popular expectations and of the needs of the hour. They nevertheless marked a decisive step and a great step in advance in associating, however ineffectively, the people of India with the administrative and legislative functions of the Government. In initiating the reforms, Lord Morley did not in any way interfere with the structure of the Government of India as settled under the Act of 1858 and the reforms associated with his name never contemplated the transfer of any real power to the Legislatures. The constitutional position of the Provincial and the Imperial Governments remained the same as before and the reforms did not surrender any essential principle and the ultimate control of the Government was maintained in its entirety.

Lord Morley stated that in framing the reforms he had three classes of people in view. In the first group he placed the extremists. He divided this group into "academic" extremists and "physical force" extremists. He was of opinion that they were negligible in numbers and had no real influence in the country. The second group included those who nourished hopes for autonomy or self-government of the Colonial pattern, and the third section asked for

no more than to be admitted to co-operation with the administration and to find a free and effective voice in expressing the interests and needs of the people. Lord Morley was of opinion that the effect of his reforms has been, and will be, to draw the second class, who hopes for colonial autonomy, into the third class, who will be content with being admitted to a fair and full co-operation with the Government. It is only eight years ago that this political prophecy was made, and to-day there is not a single Indian belonging to any political party who merely desires association or co-operation with the Government. In the words of Sir S. P. Sinha, it is "not mere influence that the people desire; what they now demand is real controlling power." At the present day, the articulate populations stand united in a demand for national autonomy and a partnership in the Empire on terms of perfect equality. Every public man in every Indian province stands pledged to-day to the speedy realisation of this demand.

INDIAN RECONSTRUCTION

The Minto-Morley reforms mainly related to the machinery of Government in India. The question of parliamentary responsibility for Indian affairs and the curtailment of the powers of the Secretary of State in Council over the Government of India and the Local Governments did not then form the subject of consideration. The constitutional relations of the authorities in England with the Indian Governments has, therefore, remained the

same as before. The problem of Indian reconstruction depends not merely upon the development of self-governing functions in the existing machinery in India but also on a re-adjustment of the functions and powers of all the authorities created by the statutes relating to the Government of India. If self-government is to become a reality in India, a thorough overhauling of the spheres of activity of the various authorities from the top to the bottom has to be undertaken with a view to confer immediately on the people of this country substantial powers to manage their own affairs and leading to the development of a system of full responsible government as rapidly as the conditions of the country justify. There is a French saying about small reforms being the worst enemies of great reforms. That great political philosopher, Lord Morley, stated that this statement is in a sense profoundly true. A small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement, unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second. There are instances in the legislation of Great Britain and India where the small reform "if it be not made with reference to some large progressive principle and with a view to the further extension of its scope makes it all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction when improvement is again demanded." It is from this standpoint that we shall have to examine all proposals for constitutional changes in the government of this country. The great progressive principle for which we are contending is the attainment of self-government for India.

The scheme of reforms now put forward should be such as to lead to the attainment of full responsible government in this country, but not to retard its growth. Any reforms, therefore, which might be immediately acceptable and beneficial will, in the long run, be disastrous to our national aspirations if they do not tend to the ultimate attainment of that form of government for which our National assemblies have been agitating for a long time. A consideration of the present administrative mechanism and how it has worked in practice and the proposals of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League for reconstruction and reform is therefore necessary. The questions that arise are the following :—

(1) Has Parliament discharged its duty of control of Indian affairs since 1858 ?

(2) If democratic control over the affairs of India is to be established in India what are the changes required in the existing mechanism of government ? This question raises the present position of the Indian Government in its executive and legislative sides.

(3) On the executive side it involves an examination of the constitution and functions of the Secretary of State's Council, the Government of India and the Local Governments and of the proposals for a re-arrangement of their spheres of activity. On the legislative side the development of self-governing institutions in India necessarily involves the transfer of the control of Parliament over the domestic administration of India to the councils