Chapter Two

THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT AND THE INDIAN POLITICAL SERVICE DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD
I

The origins of the Department of External Affairs

The beginnings of an organized Secretariat of the government of the East India Company in India may be traced to 1756, when the business of the Company was conducted in the Public Department. On 3 November 1763 J. Graham, Secretary in the Public Department proposed to the Board a plan "for the better regulating of transacting the business of Council at the Presidency of Fort William" and to "remedy the present blended and irregular Method of Conducting the Business." He suggested the division of the work into two Departments - "the one to be termed the Publick and the other the Secret Department." The former was to deal with "all Affairs relating to shipping, Revenues, Fortifications, Accounts, Appointment of Servants" etc. The Secret Department was to conduct "all Military Plans and Operations, the country correspondence and all Transactions with the Country Government." Separate books of Minutes, consultations and letters were to be kept for each. The new organization was to come into effect on 1st January 1764. (1) The Board notified

(1) National Archives of India, Home Department Proceedings July - December 1763, 1311. In actual fact, however, in the consultation of 8 December 1763 it is noted that it had already been agreed to transfer the proceedings of the Secret Department to a separate Book of Consultations (Ibid., 1453.)
the Court of Directors of the creation of the Secret Department as follows:

Having experienced a great deal of inconvenience and irregularity from keeping the Diary and proceedings of our commercial business and the transactions with the country government and military operations all in one book we have laid a plan for carrying on the business in future in two distinct department ... (2)

The secret department records of the first years covered among others the circumstances leading to the battle of Buxar, expedition against Cooch Behar, cession of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab Vazir, the Rohilla war, mission to Bhutan and Tibet, Warren Hastings' early administrative reforms, Nand Kumar's accusations against Hastings, war with the Pcona Darbar, relations with the Nawab of Arcot, clashes with the French factories in Bengal etc. (3) These give an indication of the nature of 'foreign relations' transacted in the secret department during this period.

(2) Ibid., 1311.

(3) National Archives of India, Index to the Foreign and Political Department Records, Vol. I, 1756-1780 (Delhi, 1957) VIII.
The organization of the two Departments as proposed by Graham and accepted by the Council was as follows: (4)

(1) One Secretary, whose employment it shall be to form the Drafts of all the Letters sent from the Departments to the Court of Directors and the other Presidents of the subordinate factories, and to take full Minutes of Consultations, and to issue all General Orders with the settlement.

(ii) One Assistant Secretary, to form drafts of the consultations from the Secretary's Minutes to be corrected by him and then laid before the Board for their approval and to write the first copy of the fair letters to Europe.

(iii) Two sub-Secretaries, one to each Department whose employment it shall be to superintend their respective Assistants and examine or correct their Business writing at least one copy of letters and General Orders and to keep all the papers in proper order.

(iv) Eight Assistants in the Public Department and seven Assistants for the Secret Department. The office hours for the Assistants were to be from 8 in the Morning till 12 and on Council days until the Council shall break up and in the afternoons as often as the Secretary may direct.

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(4) Governor General and Council

Secretary
(Public and Secret Departments)

Assistant Secretary
(Public and Secret Departments)

Sub Secretary (Public)  Sub-Secretary (Secret)

Eight Assistants (Public)  Seven Assistants (Secret)
The Secretary was to be paid a 'sallary' of Rs. 4000/- an year besides Gratuity and the fees of the office; the Assistant Secretary Rs. 2,000/- an year; and the sub-Secretaries an allowance of Rs. 1,000 each per annum. (5)

In 1778 there was a redistribution of work between the two Departments. (6) It was felt that the Proceedings of the Board in their Secret Department had become "very voluminous from the entry of many Papers which are of a public-nature, merely for the sake of carrying on the train of connection with subjects which were originally political and proper subjects of secrecy." The Board, therefore, ordered a large number of subjects to be transferred to the Proceedings in the Public Department. These included letters from various Residents at the courts of Indian chieftains and from the French and other Foreign Nations which did not deal with matters of 'secrecy' like war and peace, negotiations with 'Country Powers' and the like. It was also "resolved further that no matter be introduced and considered in the Secret Department but such as ... have a relation to or the measures suggested and adopted for the safety of the Company's possessions in India either by this Government (i.e. Fort William) or the other Presidencies and such parts of the country correspondence or intelligence as


(6) Resolution of the Board in the Secret Department, Foreign - Secret Consultations 20 July 1778, 16.
ought to be kept secret." (7)

Important changes in the organization of the Department came in 1783 under the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. The granting of Diwani to the Company in 1765 and the assumption of direct revenue and judicial administration of Bengal by the Company in 1772 established the Company as an independent territorial power in India. This naturally led to an expansion of its political and 'foreign' activities. The Regulating Act of 1773 had similarly enhanced the position of the Government of Fort William, Calcutta as the Governor General and this had naturally led to an increase in the work of the Department. Detailing the reasons for the increase in the pressure of work in the two departments in consequence of the changed position of the Company, the Board at Fort William passed a resolution in 1783 deciding to separate the two departments. The 'Objects of each Department' were defined as follows:

The Public Department takes cognizance of all letters from the other Presidencies, not of a Political Nature, and from China, of all matters which regard Commerce and Shipping, of all private and Personal applications and of all transactions with the Subordinate Offices of Government in their Public Capacities and of a Public Nature.

(7) In 1766 a Secret Department of Inspection had been formed to "examine into the state of the several different departments, civil and military and to establish such regulations as they shall judge necessary to the due execution of those offices." (Select Committee Proceedings 1766, 23.) The Select Committee was forced to take this action due to the spirit of dissipation and luxury in the employees and lack of secrecy in the working of the Departments. (Secret Letters to Court of Directors, 1765-7, 85-8.) The working of the Department was, however, wound up soon after.
The Secret Department properly comprises all subjects of a political nature, all the correspondence with the Presidents and Select Committees at the other Presidencies, also with the Councils there on political affairs. All the correspondence with the Residents at foreign courts and at Benares all transactions with foreign nations and powers and every military operation or movement of troops which is either ordered or undertaken. (8)

The Board also resolved on the reorganization of the two Departments under a Secretary each. Additional establishment consisting of a Sub-Secretary, Assistants, Register, Examiners and the ministerial staff was also sanctioned for each Department. (9)

(8) Home Department (Public Branch) OC, 23 September 1783, No. 16.

(9) The revised establishment for each Department was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUBLIC DEPARTMENT</th>
<th>No. of posts</th>
<th>Salary per mensem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 1,200 + fees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 800.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Assistant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 400.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(300, 250, 200, 150, &amp; 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examiners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rs. 300 each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Register</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rs. 300.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Monthly Writers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(350, 300, 250 and 200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Writers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(200, 175, 150, 125, and 100 x 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministerial staff</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(Total Rs. 83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Rs. 6,533.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SECRET DEPARTMENT | |
|-------------------| |
| Secretary         | 1            | Rs. 1,200 + Rs. 500 in lieu of fees |
| Sub-Secretary     | 1            | Rs. 800.         |
| Head Assistant    | 1            | Rs. 400.         |
| Assistants        | 9            | 300, 250x2, 200x2, 150x2, 100x2. |
| Examiners         | 2            | 300 each.        |
| Register          | 1            | 300.             |
| Ministerial staff | 13           | (Total Rs. 83)   |
|                   | 28           | Rs. 5,583.       |

...(contd. on next page)
There was, however, a reduction of this establishment in 1785 following instructions from the Court of Directors enjoining "the strictest economy." The Court of Directors suggested that, while "confidential situations ought to be filled by Europeans ... considerable saving of expense in our establishments may be effectuated by employing natives in copying papers and in other subordinate occupations ...." (10) In retrenching existing staff, the seniormost persons were to be retained as far as possible. Those who were to be relieved were to be given pensions and could be retained as extra-assistants in the department on an annual gratuity. In consequence of these economy measures there was reduction of staff in the Secret Department. (11)

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Excepting for the Ministerial staff all others were to be 'covenanted Servants' and were to be chosen entirely by the Secretaries. Provision was also made for the employment of monthly writers by each Secretary when the work was very heavy. The Governor-General and the Members of the Board were to have a Company Servant each on Rs. 300/- per mensem to make extracts and copies of correspondence.

Home Department (Public Branch) 23 September 1783, No. 16.7


(11) The Department now had only 6 members (1 Secretary, 1 Sub-Secretary, 2 Assistants and two Examiners) on its covenanted staff. See letter from Mr. E. Hay, Secretary of the Secret Department to the Governor General dated 14 November 1785. Secret Department Inspection Proceedings: 28 June to 3rd August and 11 October to 29 December 1785.
Important reorganization measures were undertaken in 1796. The business of the government was now distributed in four Department - (i) Military; (ii) Judicial; (iii) Revenue (Public); and (iv) Secret, Political and Foreign. There was a Secretary to the Government in general charge of all the Departments. His duties were "general superintendence and the execution of such points of business in either of the Departments, as may be specially committed to him for execution, or as he himself may think fit to be undertaken." The details of business in the Departments were intended to be 'executed entirely' by a Sub-Secretary in each Department. The salary of the Sub-Secretaries was increased to Rs. 12,000 per annum but they were disallowed to hold other appointments and to draw salary from such sources also. The raise in salary did not adequately compensate the loss entailed by this latter provision. While, therefore, the new rule of full-time senior officials in the Departments was a very desirable and necessary one it had also the disadvantage of leaving the senior officials discontented and persuading them to look for more lucrative posts. This, in fact, developed to be a very serious administrative problem in the government. (12)

The 1799 reforms were expected to remedy some of the defects of the reorganization measures of 1796. The four Departments were to be under the general charge of a Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary was to have "the same general

(12) Minutes by Governor-General, Home (Public) Proceedings OC 29 October 1799, No. 1.
control over all the Departments" as the Secretary in the past and to "make such distribution of the Establishments of the different Departments as may appear to him best calculated for the due conduct of the business under the proposed arrangement." The four Departments were to be headed by a Secretary each in the place of the Sub-Secretaries. They were "exclusively and avowedly responsible for the transaction of business in their respective Departments," excepting where the Chief Secretary was himself dealing with the matter. There was also an improvement in the salaries of the Secretaries. (13)

The Secret, Political and Foreign Department soon got the additional services of a Persian Secretary and staff, when the office of the Persian Translator was upgraded and attached to this Department. (14)

On account of the expanding scope of the foreign relations of the Government to the neighbouring Asiatic countries and of its political relations within the country in the 19th century the work of the Department was also heavily on the increase during these years. Diplomatic missions, Agencies and Residencies were established at the courts of the

(13) Chief Secretary Rs. 55,000; Secretary (Secret, Political and Foreign) - Rs. 50,000; Secretary (Public or Revenue) Rs. 45,000 and the established fees of the Department which together was to come to Rs. 50,000; Secretary (Judicial) - Rs. 50,000; Secretary (Military) - Rs. 12,000. The Secretary in the Military Department drew a lower salary as he was a military officer. Home (Public) A, 29 October 1799, No. 2.

(14) Extract from the Proceedings of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council in the Political Department dated 20 July 1801. Home Department (Public Branch), 23 July 1801, No. 59.
rulers of Indian and neighbouring Asiatic states. In 1827, the diplomatic expenditure of the Government of India amounted to a sum of nearly half a million sterling. This amount was described as being greater than the then diplomatic and consular charges, pensions included, of Great Britain, by far the largest of any nation in Europe. The charge was equal to nearly three per cent on the gross revenue of India. (15)

Under the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough, in 1842, further changes were introduced. The rather cumbersome name of the Secret, Political and Foreign Department was changed as the Foreign Department. There were also important changes in the methods of maintenance of the records of the Department. So far, from the very beginning, the business transacted in the Department had been divided into three branches:

(i) Secret - all government transactions connected with wars, negotiations and missions.

(ii) Political - correspondence with Residents and Agents in Native Territory, managed Territory and Non-Regulation Provinces.

(iii) Foreign - transactions between the Government of India and Foreign European Powers.

But under these changes introduced in 1842, it was ordered that the practice of recording the proceedings of the Government

(15) Letter from J. Crawford to T. H. Villiers, Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company (Calcutta, 1846) Appendix No. 8, 100.
with Indian Native Powers and with European Foreign Powers in two separate series should cease for the future. In 1858, the Secret Proceedings which had been commenced by Warren Hastings were also brought to a close. It was decided that thereafter there should not be any paper recorded or transmitted in the Secret branch.

Important changes were introduced in the organization of the Government of India on 1 May 1843. These came in consequence of the separation of the Secretariats of India and of Bengal in that year. (16) Till this time the Governor General of India was also the Governor of Bengal and the Secretariats of the Governments of India and of Bengal had been organized together. Under this system some Departments served both the Supreme and Local Governments and some officers were at once Secretaries to the Supreme Government and to the Local Government. Under the reforms of 1843, the two secretariats were completely separated. The secretariat of the Government of India was now organized in four Departments - Foreign, Home, Finance and Military. Each was headed by a Secretary drawing an annual salary of Rs. 52,000. The Secretary in the Foreign Department was charged with "the conduct of all correspondence belonging to the external and internal Diplomatic Relations of the Government. His duties (were) to be Solely Diplomatic." (17)

(16) Resolution dated 29 April 1843, Home - Public Proceedings, OC, 3 May 1843, No. 1.
(17) Ibid.
The evolution of the Department of External Affairs

Significant changes in the organization of the Government of India were introduced in 1861, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning (1856-1862). The Indian Councils Act of 1861 established a Governor-General's Executive Council of five members. (18) The Act also authorized the Governor-General "to make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in the said Council." (19) It was under this provision that Lord Canning introduced what came to be called as the "portfolio system" in the Government of India. Under the earlier system, papers requiring the orders of the Government used to be circulated by the Secretary of the Department among all the members of the Council in order of seniority, beginning with the Governor-General. Each member recorded his opinion on the papers. In cases where these opinions agreed action was taken by the Secretary. Differences of opinion were discussed at Council meetings and the decisions were recorded. The Secretaries were in charge of their implementation. But in matters relating to foreign affairs the Governor-General had a special voice. For example, in the Charter Act of 1793, it had been provided that in all matters which, in his opinion, affected the interests of the Company or the peace and security of the British possessions in India, the Governor-General could act independently of the


(19) Section 8, ibid., 5.
Council. Lord Dalhousie (1848-'56) had adopted the practice of sending the papers first to that member of the Council who was most conversant with it, thus replacing the seniority system. (20) The portfolio system of Lord Canning went much ahead. Under this system each member of the Executive Council was charged primarily with the work of a particular Department. Only the more important matters or those affecting more than a department were to be referred to the Governor General or Council. Lord Canning thought that it was not considered "possible or desirable to define by law what questions should be submitted to the whole Council." The practice was to be "regulated as in the English cabinet by good understanding and commonsense and by the paramount authority of the head of the Government." (21)

Under this system the Government of India was divided into six main departments: Foreign, Home, Legislative, Military, Finance and Public Works. Each Department was under the direct charge of a member of the Executive Council. The Viceroy retained direct charge of the Foreign Department. Each Department was headed by a Secretary, assisted by Deputy and Assistant Secretaries. Under the rules for the disposal of business, papers relating to any particular subject were first prepared by the Department

(20) For details see George Chesney, Indian Polity (London, 1870) 147-8; Imperial Gazetteer of India (Oxford, 1909) IV, 20-1.

and submitted to the Member in Charge. (22) These procedural changes introduced by Canning remained without any basic change during the rest of the British period. (23)

The Foreign Department was entrusted with the duties of "directing our diplomatic relations - first with all the neighbouring foreign powers beyond the limits of Hindustan, and secondly with all the dependent princes and chiefs of India." (24) Subsequently the Department was also made responsible for the administration of different non-regulation territories, till they were transferred by degrees to the Home Department. Occasionally, according to the pressure of work in other Departments, administrative matters of a domestic nature were also entrusted with the Foreign Department. For example, the department was put in charge of the Telegraphs for a time when the Home Department, which had looked after it earlier, was considered to be too much overburdened with work. (25) In short, as Wheeler has pointed out, the responsibilities of the Foreign Department were of three kinds - foreign, political and domestic. Foreign relations included those with neighbouring Asian countries like Afghanistan, Ava, Muscat, Zanzibar etc. and the establishment of

(22) Imperial Gazetteer of India, n. 20, 20.

(23) For example see The Indian Councils Acts 1861 and 1892 and the Statute 33 Vict., Cap. 3, with Despatches and Rules for the Council of the Governor General (Calcutta, 1893) 49-50; and Practice and Procedure of the Government of India (Calcutta, 1906) 49.


(25) Imperial Gazetteer of India, n. 20, IV, 20.
missions there. Political relations included those carried on by the Foreign Department directly with Indian states like Hyderabad, Central Indian and Rajputana States, Nepal etc. and those carried on through the intermediary of the Governments of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Bengal. It also included matters pertaining to the ceremonial and Indian Orders, the Imperial Service Troops, Imperial Cadet Corps and the Chief’s Colleges. The domestic relations included matters relating to the administration of Non-Regulation Provinces. (26) By the early years of the 20th century the general administration of Ajmer-Merwara, the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan was also brought under the responsibilities of the Department.

For the performance of its work the Foreign Department was divided in 1861 into six branches - judicial, revenue, finance, military, political and general. (27)


(27) (i) Judicial - all papers relating to civil and criminal courts, thuggee, dacoity and the like.
(ii) Revenue - all papers relating to land tax, special cesses, sayer, transit duties, customs and similar matters.
(iii) Finance - funds for the support of contingents, pensions, Nizamut Fund, reports on the financial conditions of native states, British Provinces and the like.
(iv) Military - all correspondence relating to the organization and discipline of the forces under the Foreign Office.
(v) Political - relations with native states and correspondence with foreign powers other than native, correspondence with consuls, residents etc. posted in other countries.
(vi) General - questions regarding leave, clergy, medical department etc. and all correspondence not included in the above.
The distinction between 'foreign' and 'political' relations had been maintained from the very beginning, but it had only a territorial significance during the early years in that relations with all Asiatic powers were treated as political and with all European powers as foreign. But as long as the Indian States had been able to retain their sovereignty and independence relations with them were as much under the scope of international law as those with European powers. But, in course of time, the distinction came to acquire a more scientific basis. Relations with Indian States were no longer governed by principles of international law but by subsidiary treaties and precedents established in this connection; they were 'Political.' Relations with states beyond the frontiers of India which were more or less independent and sovereign were 'foreign.' The case of Nepal, in the opinion of Wheeler, was "somewhat exceptional," being "intermediate between foreign and political." "She is beyond the frontier (of India) and can scarcely be said to be in subsidiary alliance with the British government, but still the relations between the two governments are more of a Political than of a foreign character." (28)

The increasing work in the Foreign Department during the ensuing years led to some growth in the strength of officers and establishment in the Foreign Office. In 1861 there were

only one Secretary, one Under-Secretary and one Assistant (or Junior) Under-Secretary in the Department. (29) In 1871, when the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Departments were formed, there was a redistribution of work in the Department. The post of the Assistant Secretary in the Department was abolished, but two Attaches for Secretariat training were added to its regular establishment. (30) In 1875, the Assistant Secretaryship was re-created. (31) In 1881, besides the Assistant Secretary, a Junior Under-Secretary was also added. (32) In 1889, the post of a Deputy Secretary was created in the Department and the Junior Under Secretaryship was abolished. (33) In 1894 an Additional Assistant Secretary concerned with North Western Frontier Affairs was created in the Department. (34)

Under the orders regarding the classification and distribution of the Business of the Government of India among the different departments by Lord Elgin, Governor-General on 19 August 1898, some slight changes were introduced in the

(29) Foreign Department Proceedings - General A - June 1871, Nos. 133-167. /A civilian officer is called Assistant Secretary and a military officer to the same place as an Under Secretary./

(30) Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department No. 2748A dated 6 June 1871, ibid., No. 34.

(31) Foreign Department Proceedings, General A, June 1875, No. 34.


(33) Foreign Department Proceedings, General A, November 1904, No. 19-34.

(34) Ibid.
functions of the Department, but they were not substantial changes. (35)

By 1901 a new and important responsibility was added on to the Foreign Department. This referred to the administration of the North-Western Frontier Province. This territory had remained part of the Punjab, and the Foreign Department had been in charge of certain branches of its administration.

(35) The functions of the Department now were: All business connected with

(i) External Policies;
(ii) Relations with foreign states beyond the limits of India;
(iii) the Recognition of Consuls;
(iv) the Grant of Passports;
(v) the control of Relations with frontier tribes and of the Administration of Police and Militia employed in connection with such Tribes;
(vi) the Political Service and the Berar Commission;
(vii) Relations with Native States and feudatories within the limits of India;
(viii) the Imperial Service Troops;
(ix) the control of the Administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, Ajmere-Merwara, and British Baluchistan, other than business specially allotted by this rule to another Department;
(x) the supervision of the Department for the suppression of Thaggi and Dakaiti in Native States;
(xi) Extradition and Extra-territoriality;
(xii) Political prisoners;
(xiii) Political pensions;
(xiv) Titles;
(xv) Ceremonials; and
(xvi) the Orders of the Star of India, Indian Empire and Crown of India.

The Indian Councils Act 1861 and 1892 etc., n. 23, 47.

NOTE: The power of recognition of the appointment of foreign consuls lay with the Secretary of State. The Government of India could only give an acting recognition without reference to the Secretary of State, but this was to be confirmed on receipt of intimation from the Secretary of State that the appointment in question was permanent. See Foreign-General-June 1896, Nos. 168-172 - Part B.
In August 1901 it was decided to separate the North-West Frontier area from the Punjab and to constitute it as a separate province. This step was considered necessary, according to Lord Curzon who was Viceroy then, on account of the situation on the Frontiers. There were persistent troubles for the administration from the war-like tribesmen on the frontiers. These problems were the responsibility of the Foreign Department which was under the charge of the Governor-General himself. It was at first decided to create a separate North-Western Frontier Province under the direct charge of the Viceroy. Soon afterwards it was decided to entrust the entire administration of the new Province to the Foreign Department. (36) However, by 1906 a large part of these internal administrative responsibilities were handed over by the Foreign Department to the various other Departments in the Government of India. (37)

Under the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1901-1905) and in the years immediately succeeding, the Foreign Department underwent important changes. Lord Curzon was a Viceroy with very enlarged conceptions of the functions of the Foreign Department. He had wanted to make it an active partner in the formulation and implementation of British foreign policy in relation to the

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(36) Foreign Department Frontier A Proceedings, February 1902, No. 42. See also speech by T. B. Sapru, Legislative Assembly Debates, 15 March 1921, VI, pt.II, 1119.

(37) Foreign Department Frontier A Proceedings, May 1906, Nos. 29-30.
Asiatic regions around India. (38) He, therefore, held that he was "far from convinced that some radical change in the constitution of the Indian Foreign Department may not be ultimately required." 

(38) In a despatch written in 1903 Lord Curzon stated that the developments in international relations and improvement of communications had thrown upon the Foreign Department a great deal of work of a class, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. These related to the ambitions of great powers like Germany, France and Russia, the consequent threat to India's security and the need for new relations with neighbouring countries on the borders. "The first result of this movement has been that the foreign policy of the Government of India is brought into increasing connection with the Foreign Office in London, and that questions have to be considered and decided not exclusively from the point of view of their bearing upon Indian Interests, but from their relation to the policies of the Empire at Large."

In a despatch from the Governor General in Council dated 5 May 1904 he wrote:

"Our Foreign Department is now called upon to know, to understand, and to advise upon, the foreign affairs in so far as they affect either India or Great Britain, of the whole of the vast area which stretches from Yunan on the east to Baghdad on the West and from Tashkend on the north to the Indian Ocean on the South, and at the present time it is engaged on almost every portion of the external frontier of India in special negotiations, which, though they may only be of temporary duration, invariably leave a legacy of tension and increased work which is practically permanent. Affairs in the Aden Hinterland must for many years to come demand considerably more attention than they have hitherto received. The Tibetan question is not likely to be finally laid to rest by such settlement as the Mission may be able to effect, while in Persia, and around the Persian Gulf activity is likely to increase, rather than diminish."

(39) See Despatch No. 13 dated 1 June 1905 from Governor General in Council to Secretary of State, Foreign Department, General-A Proceedings, July 1905, Nos. 8-12.
He also felt that the existing organization of the Foreign Department was inadequate to meet its new responsibilities. Its range of knowledge, experience, tradition or staff were far too limited to take up these responsibilities. Consequently, instances might arise in which "the Foreign Department may not succeed in furnishing to the Secretary of State or to His Majesty's Government the authoritative advice or expression of opinion which may have been invited, and which we ought to be in a position to give." (40)

Lord Curzon initiated a series of proposals to reorganize the Foreign Department, but due to his resignation from the Governor-Generalship he was not able to implement many of them. Some of these were done by his successors. The creation of a separate confidential branch in the Department in 1903, which would deal with all questions of telegraphic communication by means of cypher and other codes with the object of ensuring secrecy and accuracy, was one of such steps. (41) The procedure for dealing with confidential files in the Department was also sought to be improved soon after. (42) On Lord Curzon's suggestion, an officer with some ten to twelve years' experience in an Asiatic Department in the British Foreign Office was to be appointed as an Additional Assistant Secretary for a term in

(40) Despatch from Governor General in Council to Secretary of State, No. 62, dated 14 May 1903, n. 38, 13-14.

(41) Office Memorandum from the Foreign Department to the Finance and Commerce Department No. 435-G, dated 14 March 1903, Foreign Department, General-A Proceedings June 1903, Nos. 4-12, Part A.

(42) Foreign Department, General-B Proceedings May 1905, No. 142.
the Indian Foreign Department. It was expected that by bringing in that knowledge of Foreign Office methods and standpoints, he would secure the requisite link with the Foreign Office and ensure that greater rapidity as well as harmony of work. An accompanying proposal that some officers of the Indian Foreign Department might be given opportunities to work in London Foreign Office was not, however, adhered to by the latter office. (43)

An Additional Deputy Secretaryship was also created in the Foreign Department in 1905. One of the Deputy Secretaries was to be in charge of the Internal and the other of the Frontier branches. (44) This and the appointment of the Special Assistant Secretary on loan from the Foreign Office necessitated some reorganization of work in the Foreign Department. (45)

(43) Despatch from the Governor General in Council to Secretary of State No. 62, dated 14 May 1903, n. 38, 13-14. See also Foreign Department, General-A, February 1905, No. 17.


(45) The new distribution of work was as follows:

Deputy Secretary 1 - External: Section A - Baluchistan, Persia, Persian Gulf, Turkish Arabia / Staff - 1 Superintendent + 8 clerks /

Special Assistant Secretary - External: Section B - Aden, Assam, Bhutan, Burma, China, Egypt, Nepal, Pilgrim Traffic, Red Sea and Somali Coast, Siam, Sikkim, Tibet, Turkish Arabia / Staff - 1 Superintendent + 10 clerks /

Deputy Secretary 2 - Frontier: Sections A and B: Afghanistan, Central Asia, (excluding Kashgar), Frontier Corps, Kashmir, Frontier, Khyber, Khorassan and Seistan, North West Frontier Petitions / Staff - 1 Superintendent + 9 clerks /

Foreign Department, General-A Proceedings February 1905, Nos. 11-19, Notes 7-12; Foreign Department, General A Proceedings, July 1905, Nos. 8-12, Notes 10-.
reorganization of work, particularly regarding the British Foreign Office official, differed materially from the way in which it had originally been planned. Under the original proposals the Special Assistant Secretary was to deal, in the first instance, with matters involving relations with foreign powers; he was also to relieve the Viceroy and the Secretary to the Foreign Department of "the important and delicate work of drafting despatches on such topics." But, in actual practice, he was employed just like any other Assistant or Under Secretary in the Foreign Department. (46) The new arrangement of the Special Assistant Secretary seconded from the Foreign Office had not in any way fulfilled Lord Curzon's fond expectations, particularly regarding the assumption of an enhanced role for the Indian Foreign Department in the formulation and implementation of British foreign policy in relation to these Asiatic regions. The keen disappointment of the Indian authorities might be seen from the despatch of the Governor-General to the Secretary of State on discontinuing the system. (47) In 1905 it was also decided that the tenure of appointment of Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries in the Department might be limited to three years, but the Government of India could extend the term of individuals for further periods. (48)


(47) Ibid.

(48) Foreign Department - General-B Proceedings, February 1905, No. 204.
In 1906 there was a general redistribution of work among the different Departments of the Government of India. The functions of the Foreign Department, however, remained more or less the same as earlier. (49) Soon afterwards, it was decided to transfer the political control over Sikkim and Bhutan to the Government of India from the Bengal Presidency. The Political Officer in Sikkim was to be in direct correspondence with the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam on matters relating to extradition and routine communications on subjects of boundary marks or petty disputes regarding disputes. But questions involving delineation or demarcation of boundaries were to be referred to the Government of India. (50)

A further question that needed immediate attention was that of the increasing volume of work in the Department. Lord Curzon had been repeatedly pointing this out to the Secretary of State. (51) In a note on the subject, L. W. Dane, Secretary, Foreign Department wrote:

(49) See footnote above.

The only changes from these were the addition of the administration of the North-West Frontier Province and the North-West Frontier Commission. The department for the suppression of Thaggi and Dakaity in the native states had been wound up earlier and was no longer the responsibility of the Foreign Department.

(50) Foreign Department, External A Proceedings, August 1906, Nos. 75-77.

(51) For example see, Despatch from the Governor General in Council to the Secretary of State for India, No. 62 of 1903 dated 14 May 1903, Foreign Department - General-A Proceedings, June 1903, Nos. 4-12, page 13.
Something must be done to relieve the Foreign Department. The political work proper has increased enormously of late years, owing partly to a more active policy in developing and improving the administration in the Native States in India, but mainly to the nearer advance of Foreign Powers to India and the necessity for greater care in conducting the external relations of India. (52)

The Secretary suggested a reduction of work on all fronts - political, administrative and consular. The political work of the Department had practically turned it into a "Local Government for the whole of India." More political work should, therefore, be delegated to the Local Governments. Administrative work of the Department over districts like Ajmer-Merwara which related to cases of no political importance could be sent to other Departments. Consular cases could also be made over to the Commerce and Industry Department "which would mark the fact that the consuls in India are commercial and not diplomatic agents." (53)

The Secretary of State also similarly suggested the removal of certain states such as Baroda, Sikkim and Bhutan, from the direct control of the Government of India, the adoption of a more liberal reliance upon the local authorities, a repression of tendencies to adopt a more active policy in certain respects towards the native states, a revision of the forms and statements periodically submitted to the Foreign Department etc. (54)

(52) Foreign Department, General-B Proceedings, May 1906, No. 313.

(53) Note by L. W. Dane, Secretary, Foreign Department, Foreign Department, General B Proceedings, May 1906, No. 313.

(54) Political despatch from John Morley, Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, No. 403 dated 19 October 1906, Foreign Department, General-A Proceedings, December 1906, Nos. 1-7.
Under the rules of procedure of work in the Foreign Department, only certain cases were submitted to the Council. In certain cases the Governor-General himself took the decision. The decision in this respect was left to the discretion of the Governor-General. All Council cases belonging to the Foreign Department were to be circulated among the Members of the Council in the order of the five Members in charge of the Civil Departments, the Member in charge of the Military Department, the Commander-in-Chief and, finally, the Governor-General. (55) But despatches received in or issuing from the Foreign Department from or to the Secretary of State were to be distributed as promptly as possible, first to the Governor-General and then to all members of the Council in the most convenient order with regard to their places of residence. In other Departments the papers went first to the Member in charge, and then to the Governor-General and finally to other members. (56) These arrangements continued with only minor changes till 1946.

There were further important reorganization moves in 1914. It was decided that with effect from 1 January 1914 the designation of the Department was to be changed as the Foreign Department, General-B Proceedings, May 1906, No. 62. See also Practice and Procedure of the Government of India (Calcutta, 1906) 73-90.


(56) The various departments of this time were Home, Revenue and Agriculture, Public Works, Finance, Commerce and Industry, Military Supply, and Army. Rules 29 and 30, ibid.
and Political Department. (57) The change in name came in the wake of the decision to have one more Secretary in the Department. The two Secretaries were to be styled as the Political Secretary and the Foreign Secretary. They headed respectively the Political and Foreign departments between which the functions of the Foreign and Political Department were divided. The Foreign Department headed by the Foreign Secretary and assisted by his Deputy dealt with India's relations with foreign powers. The Political Department headed by the Political Secretary and assisted by his Deputy dealt, as its primary function, with the Government of India's relations with the Indian chiefs. (58) The two

(57) Home Department - Public - Part B Proceedings, January 1914, No. 163.

(58) The distribution of work between the two departments was as follows in 1935.

I. Foreign -

1. External Policies;
2. Relations with Foreign States beyond the limits of India;
3. Consular appointments;
4. Passports;
5. Indian overseas in all A mandated territories, in those administered by a foreign power under a B or C mandate, in Egypt, and outside the Empire except in Surinam;
6. the control of relations with trans-border Tribes and of the administration of Frontier Constabulary and militia employed in connection with such Tribes and of the administration of tribal territory in so far as it is administered;
7. the control of the Administration of Baluchistan;
8. petitions in Jirga cases in the North-West Frontier Province and adjoining tribal territories;
9. political prisoners, e.g. Afghan Refugees;
10. Extradition and extra-territoriality;

...(contd. on next page)
departments dealt thus with "essentially distinct" functions, but they were housed together and shared the general office establishment and the services of certain junior officers - one Under Secretary and one Assistant Secretary - primarily for reasons of economy." (59) Thus unlike other Departments, the Foreign and Political Department alone had two Secretaries, each of them being the administrative head and the highest official adviser in respect of their respective branches to the Governor-General, who continued to be in direct charge of the Department. Due to the numerous responsibilities of the Governor-General, which naturally exceeded that of any Member of

Contd. from last page

II. Political -

1. Control of the Administration of Ajmer-Merwara and of all places in Indian States administered by the Governor General in Council, save in so far as it relates to any particular class of business in any of the said territory of place which is by or under any other provision in the Rules of Business allotted to another Dept;
2. the Political Services;
3. Political prisoners (excluding Afghan Refugees and relations of Rulers outside India);
4. Political pensions;
5. Relations with Indian States and Feudatories within the limits of India;
6. Indian States Forces;
7. The Chief Colleges;
8. English Honours;
9. Indian titles;
10. Ceremonials.


(59) Speech by Denis Bray, Foreign Secretary, Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. II, pt. II (16 March 1922) 3181-2.
the Council, the Secretaries of this Department came to wield much greater authority and influence in the administration of their Departments than other Secretaries. Moreover, while other Departments were represented in the Legislature by the Members of the Council, the two Secretaries themselves were the principal spokesmen of their Departments in the Legislative Chambers, the Governor-General not being a Member of either chamber of the legislature. It was no wonder that the position of the two Secretaries was regarded generally as something special in the government. The Foreign Secretaryship used to be regarded as "the blue ribbon of service." (60)

The work of the Department showed considerable increase during these years. In a departmental communication of 1931 to the General Purposes Sub-Committee it was stated that since 1913 when the separation of the Foreign and Political Department into two distinct wings had been effected, there had been a progressive and considerable increase in the amount of work on both sides of the Department. A proposal to re-amalgamate the posts of the Foreign and the Political Secretaries was emphatically rejected by the Department. It was pointed out in the departmental communication that the "work is of so complex a nature and requires such specialised knowledge that it would be quite impossible in present conditions for a single officer to fill the dual role of Foreign and Political Secretary; nor could any one officer get through the work." The Department was

(60) A. B. Rudra, The Viceroy and Governor-General of India (London, 1940) 100.
emphatic that "the volume and complexity of the work which has to be dealt with in the Foreign and Political Department makes it impossible to consider the re-amalgamation of the appointments of Foreign and Political Secretaries as a line of economy." (61)

This great increase in work in the Department in the post-1919 period came in the wake of the Montague-Chelmsford Report and the Government of India Act, 1919. As the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission pointed out in 1931, the two most important changes in this context related to the relations with the Indian States and the new international obligations of India. Relations with a number of states, formerly carried on by the Provincial Governments, were now taken over by the Department directly, leaving only a few states whose relations were still being conducted by Governors-in-Council. India's membership of the League and other international organizations, her attendance at the Imperial Conferences, her direct relations with the Dominion on the question of the overseas Indians etc. also led to a great increase in the volume of work in the Department. (62)

The nature of work transacted by the Department can be noticed from a statement supplied by it to the General Purposes Sub-Committee of the Retrenchment Advisory Committee. The

(61) Foreign Department - File No. 132(95)/E/31.
Department estimated that work in the Department under the various classes on the basis of receipts was as follows:

(a) that originating from or involving orders and instructions to Local Governments - 22\%  
(b) that involved in the direct administration of central activities - 45\%  
(c) that arising 'out of international obligations' - 6\%  
(d) other work originating from outside India, including the Secretary of State - 21\%  
(e) work arising out of the Legislatures - 4\%. (63)

It may be seen that the increase in work in the Department arose out of new forms of activities like the new international obligations and legislatures.

It was, therefore, natural that the Department should be showing a gradual growth in size during these years. In 1905 the Foreign Department had consisted of only four branches: Frontier; Internal - Sections A & B; External - Sections A, B and C; and General. Also the Record Room.  
By 1910 these had increased to six Establishment - Sections A and B, and Cypher, being the additions. In 1912 the new Ceremonial Section was added to the Internal Branch. By 1923 the number of branches in the Department grew to ten Establishment, Accounts, Frontier, Political, Internal,

(63) These figures were calculated on the basis of the volume of work received in the Department during the period 1 January 1931 to 31 March 1931. The period included a session of the legislature. Foreign Department - File No. 848-1931.
The increase in work and the growth in organization naturally resulted in an expansion of the staff of the Department.

A major reorganization of the Department came on 1 April 1937, in the wake of the partial implementation of the Government of India Act, 1935. Under this Act, the powers of the Crown in respect of the territories of India were to be exercised through the Governor-General of India and the Crown Representative.

(64) Foreign Department, File No. 12-F.O./30 of 1930; Foreign Department, File No. 160-F.O./32 of 1932 etc.

These files give a detailed account of the distribution of work among the various branches. Of these 10 branches the Frontier Branch, the External Branch and the Near East Branch may be considered to have been doing 'foreign' work.

(65) The following table gives the comparative figures for the number of superior officials in the Secretariat of the Foreign and Political Department for 1919 and 1935.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1919 (as on 1.9.1919)</th>
<th>1935 (as on 31.10.1935)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Secretary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (temporary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Secretary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Secretary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Deputy Secretary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (one was temporary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Secretary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adviser for Far Eastern Questions</td>
<td>1 (temporary)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registrar (status of Assistant Secretary)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a comparison with earlier times see footnote 9 above.
the former for the exercise of functions in connection with 'British India,' which included foreign relations, and the latter for functions in connection with the relations with Indian States. But the same person could be appointed to fill both the offices. (66) A constitutional distinction was thus made between the 'foreign' and 'political' work, the former being performed by the Governor-General in Council and the latter by the Crown Representative. An administrative bifurcation of the Foreign and Political Department, therefore, became necessary now. It was thus that in 1937, the External Affairs Department was organized separately under the direct charge of the Governor-General. It took over all the responsibilities of the foreign wing of the Foreign and Political Department. (67) The Political Department was not part of the Government of India and was under the direct charge of the Governor-General in his capacity as Crown Representative. (68) The External Affairs Department dealt with external affairs—matters like relations with foreign countries, consular appointments, passports, extradition, foreign settlements

(66) Section 3, Government of India Act, 1935. Under this Act, the Political work was therefore taken out of the responsibilities of the Governor-General in Council and the Government of India. The Crown exercised these responsibilities through the Secretary of State in London, and the Crown Representative in India.

(67) It was noted earlier that under the 1935 Act External Affairs was considered to be reserved in the hands of the Governor-General. See above,

(68) As on 1 April 1937 the other Departments in the Government of India were (i) Home, (ii) Defence, (iii) Finance, (iv) Commerce, (v) Railway, (vi) Foreign, (vii) Industries and Labour, (viii) Legislative, (ix) Education, Health and Lands, (x) Legislative, (xi) Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, (xii) Reforms Office. A few months later, with effect from 8 November 1937, a Department of Communications was also created, but the Department of Industries was changed as Department of Industries and Labour.
in India and the administration of the tribal areas and Baluchistan.

In 1941, the Department of Indians Overseas was created. The work relating to overseas Indians had previously been performed by a division in the Education, Health and Lands Department. The new Department was concerned with the regulation of emigration from India to other parts of the British Commonwealth, the interests of Indians in the Dominions and colonies, pilgrimages by Indians to holy places outside India, repatriation etc. The portfolio was held by a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In 1944 the Department was re-designated as the Department of Commonwealth Relations.

At the time of the formation of the Interim Government in September, 1946 there were, thus, two departments in the Government of India which were primarily concerned with foreign relations - the External Affairs Department and the Commonwealth Relations Department. The former was under the charge of the Governor-General himself and the latter of a Member of the Executive Council. At the same time a number of other Departments were also being drawn into foreign relations on account of the new international status of India. For the various activities of the Government of India in consequence of its membership of various international organizations like the League of Nations, International Labour Organization etc. and of its participation at various international conferences appropriate Departments
in the Government of India were made responsible. For example, the External Affairs Department was concerned with India's participation at the Assembly of the League of Nations (and later the U.N.O.), the Labour Department with the I.L.O., etc. The External Affairs Department did not hold itself responsible for any function of co-ordination in respect of these various international activities, a function performed by the Ministry of External Affairs today. (69) This was probably on account of the fact that effective formulation and co-ordination of policy took place in London.

The evolution of a foreign office in the Secretariat of the Government of India was thus a gradual process. The functions performed by the Department underwent changes in accordance with changes in the nature of the foreign policy of the country during these years. It dealt with the Indian powers and with other European powers in India in the 18th century. By the beginning of the 19th century new responsibilities were added to it - primarily those relating to neighbouring Asiatic countries. A distinction between 'political' and 'foreign' work had been suggested from the very beginning, and found effective expression in administration - as for example in the organization of the foreign and political wings of the Department in 1914. The absolute separation of the External Affairs Department from the Political Department in 1937 was

(69) See below, Chapter V.
a logical culmination of this process. The new international status of India since 1919 and its participation in international organizations and conferences added something to the responsibilities of the Department though a good part of the work added on to the Government of India in this context was shared by other Departments.

But, the functions of the Department had not at any time corresponded to those of the foreign office of an independent country. In relation to the outside world the Department was only concerned with only a very few countries beyond its borders. Even with regard to them it had only to act like an overseas branch of the British Foreign Office. The primary interest of the Imperial Government and consequently of the Department to maintain relations with them pertained to questions of Indian defence. Even commercial questions were handled by the relevant department in the Government and there was no procedure to relate them to the foreign department. Similarly, the Commonwealth Relations Department did not deal with any direct political questions. The limited character of the functions of these Departments were naturally reflected in their organization. It could in no way be considered adequate for the performance of the foreign policy functions of even a very small, but independent country.
Missions and Posts abroad

The earliest attempts of the East India Company to establish missions and posts abroad can be traced to their efforts to open up relations with Mughal Emperor. At the Third Voyage to the East in 1606-7, James I provided William Hawkins, a merchant who was with the expedition, with a letter to Emperor Akbar whose death was still unknown in England. Hawkin's Mission was not quite successful due to Portuguese manoeuvrings. In 1612, following the victory of the English over the Portuguese on the seas off the Western coast near Surat, a treaty was signed between the English and the Governor of Amadanar (Ahmedabad.) Article 3 of the Treaty stated that "it shall be lawful for the King of England to keep and continue his Ambassador at the court of the Great Moghul during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound all such great and weighty questions as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace." The treaty was confirmed by a firman from Delhi in 1613. In 1614 took place the celebrated Mission of Sir Thomas Roe as Ambassador to the Mughal Court. He carried with him a letter from "James,

(70) For details see Cambridge History of India (Delhi, 1956) V, 77-8.

by the Grace of Almighty God, the creator of Heaven and Earth, 
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the 
Christian Faith" etc. to "the high and mighty Monarch the Great 
Moghul King of Oriental Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and 
Corazon" etc. The letter stated that the King "having notice of 
your great favour toward us and our subjects, ... have thought it 
meet to send unto you our ambassador, which may more fully and 
at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be 
considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence 
which is so lately begun between us, ...." (72) Roe's Embassy 
lasted till 1619. Other Missions followed. For example, in 
1698 Sir William Norris came to India on a mission to Emperor 
Aurangzeb as the King's special Ambassador. He was given the 
title of King's Consul and came to negotiate for concessions 
for trade and jurisdiction, but his efforts were not very 
successful.* (73) In 1714, a mission under John Surman reached 
Delhi and after three years of protracted negotiations were able

(72) Ibid., 221. See also, C. H. Alexandrowicz, "Treaty 
and Diplomatic Relations between the European and South Asian 
Powers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in 
Academie de Droit International, Recueil Des Cours 1960 

(73) Norris came to India, representing a new Company and the 
old Company authorities in India defeated his efforts. In July 
1698 royal assent was given to a parliamentary bill granting the 
exclusive right of trading with the East Indies to a "General 
Society" made up of the subscribers who formed a fresh joint-stock 
company of the name, "The English Company Trading to the East 
Indies." But there was a saving provision for the old East India 
Company by which they could continue their operations till 1701. 
The dispute between the two companies was settled in September 1708, 
when a union of the two companies was consummated. See ibid., 
to carry with him firmans from the Emperor. (74) The fall of the Mughal Empire and the strengthening of the position of the Company in India resulted in a reversal in fact of the relations between the Emperor and the Company. Though the titular sovereignty of the Emperor was formally repudiated only in 1858, from about the last quarter of the previous century itself, the Company had ceased to pay him his respects as the sovereign. (75)

Even during these years the Company had of necessity to enter into political relations with a number of Indian powers. During the earliest years of such political relations when the Company and the Indian chiefs were treated as equals arrangements were made for the reciprocal appointment of agents. (76) With the change in relations of these states with the Company, from equals to subsidiary allies, in the early years of the 19th century, the maintenance of British agencies at the courts entered upon a new phase. Under the new system of subsidiary alliances, the states were required to pay the cost or part of the cost of the maintenance of these British establishments including the British army contingents in native states. Later, all Indian states were obliged to accept such representatives of the Company.

(75) In 1771 Warren Hastings stopped the annual grants to the Emperor. In 1803 he was virtually made a prisoner by the Company by Lord Mornington. Governors-General were reluctant to pay the ceremonial courtesies to the Emperor from Lord Moira's time. This happened at the time of Lord Amherst. The title of the Emperor lapsed with the death of Bahadur Shah in exile after the 1857 rising. See above, p. 5.

(76) For example, a commercial Resident of the Company was appointed at Anjengo, the first British settlement, in Travancore. His functions soon became political.
These representatives were called Residents or Political Agents or Agents depending upon their status and rank. Normally, the traditions of the Indian Foreign Office had been averse to any title higher than that of Envoy, Political Agent or Resident to these representatives in the states. (77) In the larger states there were Residents, and in the smaller ones Political agents or Agents. If the states formed a natural group an Agent-General or Agent or Commissioner was appointed for the whole group. The duties of the Political Agents varied according to the nature of the treaties with the states concerned. If in the earliest days their functions had approximated to those of diplomatic envoys, with the change in the nature of relations between the States and the Government of India, the nature of their duties also changed. They were the channels of communications between the states where they were stationed and all outside sources - the Foreign Department of the Government of India, other Indian states and foreign powers. They conducted negotiations, reported on all important occurrences at the courts and on the administration, resources and character of the princes. In course of time, they also offered 'assistance and advice' to the chiefs on all matters of external or internal concern. They even arbitrated differences between the states or between the princes and their subjects. The operations of the British subsidiary forces were also placed under the immediate

(77) Wyllie, n. 24, 244. On the practices of exchange of envoys during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the Company and the Indian powers see, Alexandrowicz, n. 72, 302-8.
control and direction of the Residents. (78) In short, the Resident was much more of a minister than an Ambassador; he carried the subsidiary system into effect; he was the organ through which the subsidiary system functioned; he had the delicate task of 'governing those, who, from their station, should themselves be Governors.' (79) The 'advice' of the Resident was generally an order or command, and, except in cases where he himself felt it his duty to leave the Indian rulers to themselves his authority was all-comprehensive. (80) By about the beginning of the 19th century they could in no way be described as exercising the normal functions of diplomats. They were rather the agents of the Government of India for its indirect administration of the Indian states. They were either directly responsible to the Foreign Department of the Government of India or, as in certain cases, to the Local Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the like.

By about the beginning of the 19th century, with a new realization about the defence of India from the possible ambitions of France and Russia, the Government of India began to follow a vigorous policy of building up relations with the limitrophe

(78) Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Part VII: Political or Foreign (Printed 20th August 1853, Calcutta) 38-9, 78, 84-5, 134 etc.

(79) Report of the Select Committee, ibid., VII.

(80) K. M. Panikkar, Indian States and the Government of India (London, 1932) 103.
countries of India. (81) This led to the establishment of diplomatic and military missions in such countries. These missions had political and commercial functions to perform. Here again, with the increasing establishment of British influence in these countries the nature of these relations and the status and functions of the envoys to these countries also underwent corresponding changes.

The unofficial mission of Mehdi Ali Khan to Teheran in 1798 was the beginning of the establishment of such relations of the Government of India with Persia. (82) This was followed by the more ostentatious mission of Captain John Malcolm to Muscat in 1800. In an agreement signed on 18 January 1800 with the Sultan of Muscat it was stated that "an English gentleman of responsibility, on the part of the Honorable Company, shall always reside at the port of Muscat, and be an Agent through whom all intercourse between the States shall be conducted." (83) This was possibly the first agreement of the Government of India with a state outside the physical frontiers of the country on the establishment of a political agency. John Malcolm proceeded from Muscat to Persia and conducted negotiations with the Shah. The mission was a failure. The efforts of Sir Harford Jones, who succeeded him, was also not wholly successful. A third

(81) This was discussed earlier in Chapter I.

(82) For details see, P. N. Kirpal, The East India Company and Persia 1800-1810 (Punjab University Historical Society, n.d.) 1-5.

(83) For details see, Article 2, Aitchison, n. 71, VII, 210-11.
envoy of the Crown, Sir Gore Ousley was able to conclude a
definite treaty with the Shah in 1809, which with certain changes
was ratified in 1914. (84) In 1823, under a new Treaty signed
between the Shah and the British Government British relations with
Persia were transferred to the Government of India. The
Plenipotentiary of the Crown was now substituted by an Envoy of
the Government of India. This position continued upto 1835, and
again for another year from 1858-1859. Since then it has remained
under the control of the British Foreign Office. (85) Similar
missions were also sent to other states on the North-West of
India - to the Mirs of Sind, Ranjit Singh at Lahore, the courts
of Kabul and Teheran and other chieftains on the Persian Gulf.
Envoys of the Government of India were appointed to all important
courts in the area. (86) A similar mission was also sent to Ava
in 1802 when Lt. Col. Michael Symes was appointed by the Governor
General "to the situation of Envoy on the part of this Government
to the Court of Ava." (87) With the fear of Russian conquest
of India from the north, diplomatic missions were also sent to
states on the northern and north-western borders of India like

(84) Aitchison, n. 71, XII, 7-10. The confusion regarding
the appointment of these envoys was discussed earlier in
Chapter I.

(85) For details, see ibid., 15.

(86) For details see ibid., 1-10; John Malcolm,
Sketch of the Political History of India from the Introduction
of Pitts Bill A.D. 1784 to the Present Date (London, 1811) 317.

(87) Minutes of Governor General in Council,
Foreign - Secret - Department Proceedings, 29 April 1802,
No. 19; see also ibid., No. 20, No. 22 and No. 23.
Afghanistan, Nepal, and Kashgar and Yarkand. For example, in a treaty with the ruler of Kashgar and Yarkand in 1874, provisions were made for the appointment of representatives "entitled to the rank and privileges accorded to ambassadors by the law of nations" and of commercial agents who were "entitled to the privileges of Consuls of the most favoured nation." (88)

With the consolidation of British influence in these countries, the nature of the missions established in them also changed. The envoys appointed to them were designated as Residents and Political Agents as in the case of the Indian States. The only exceptions to this were the Indian mission in Nepal where the designation of the Resident was later changed as "British Envoy at the Court of Nepal, Kathmandu" in 1919, and as Minister in 1923. (89)

The establishment of Indian High Commissions in certain Dominions was also another development in the organization of the overseas establishments of India. The first of these was the Indian High Commission in London established under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919. (90) This was followed by the appointment of the Agent of the Government of


(89) It was also decided at the same time that Nepal affairs should thereafter be dealt with by the Foreign Secretary instead of the Political Secretary. / External - July 1919 - 158-165 - Part A /

(90) Government of India Act 1919, Section 29-A.

Some three years before the establishment of the High Commission, a Trade Commissioner was appointed in London in 1917. With the establishment of the High Commission his office was coverted as the Trade Department.
India in South Africa under the Capetown Agreement of 1927. In 1935 his designation was changed as Agent-General and in 1941 the status of the Agent-General was raised to that of High Commissioner. Agents of the Government of India were also appointed to Ceylon and Malaya. Trade Commissioners were also appointed in Malaya and Australia.

Under the exigencies of the war situation the Government of India found it necessary to establish two important missions in China and USA. An Indian Agent was appointed at Chungking in 1941 in exchange for corresponding Chinese representation in New Delhi. With the opening of the office of the Personal Envoy of President Roosevelt in India, an Indian Agent-General was appointed in Washington with the rank of Minister. The establishment of the Special Mission at the United Nations under the Permanent Representative with the status of Ambassador was also a development of this period.

But, in the nature of functions performed by them, they could in no way be described as diplomatic missions. They did little political work on their own and when occasions arose for taking some action with political implications the India Office and the Foreign Office in London were always in control. For example, the Indian High Commissioner in London was appointed by the Secretary of State. He was not also the normal channel of communications between the Government of India and the British Government. This was done through direct communications between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India.
The High Commissioner performed only commercial and agency functions on behalf of the Central and Provincial Governments in India. He was attached to the Commerce and Industry Department and not the Foreign Department. Occasionally, the High Commissioner might also be asked to represent India at some international conference as of the ILO and the Assembly of the League of Nations. Even under the Government of India Act, 1935 the High Commissioner was only to perform 'such functions in connection with the Federation, and, in particular, in relation to the making of contracts as the Governor-General may from time to time direct.' (91) The Indian representatives in South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon were mainly concerned with the question of overseas Indians in these territories and the Emigration Act. They were attached to the Department of Education, Health and Lands which dealt with these questions and not the Foreign Department. (92)

(91) Section 302(2). The High Commissioner's work was performed in the Accounts Department (payments, salaries, pensions, accounts etc.), the General Department (personnel questions, repatriation of dispered seamen, assistance to Indian nationals), the Public Department (inter-imperial matters, ILO and other international organizations), Trade Department (Trade commissioners in London, Hamburg and Milan, Indian export promotion), Stores Department (purchase, inspection and shipment of stores for Central and Provincial Governments of India) and the Education Department (Indian students in Britain). The total staff of the High Commission numbered about 600.

(92) In 1941 the Division dealing with this question was organized as the Department of Indians overseas. In 1944 this was redesignated as the Department of Commonwealth Relations. There was not, however, much change in the nature of its functions.
The formal control of these missions was by the Government of India, but their effective control lay with the India Office which was advised by the Foreign Office on questions of political importance. The appointment of officials to these posts was by the Governor-General 'exercising his individual judgement.' (93) But this naturally meant the approval of the Secretary of State, as in all matters on which the Governor-General could 'exercise his individual judgement,' he was under the control and directions of the Secretary of State. (94) All correspondence between these posts and even the British representatives in UK, Europe and the colonies was to be channelled through the Government of India and the Secretary of State. A distinction was maintained between correspondence to be channelled through the Secretary of State and direct correspondence. Some relaxation of this provision was made with regard to routine correspondence of a technical nature, but on all important matters the rule persisted. (95) The various Departments of the Government of India could enter into direct correspondence with these officials, and except with regard to matters with which the Foreign Department was primarily concerned, it was open to any Department of the Government of India to correspond either directly or through the medium of Secretary of

(93) See Section 302(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935 regarding the appointment of the High Commissioner in London.


(95) For example see, Foreign Department - General B Proceedings January 1890, Nos. 9-10; Home Department (Public) Proceedings January 1890, Nos. 281-282; Foreign Department - General B - March 1890, Nos. 93-94 etc.
State, with British functionaries at home or abroad including consular and Diplomatic officers in China, Japan, Persia or Siam. (96) Since 1919 a few officers of the Indian Political Department were appointed as consular officers in certain British consular establishments in Persia, but correspondence with them by Government of India had to be routed through the British Foreign Office, though they were paid out of Indian revenues and their appointments, transfers, leave etc. were made by the Government of India. (97) Such arrangements often led to the disagreements between the Government of India and the India Office, but the India Office had always its way in such instances. The Secretary of the Foreign Department in the Government of India noted down in a file in 1907, "If we are prohibited from dealing with our Consuls and His Majesty's Government take over all communications with them it is a question if we should post any Indian officers in Persia at all." The Viceroy noted below "I quite agree in (sic) Secretary's view." (98) The Government of India was allowed to resume control of all posts under the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India in Persia, Ahwaz, Dizful and Mohammerah and those in the Persian Gulf with the exception of Kuwait with effect from 11 October 1920. (99)

(96) For example see, Home Department (Public) Deposit Proceedings August 1901, No. 6; Foreign Department - General B Proceedings August 1906, Nos. 135-138.

(97) Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings May 1907, Nos. 12-23, Part A.

(98) Ibid., No. 286, Part B (Printed).

(99) Foreign and Political Department - Est - April 1921, 68-69 - Part B.
A new form of Indian overseas representation came into existence with India's participation in international organizations and conferences, particularly after World War I. (100) This necessitated the appointment of Indian delegations to take part in such meetings and conferences. The administrative arrangements regarding such participation bring out the great limitations imposed upon the Government of India with regard to the exercise of the new 'quasi-international status' of the country. Invitations to the conference were received by the Secretary of State, who referred them to the Government of India for its proposals. The Government of India then conveyed its views to the Secretary of State and proposed the members of the delegation. The Secretary of State had, however, the final voice regarding the choice of delegations. Consultations between the India Office and the Government of India were either official or private and always ended in agreements. Such consultations could, however, be dispensed with by the Secretary of State, for reasons like paucity of time. The letters of appointment were issued by the India Office. The anomaly of the political status of India and its membership of international organizations and participation in international conferences was brought out very well in the form of these letters of appointment, which made no mention of the authority appointing them and described them simply as the 'representatives of India.' Till 1927 the delegates were mostly non-Indians. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Imperial War Conferences and later the Imperial Conferences the Indian delegations were led by the Secretary of State himself. Since 1927, Indian delegations to the

(100) This was discussed above in Chapter I.
League Assembly were led by Indians, mostly officials under the Government of India. An Indian Prince was also added to the Indian delegation to the League Assembly, Paris Peace Conference and the Imperial Conferences but he was accredited and he functioned as any other member of the Indian delegation and not in any special capacity as a representative of the Indian States. (101)

The briefing of the delegations was also done by the India Office. The briefs for the delegations to the Imperial conferences which discussed problems of Imperial Preference, emigration, conditions of overseas Indians etc. were prepared, first, by the Government of India and, then, sent to the India Office which might make whatever changes it considered necessary. But, with regard to conferences of a specifically political nature like the Assembly of the League, the briefs were prepared by the India Office itself in consultation with the British Office. The Reports of these delegations except to the ILO conferences were also usually addressed to the Secretary of State and submitted to the India Office. (102) All communications with international organizations were addressed and received by the Secretary of State. The only exception was the I.L.O. On routine matters, the Director of the ILO addressed the Government of India directly, but the replies on matters of policy were sent through the Secretary of State. (103)

(101) For details see, Memoranda submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission by the Government of India (Calcutta, 1930) II, 1632-44.

(102) Ibid., page 1645-6, paras 25-7.

(103) Ibid., page 1647, para 28.
Thus, during the pre-independence period, the Government of India had built up, though on a very limited scale and with little freedom of action, the rudiments of an organization for representation abroad. They consisted of High Commissions, Special Missions, Residencies and Agencies, Trade Commissions and the like. This experience was of some value in building up a system of representation abroad in the post-independence years. But at the same time, the value of this experience was considerably limited by certain factors. The limited scope of their functions was one such factor. As seen earlier, none of them performed any political or even commercial diplomatic functions. For example, they never had to negotiate a trade agreement or treaty on their own. Notable exceptions to this were the delegations to the League Assembly and the special Mission at UN. But they were so much tied up with the British delegations in their policy and functioning that there was no scope for them to develop any independent experience for themselves. These overseas missions and delegations were also very small in organization. None of them except the UN Mission (which was set up only in 1945) had even an Embassy status. On the eve of the formation of the Interim Government they numbered a mere thirteen, spread mostly over the few countries and territories immediately beyond the borders of the country. (104) The steady and continuous control exercised over their working by the British Missions of the area gave them little opportunity to develop any independent initiative or experience of their own. Consequently, their inheritance in terms of organization and experience to build up the future overseas representation of India could not be very considerable.
The Indian Political Service

The Indian Political Service did not come into existence as a result of any definite legislation or executive order like other All-India, Central or Provincial Services. It was the gradual result of the progressive evolution of a separate department for the conduct of foreign and political affairs in the Government of India and the need for a specialized service to perform them. Even before the development of clear-cut and independent administrative departments within the Government and the establishment of organized all-India or Provincial services, three main 'lines' had emerged - the political, judicial and revenue. And in these years "every young man with a noble ambition tried to get employment in 'the political line.'" (105) Such persons employed in the political line were either 'soldier-politicals' seconded from the army or 'civilian-diplomats' drawn from civilian jobs. But even now, a man might hold a political appointment for a year or two and come back to his province. But, gradually, this became steadily rarer and going to the political line became more and more a question that a man had to decide once and for all, one way or the other. (106) The practice during these years was to select men from the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Army,


on the basis of their own request and the confidential reports from their superior officers for appointment in the Political Department. Gradually, some regularity and system were sought to be introduced in the methods of selection and appointment to the Department. For example, consolidating the various orders that had been issued for admission to and retention of appointments in the Political Department, the Governor General in Council enacted in 1875 that 'covenanted civilians, officers permanently appointed to the staff corps and Natives of India specially selected were eligible for appointment to the Political Department.' (107) The Governor-General approved transfers from the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Army; transfer from other All-India Services and promotions from the subordinate services were approved by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Such selected officers were to pass certain examinations within prescribed period limits without which they would not be considered eligible for retention in the Department. (108) Along with this there was also the system of


(108) Only officers in or below the grade of Political Assistants (1st class) were to pass the examinations. There were two examinations - the first to be passed within one year and the second within three years from the date of appointment. The subjects covered under the first examination were Indian History, Political Economy, Jurisprudence, International Law, Aitchison's Collections of Treaties and 'colloquial examination' in any one of Arabic, Swahili or Persian etc. A text book was prescribed for each of these papers. The second examination was a language examination of 'High Proficiency Standard' in any one of Arabic, Persian, Burmese etc. The syllabus for these examinations was later revised to include Law, Urdu and other subjects.

Ibid., Nos. 26 and 27.
attaching men to the Department for purposes of recruitment and training. The object of the Attache system was "to find out the qualifications of a man for future selection and to train him if he gives promise." But in appointing the Attache the conditions were that the office absolutely terminated in two years and that the Government committed itself to nothing. (109)

Due to the very large number of applications received in the Department from military candidates in comparison with the number of vacancies arising in it, which came only to an average of only three an year, certain changes were introduced in the methods of appointment of army officers to the Department in 1895. Applications from army officers were to be sent to the Department through proper channel. Officers were to be of less than seven years' service in the army and to have passed all the examinations prescribed for admission to the Staff Corps. The names of selected candidates were registered. In registering names, weight was given to linguistic attainments in Urdu, Hindi, Pashtu, Arabic and Russian. The selected officer was kept on probation for three years. In the first year he was attached to the Provinces as a supernumerary Assistant Commissioner and was required to pass the tests for Assistant Commissioners in Law, Revenue and Treasury and a few selected books on political subjects. On the recommendations of his superior political officer he was retained for a further period of two years. He was then to pass some more examinations. On the results of

(109) Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings June 1875, No. 34.
these examinations and on the recommendations of his senior officers he was confirmed in the Department or was sent back to his regiment. (110)

Civilian officers to the Department were recruited mainly from the Indian Civil Service. Officers with four to six years of service were eligible to apply. On selection, they were directly appointed as Political Assistants, 2nd class. (111)

It was only later that it was decided to keep them on probation at first for six months and then for an year after appointment. (112)

Unlike in the case of military officers, applications from ICS officers for appointment were often fewer than required. This was because, officers selected for service in the Political Department came to suffer ultimately a reduction in salary ranging between Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 per mensem from what they would have got if they had remained in the ICS. (113)

The personnel of the Department were thus drawn from the civil service and the military, the latter constituting the predominant majority. Under a scheme of reorganization of the service in 1898 it was decided that of the sanctioned strength

(110) Notification by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 670-G dated Simla, the 20 May 1898 - See, Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings August 1898, No. 4, page 2-4.


(112) Foreign Department - General B Proceedings July 1899, Nos. 368-377.

(113) See, Despatch to Secretary of State from Governor General in Council, No. 2 of 1905 dated 5 January 1905. Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings, September 1905, Nos. 10-13; also see, Foreign Department, Notes - General B - Proceedings July 1905, No. 272.
of 73 cadre posts in the graded list of the Department (i.e. of the rank of Political Assistants, 3rd class and above) 52 posts should be kept reserved for military officers and 18 for civilians. The remaining three posts of the Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary, were also generally filled by civilians. (114) The 70 cadre posts (excluding the three Secretariat appointments of Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary) were organized in nine grades. (115)

A series of major reorganization measures of the service were undertaken between 1905 and 1911. The discontent of the

(114) The actual strength was higher. The number of civilian officers was 30 (18 cadre posts + 3 Secretariat appointments + 3 officers of Berar Commission + 4 in Native States for special duty + 2 furlough appointments.) The number of military officers was similar 72 (52 cadre posts + 19 reserve + 6 probationers.) The total strength was thus 102.

/ See Despatch from Governor General in Council to Secretary of State, No. 156 dated 4 November 1897, Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings November 1897, No. 24; and Secretary of State's sanction in Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings August 1898, No. 3.\/

(115) These were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Strength</th>
<th>Salary per mensem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Assistants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rs. 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Agents:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th class</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>13 + 2</td>
<td>7 posts at Rs. 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 posts at Rs. 2,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 posts at Rs. 2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 post at Rs. 2,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncharged.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was specified that Political Agents, 3rd class should have at least 9 years' service in civil or political employment.
military officers in the Department was an important factor necessitating this reorganization. Under the earlier system, generally called the dual cadre system, two separate lists of civilian and military officers had been maintained for purposes of appointment and promotion. (116) This had always worked to the advantage of the civilian officers. On selection to the service of the Department, an I.C.S. officer was appointed as Political Assistant, 2nd class, while an Army officer joined as Political Assistant 3rd class. The I.C.S. officer was confirmed in the Department after a six months' probation, while the military officers were kept on probation for three years. The rules of promotion were also so favourable to the civilian officers that among the senior appointments, the proportion of civilians was very much higher than what their numbers in the service would warrant. The creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 and its addition to the administrative responsibilities of the Department led to the creation of 31 new cadre posts in it. Besides, there was also an increase of other posts like that of five consular posts in Persia and Persian Gulf, and about fourteen posts in the States. The military officers would have therefore favoured the abolition of the dual cadre system, but the civilian officers had also their grievances in that they tended to lose between Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 per mensem in salary in the service of the Department from what they would have got in the regular civil service.

(116) Ibid.
There were also complaints from officers of the Punjab Commission who had been taken over to the Department when the North-West Frontier Province was separated from Punjab that their prospects in the Department were less satisfactory than those of their colleagues who had preferred to remain in the original service. (117)

Some of these defects were sought to be met in the reorganization proposals initiated by Lord Curzon, and implemented by his successor Lord Minto II. The Foreign Department resolution authorizing the reorganization stated,

The principle of reorganization is to establish a separate cadre for members of the Indian Civil Service (including military members of the Punjab Commission transferred to the North-West Frontier Province), so arranged as to secure to members of that service such a rate of promotion as will bring their prospects in the Political Department approximately up to the level of what they might reasonably count upon in their own Province in the ordinary line of appointments.

For other members of the Department the object is to provide prospects which, though less lucrative than those of the members of the Indian Civil Service, shall be somewhat more favourable than those which they could previously look forward. (118)

This meant, in other words, the retention of the dual cadre system. The members of the Punjab Commission who numbered 28 were brought on to the civil cadre. The grievances of the officers of ICS and of the Punjab Commission in the Department

(117) For example see, Foreign Department - Deposit G - Proceedings May 1908, Nos. 100-102 and 127; Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings July 1908, Nos. 9-18; Despatch from Governor General in Council, No. 124 - Frontier dated 25th July 1901 etc.

(118) Foreign Department Resolution No. 1573-G dated Simla 13 July 1906, Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings August 1906, No. 5, para 2.
that their prospects were less lucrative than that of their colleagues in the original services were also sought to be met. The total strength of cadre posts was increased to 109, of which 72 were to be classified as superior. (119) They were divided in a fixed proportion between civilian and military officers. They were arranged in ten cadres. (120) Appointment to the

(119) The actual strength was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cadre</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve for deputation etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve for leave</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve for training</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Members of ICS to be provided for service in various provinces

| Total | 53 | 104 | 157 |

Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings August 1906, Nos. 1-11

(120) Civil Military Total Salary

| Residents - 1st class | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4,000 |
| n 2nd class           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2,750 |
| n 3rd class           | 3 | 2 | 5 | 2,500 |
| Political Agents - 1st " | 4 | 4 | 8 | 2,250 |
| n 2nd "               | 7 | 8 | 15 | 1,800 |
| n 3rd "               | 6 | 9 | 15 | 1,500 |
| n 4th "               | 3 | 17 | 20 | 1,200 |
| Total Superior        | 26 | 46 | 72 |

| Asstt. Political Agent - 1st class | 8 | 9 | 17 | 900 |
| n 2nd "                           | 10 | 15 | 25 | 700 |
| n 3rd "                           | 2 | 28 | 30 | 500 |
| Probationers                      | -  | 6 | 6  | 450 |
| Total Inferior                    | 20 | 58 | 78 |
| Grand Total                       | 46 | 104 | 150 |

 Civilians under 5 years of service in the grades of Asstt. Collectors 7 - - 500

Ibid.
14 highest cadre posts of Residents was to be by selection from either cadre or even from outside the Department. Promotion to other posts was to be ordinarily by seniority. A quarterly gradation list of the Department was also to be published. (121) The methods of recruitment and training to the service however remained more or less the same as in the past. (122)

These reforms came into effect on 1 February 1906. They went a long way to constitute the personnel in the Department into a more or less regular service, offering a full career for its members and with its own self-contained organization with leave, deputation and other reserves. But, at the same time, the reforms went short of meeting the grievances of the military officers in the employment of the Department. The dual cadre system continued. They also considered that they continued to be discriminated against in matters of pay, promotion and the like. There were also criticisms about the methods of recruitment and training. The members from the Punjab Commission


The reform scheme as finally approved in Foreign Department Resolution No. 1573-G dated Simla 13 July 1906, in Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings August 1906, Nos. 1-11.

continued to remain dissatisfied, (123)

The severe discontentment in a majority of the members of the service led to the appointment of a committee in 1908. The committee was to look into questions such as,

(i) should the dual cadre be maintained?
(ii) If so, should the general cadre be regraded and how?
(iii) Is it possible to recruit separately for frontier and internal work, or can the two branches of the Department be specialized more than at present they are?
(iv) What improvements in the system of training are required? (124)

The Committee recommended the abolition of the dual cadre system and the acceptance of the principle of equality of treatment of members of both the cadres. In amalgamating the two cadres the Committee suggested a compromise formula of the claims of both the cadres. (125) Civilian and Military officers were to be recruited roughly in the proportion of 1:2. Civilian officers were to start from the bottom of Political Assistant,

(123) See Foreign Department - Deposit G - Proceedings May 1908, Nos. 100-102 and 127; Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings July 1908, Nos. 9-18.

(124) Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings July 1908, Nos. 9-18.

(125) Ibid. There was to be no regrading in the grades of Residents and Political Assistants. The grades of Political Agents were to be regraded as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Agents - 1st Class</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2nd grade and the Military officers of the 3rd grade. Before their substantive appointment, civilian officers were to be on a six months' probation and Military officers for 12 to 18 months. Confirmation was to be made on the expiry of 2 years after substantive appointment and on the basis of confidential reports of superiors. (126)

Further reorganization of the Political Service came in 1911, when the dual cadre system came to be finally abolished. Both cadres were amalgamated and a common time-scale of pay was introduced. Civilian officers were, however, given personal allowances to compensate any injustice to them by amalgamation. (127)


(127) The new time-scale with the rates of personal allowances for civilian officers was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Allowance for civilian officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>550</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>250</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2050</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 and over</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was also decided that in future all officers were to be graded by the actual date of entry into the Political Service. But all Secretariat appointments in the Department with the exception of the Assistant Secretary were regarded off the cadre of the Political Department and were reserved for members of the service drawn from the ICS. The appointment of others was a very exceptional event. Above the time-scale were 15 selection posts (6 Residents - 1st class and 9 Residents - 2nd class). Two efficiency bars at Rs. 850 and Rs. 1200 were introduced to prevent a sense of complacency in officers due to the introduction of the time-scale. The strength of the service was fixed at 137 (15 selection posts and 122 on the time scale) of which normally 40 would be from ICS and the Punjab Commission and 97 from the military. Of these 137 posts 63 were to be 'superior' posts (above Rs. 850). These included the 15 selection posts. Of these 137 posts in the Political Service only 32 posts could be regarded as being distinctly 'foreign.' (128)

(128) These were as follows: (S - Superior)

Baluchistan

Agent to Governor General and Chief Commissioner - 1 - S
First Assistant 
Revenue and Judicial Commissioner 
Political Agents 
Assistant Political Agents 
Second Assistant 

\[ \frac{1}{16} (4) \]

...(contd. on next page)
The basic structure of the Political Service after this reorganization remained without any major change for the next 35 years. The reforms of 1911 and the abolition of the dual cadre system went a long way to consolidate the personnel working in the Department into a more or less integrated service. Military officers serving in the Department still felt certain grievances, but these were not very important. One such related to the determination of their relative seniority vis-a-vis the

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian Gulf</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Assistant</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consul</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consul, Mohammerah</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consul, Bunder Abbas</td>
<td>1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consul, Ahwaz</td>
<td>1 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Agent, Maskat</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Koweit</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Bahrein</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khorasan and Seistan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consul General, Khorasan</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consul - Seistan</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nepal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish Arabia</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resident and Consul General</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trade Agent, Gyantse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Officer with ex-Amir of Afghanistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Secretary, Foreign Department</td>
<td>1 - S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32 (168)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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civilian officers. While the seniority of a member of the ICS in the Political Department was virtually determined with reference to the length of his service in the ICS itself, that of military officers was fixed in accordance with his entry into the Political Department. In other words, while an ICS officer took his position in the gradation list more or less according to his entry into the ICS the military officer did so according to his date of entry into the Political Department where he started at the bottom. (129) In matters of recruitment also, while an officer of the ICS might be taken into the Department even after the prescribed 4th year of service in the ICS, the seven years' prescription for military officers was strictly adhered to. But, in either case, the prescribed age-limit was 27, the average age of a Sandhurst recruit being 19 to 20 years and of an ICS officer 24 years. Similarly while a military officer retired from the Department at the age of 55 the ICS officer could continue upto 58. But here also it could be said that the military officers entered service and began to earn some five years before the civilian officers did. (130) Some of these disadvantages of the military

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(129) Despatch from Governor General in Council in the Foreign and Political Department to Secretary of State, Establishment No. 1 of 1930, dated 16 January 1930.

(130) Ibid.
officers in the Political Service were recognized by the Lee Commission of 1924 which recommended that all members of the Political Service - military of civilian - performing the same work in similar posts should be given the same pay. The Commission even pointed out that while there had been more applications from army officers than there had been vacancies for them in the Department in the earlier years, difficulty was experienced in later years about getting enough number of suitable officers from the military to the Department. The Commission wanted the disparities to be removed. (131) In order to remove the grievances of the army officers, it was decided in 1927 that the maximum age-limit of recruitment of military officers should be reduced from 27 to 26 and that they should be taken in "as young as possible." (132)

Other important changes regarding the organization included the abolition of the inferior-superior classification in the services, removal of the efficiency bar, the introduction of the new time scale and the grant of overseas allowances in

(131) Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India, 1924 (Calcutta, 1924) 33.

(132) Despatch from Governor General in Council, in the Foreign and Political Department, Establishment No. 1 of 1930 dated 16 January 1930.
These changes came in the wake of revised rates of pay for members of the I.C.S. and the Indian army during the year.

At the time of the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1935 the question of the organization of the Political Service also came up. The Act made a distinction between the responsibilities of the Governor-General in relation to the

(133) The new rates of pay and the time scale were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pay</th>
<th>Overseas Pay</th>
<th>Personal Allowance</th>
<th>Total Civilian</th>
<th>Pay Military</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Civilians admitted</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>only after the</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>completion of 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>years of service</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>900</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>950</td>
<td>950</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1100</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1200</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1700</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2050</td>
<td>1750</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>2050</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>2350</td>
<td>2250</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2050</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>2300</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2150</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>2450</td>
<td>2400</td>
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<tr>
<td>23rd</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td>2450</td>
<td>2450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and over

The pay of Residents, 2nd class was raised from Rs. 2,750 to Rs. 3,000.

Foreign and Political Department, Resolution No. 538 - Estt. A. dated 23 February 1921, Foreign Department - Estt. A - Proceedings January 1922, Nos. 1-27 /
federal legislative list, and his responsibilities in his
capacity as the Crown Representative in relation to the Indian
States. External Affairs came under the former category. (134)
The Political Department which dealt with the Indian States was
to be under the Crown Representative and was to be outside the
purview of the Government of India. This naturally raised the
question whether a single service could man the work of the
Department of External Affairs and of the Political Department.
The White Paper of 15 March 1931 had expressed and the Joint
Committee had accepted the view "that there is no immediate need
to divide, and to recruit separately, the personnel of the two
Departments." (135) The responsibility for recruitment to both
the departments was to continue to remain with the Secretary of
State. The Political Service was to remain intact. As regards
the recruitment of the superior staff in the two departments,
a greater independence came to be exercised. With regard to the
recruitment of the superior staff in the two departments
consisting of two Secretaries, one Joint Secretary, three Deputy
Secretaries, one Under Secretary and the two Assistant
Secretaries - eleven in all - it was decided that they should be
recruited differently from those of the other departments of

(134) But certain powers conferred on the Governor General
including External Affairs were to be exercised by him in his
discretion. In these matters he was entitled to act without
seeking advice from his ministers. (135) Report of Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional
the Government of India. In the latter case they were recruited from ICS officers in the Provinces. But the superior staff of the Foreign and Political Department were recruited from the Indian Political Service. The exceptions were of the Deputy Secretary (Finance) who was from the Indian Audit and Account Service and of the two Assistant Secretaries (Cypher Bureau and Registrar) who were from the Imperial Secretariat Service. (136) In other words, following the enactment of the 1935 Act and the virtual separation of the Department from the Government of India, the process of evolution of a separate Political Service came to be realized almost in full.

By 1946 the Political Service had thus virtually developed into a separate and self-contained service, performing specialized functions. It had its own separate rules of recruitment and training of its personnel, its own separate pay scales and provisions for transfers, postings and promotion. It offered a life-long career to its members when once they had entered it. The Service presented the possibility of a career which, as Lord Curzon said, might be as fascinating as any in the history of the world could offer. Lord Curzon was here particularly referring to the 'foreign' wing of the service. (137) In prestige also the Service enjoyed a unique position. The Political Officer was the envy of even the Indian Civil Service.

(137) Phillip Woodruff, n. 106, 270.
officers serving in the Districts. (138) The service also enjoyed a fair reputation for efficiency and excellence of work. In a glorious tribute to the Indian Political Service, Lord Curzon said,

There is no more varied or responsible service in the world than the Political Department of the Government of India; and right well have I been served in it. ... I commend the Political Department of the Government of India to all who like to know the splendid and varied work of which Englishmen are capable: and I hope the time may never arise when it will cease to draw to itself the best abilities and the finest characters that the services in India can produce. (139)

But at the same time, the value of the Indian Political Service as a precursor of the present-day Indian Foreign Service was limited on account of certain factors. Recruitment to the Department was indirect, as noted above, vacancies being filled by transfers from the Indian Army and the Civil Service (mainly the Indian Civil Service) and, to a small extent, by the promotion of subordinate political officers. "They were," as Phillip Woodruff pithily described them, "picked men, picked from picked men." (140) In other words, the service primarily depended upon other services and the methods of recruitment developed for them in order to select persons to its own ranks and did not develop

(138) Ibid., 270-1.

(139) Lord Curzon in India: Being a selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1898-1905 (London, 1907) II, 304.

(140) Phillip Woodruff, n. 106, 270.
a distinctive method of open recruitment for its own sake as is being done for the Indian Foreign Service today. In the same way, no systematic scheme of training was also developed by the Service. The training which the members of the Service had received in their respective original services continued to be the basic training that they received for their work. This was in particular true of the ICS officers recruited to the Service. The military officers recruited to the Service were, however, sent for short periods to the Provinces and directed to pass a few examinations in a few books. A distinctive and systematic scheme of training suited to the special requirements of the Service was not, in other words, developed.

A second important factor in this respect was the lack of distinction between personnel for political work and for foreign work that was maintained in the Department. Though in later years the distinction in the nature of the two types of work was realized in the separate organization of the foreign wing and the political wing of the Department at the secretariat level the same distinction was not strictly maintained as regards personnel in the Department. The personnel serving in the two wings were interchangeable, with a common gradation list, promotions, transfers and postings. An officer entering the service might start his career in the foreign wing or in the political wing and might, then, be transferred to the other i.e. in the North-West Frontier Province, Persia, Persian Gulf area, Turkish Arabia, Baluchistan etc. or in the native states.
The language specialization that came to be insisted on in later years, however, imposed limitations on such free mobility in this respect. A certain degree of specialization of work between service in the foreign wing and the political wing came, in other words, to be developed in practice in course of time.

Moreover, the number of persons in the Political Service who were at any time engaged in the actual foreign work was only a small proportion of its total strength. Usually it never exceeded 25 per cent of the total strength of the service. (141) The political work in the native states was regarded as the more important part of the work of the service. The nature of 'foreign' work had also, as noted earlier, little in common with the work of the foreign service today due to the limited conceptions of the foreign relations of India at the time and the control from the British Foreign Office and by the British Foreign Service personnel at stations outside the frontiers of India.

(141) For example, in 1911 it was only 32 out of 137. See footnote 128 above.

The posts on the external side included the secretariat, district and judicial appointments in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, as well as the political agencies in tribal territory; political agencies on the Persian Gulf and a proportion of consular appointments in Persia; the civil administration of Aden and such appointments as those at the Legations in Afghanistan and Nepal and the Consulate-General at Kashgar. On the internal side they included the appointments to political agencies and residencies through which the relations of the Crown with the Indian States are conducted; and the civil administration of the Chief Commissioner's Provinces of Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara, and of the assigned tract of Bangalore and other British cantonment areas in the Indian States.
In spite of these limitations, the experience of the working of the Secretariat and of the few posts abroad could have been very valuable, but this possible advantage was offset by the fact that the Political Department was predominantly, if not exclusively, staffed by non-Indians. A policy of partial Indianisation of the public services had been announced earlier by the Government. The Montague declaration of August 1917 had spoken of "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration" as the policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India was in complete accord. (142) The Reports of the Islington Commission of 1915 and of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms of 1933-34 had made certain recommendations in this respect. On the recommendations of the Islington Commission a particular formula of recruitment for the Indianisation of the higher civil services was decided upon by the Government. (143) But these orders did not cover


(143) Indian Civil Service - 37½% rising by 1½% annually till it reaches 48%.
Indian Police Service - 33% in Provinces (except 10%) in N.W.F.P. and 22% in Burma.
Indian Forest Service - 40% for India, 25% for Burma and 12.5% by promotion from Provincial Services.
Indian Agricultural Service - 50%
Indian Veterinary Service - 50%
Indian Educational Service - 50% till total percentage is 50.
Indian Medical Service - 33⅓%.
Indian Service of Engineers - of the total recruitment 50% to be made in England. Of those recruited in England 10% must be Indians i.e. to say, 55% of total recruitment in an year.

Annexure III, Appendix I of the Report of the Commission on Superior Civil Services in India (Lee Commission) 1924, n. 131, 80.
any scheme of Indianisation of the Foreign and Political Department. It was officially stated in the Legislative Assembly in 1921 that there were no Indians in the Political Department as they had been admitted only in "very exceptional cases." (144) In 1921 notice was given in the Legislative Assembly for a non-official resolution urging that practical steps be taken at an early date for the introduction of Indians in large numbers into the Foreign and Political Department. The resolution was disallowed. (145) But soon after it was announced by the Law Member of the Government before the Legislative Assembly that there were "grounds for legitimate grievance in the matter" and that he had been authorized to state on behalf of the Government that the principle of taking Indians into those


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Indians and Europeans in the higher posts in the Government of India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue &amp; Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army (H.Q. only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign &amp; Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(145) Foreign and Political Department - Establishment - April 1921, Nos. 175-176, Part B.
higher appointments in the Political and Foreign Service had been conceded by the Government and that a scheme was being prepared for the purpose. He added that whatever might have been position in the past, in future, Indians would be assigned a position in the Department "commensurate with the reasonable aspirations and ambitions of Indians." (146) This was reaffirmed by the Government a few days later when it was stated that the Government of India had decided that in future "a substantial proportion of Indians" would be admitted to the Political Department. (147) Details of the scheme were published in a Government communique dated 2 September 1921. Under this scheme two Indians were to be taken every year into the Department if suitable candidates were forthcoming. The communique had also announced the appointment of four Indians to the service. (148) The Lee Commission recommended in 1924 that 25% of the total number of officers recruited to the Department should be Indians and that as in the past they should be obtained from the Civil Service, the Provincial Civil Services and the Indian Army. (149) In spite of


these various requests from and recommendations by non-official and official sources the rate of Indianisation in the Political Service continued to remain at a very low level. For example, in 1930 of the 168 officers in the superior Civil Services of the Political Department, the number of Indians was only 14. In 1931 this was 17 out of 172. (150)

This was true not only of the superior services in the Department, but also of the office establishment. Due to the very 'confidential' nature of work in the Department, the European element in it was always kept higher than in other Departments. In appointing its office staff the Foreign Department had always enjoyed a special position. For example the Foreign Department was exempted from the general orders of the Home Department in 1879 that all departments should obtain the sanction of the Governor-General in Council before appointing or promoting Europeans to posts in or above Class III of the clerical establishment. In asking for exemptions the office memorandum from the Foreign Department to the Home Department stated, "A great deal of the work of the Foreign Department is of an exceptionally confidential nature, and the maintenance of some proportion of Europeans in the clerical establishment has always been regarded as indispensable." (151) In 1882 certain reorganization schemes were undertaken, which had the object of

(150) Foreign and Political Department - File No. 37/Est/31 of 1931.

(151) No. 652-G dated 28 April 1899. Cited in Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings January 1900, Nos. 1-3, Part A.
strengthening the European element in the Department. In 1899, when there were further reorganization moves regarding the recruitment of clerical staff to the Secretariat of the Government of India the Foreign Department proposed exemption for itself from these rules. (152) It was said,

The Foreign Department has been prepared to promote Natives of India to appointments above the grade of Rs. 100 - 150 whenever this can be safely done; but taking the past history and experience of the Department into consideration it is indispensable that such cases should be regarded as exceptions, and that these appointments should ordinarily, be reserved for Europeans. (153)

The Foreign Department continued to retain this special position when changes were introduced in the methods of recruitment to the Imperial Secretariat Services. (154) While in other Departments recruitment was to be by open competition, the Foreign Department made its appointments by free selection and nomination. It was stated then that as far as possible the Foreign Department had recruited its clerks from European candidates. (155) Such exemptions given to the Foreign Department had often been questioned by many in the administration itself. (156) In 1910, when it was decided that instead of

(152) Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings July 1888, No. 53.

(153) Foreign Department - General A - Proceedings January 1900, Nos. 1-3, Part A.

(154) For example, see Foreign Department - General B - Proceedings February 1904, No. 132, page 19.

(155) Ibid.

(156) For example, see the notes written by the Honourable Mr. Ilbert in Foreign Department - General B - Proceedings February 1904, No. 132.
adopting the system of recruitment of candidates for the first division Secretariat staff through the Home Department, each Department could make its own rules and arrangements for recruitment, the Foreign Department found itself in a freer position. This was reinforced by the Government of India Act, 1935 when the Political Department ceased to be a part of the Government of India. At the time of the formation of a separate Foreign Service for India the number of Indian officers and men in the External Affairs Department was so small that the advantage that could be obtained from their previous experience could not be considerable. This is not to deny the fact that it was ultimately a few of these officers themselves that contributed substantially to building up the present Foreign Service after independence and that their previous experience was an invaluable asset in planning the new organization. The very slow rate of Indianisation in the Department had, however, prevented a full utilization of even the limited opportunities within the previous administration.
Problems of Independence

With the formation of the Interim National Government in September 1946 the beginnings of the transfer of power may be said to have been inaugurated in the constitutional development of India. (157) Under the new arrangements, for the first time, the responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs was transferred to Indian hands. While the Department of External Affairs had previously been kept under the personal responsibility of the Viceroy, in the new Government Jawaharlal Nehru was sworn in as Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. Six days after taking charge, on 7 September 1947, Nehru declared,

We shall take full part in international relations as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as the satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. (158)

(157) The Central Government of India continued to function under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919. (The 1935 Act could not be implemented with regard to the Federal Government.) Theoretically, the Viceroy and Governor-General continued to hold all the powers over the Executive Council, but the actual functioning of the Interim Government was regulated by the understanding that the Executive Council would be given the largest measure of freedom in practice. The Government was composed of the representatives of all the major political parties and minority interests (Congress - 7, Muslims - 2, Indian Christians - 1, Parsees - 1 and Sikhs - 1. Two more Muslims were to be added later.) At first the Muslim League had not joined the Government, but after a preliminary period of hesitation, the League also joined the Government on 15 October 1946.

(158) Broadcast from New Delhi, 7 September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, September 1946 - April 1961 (New Delhi, 1961) 2.
He also indicated the major lines of the foreign policy of the country in the same speech. (159) Besides this virtual transfer of power regarding the control of foreign relations, the entire scope of 'external affairs' had also expanded to become global and comprehensive. These important changes necessitated corresponding changes in the organization of the Departments of External Affairs and of Commonwealth Relations. In early 1947 the two Departments were amalgamated as the Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations. After the transfer of power had taken place, India had become an 'Independent Dominion' and the first responsible Government of the parliamentary type had assumed charge of the administration, the Department was renamed as the Ministry of External Affairs.

The reorganization of the Secretariat to meet its new responsibilities presented a large number of problems. An organization to deal with work on a global scale had to be built up. The existing territorial sections in the Department dealt with only the few countries in the north and north-west of the borders of India. New sections had to be added to cover the work relating to other areas also. The functional sections in existence related only to passport and consular work, pilgrimages beyond the borders, extradition and the like. New sections to perform other specialized functions like historical research, external publicity, legal advice etc. had to be created. The expansion of the organization of the Secretariat meant larger

(159) Ibid., 2-3.
administrative problems. The sections concerned with personnel, establishment, accounts, and other administrative problems were also correspondingly expanded.

Equally important were the problems of overseas representation. At the time of the formation of the Interim Government there were only, as noted earlier, thirteen overseas missions and posts, established in a few capitals and towns in countries on the north and north-west. (160) In nature and functions they could in no way be considered diplomatic missions. With the formation of the Interim Government, a large number of friendly governments had approached it for exchange of diplomatic representation. Some three weeks after assuming charge Nehru stated:

In future we shall have a much larger number of diplomatic representatives abroad and we shall deal with them direct instead of through the British Foreign Office. They will have a higher status and will in time be Ambassadors. (161)

In order to conduct negotiations for such representation the Department proposed to send two special missions to Europe and West Asia by V. K. K. Menon and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad respectively. (162) But only the former could materialise. Krishna Menon toured a number of countries as the Special Envoy of Nehru and held negotiations about the exchange of diplomatic representation.

(160) See Appendix I-A for a list of these.


representation with a number of West European countries. The number of other countries which had made friendly approaches for exchange of diplomatic representation was so large that the Department had to prepare priority list - "that within six months certain countries should have our representatives, and in the next six months, some more and so on." (163) First consideration was to be given to countries with which some contacts were already in existence and to the neighbours in the east and west. But due to problems of finance and personnel these plans could not be carried through according to schedule. Moreover, the negotiations for the establishment of these Missions also took more time than was expected. (164) With regard to delegations to international organizations and conferences also new policies were required. In the past, Indian delegations had, according to Nehru, functioned "very much like the camp-followers of the British delegation." (165) But, it was decided now that India would "take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as the satellite of another nation." (166) A large number of delegations was

(163) Nehru's statement in the Legislative Assembly, Legislative Assembly Debates, 3 (14 March 1947) page 1925.
(164) Ibid.
(165) Statement at a press conference dated 26 September 1946, Indian Annual Register, n. 161, 256.
(166) Nehru: Broadcast from New Delhi, 7 September 1946, India's Foreign Policy, n. 158, 2.
required to be sent to the numerous post-war international conferences. But there were difficulties of getting enough number of persons with the necessary technical knowledge and specialized experience for this kind of work. (167)

It was not only the expansion of the machinery that gave rise to difficulties. The scope and nature of foreign affairs had come to acquire such a difference from the past that new administrative procedures and practices were also called for. The External Affairs Department could no longer depend upon directions from London on policy matters. It had to formulate its own policy at home. With inadequate organization the formulation and implementation of policy offered great difficulties. The Secretariat procedure in New Delhi had not provided for co-ordination by the Foreign Department of policy with regard to the various forms of international relations entered into by numerous agencies of the Government. Each Department acted on its own in relation to the establishments abroad under its control and the delegations to international conferences sent under its auspices. Measures for co-ordinating these various forms of international relations by different

(167) For example immediately after the formation of the Interim Government, the Indian delegation to the Second Session of the United Nations General Assembly had to be appointed. This delegation was composed of Mrs. V. L. Pandit (Leader), Nawab Ali Yar Jung, Justice M. C. Chagla, Frank Anthony, R. S. Deshmukh and K. P. S. Menon. None among them except Mr. K. P. S. Menon could claim to have had any real experience in the past of this kind of work.
agencies had to be devised and effectuated. The political and administrative legacies of the past acted often as hindrances to the proper functioning of the system in these respects.

Problems of the expansion and reorganization of the machinery for the conduct of foreign relations involved "the mechanical difficulties of finding ways and means and of selecting suitable people." (168) The limited resources of the country, particularly of foreign exchange, and the pressing demands on it on the advent of independence made the problem of finance a really acute one. All expansion and reorganization programmes came to suffer considerably on account of the paucity of funds.

The problem of personnel was also equally acute. As was noted earlier all schemes of Indianisation in the Foreign and Political Departments had been drawn up with extreme caution. With the partition of the sub-continent a section of even these few experienced officers opted for service in Pakistan. The number of senior Indian officers in the Political Service with some experience of international relations and who were available for service in the Department on the transfer of power numbered a mere four. (1969) The nature of this problem was indicated by Nehru a few days after the formation of the Interim Government when he said that under the plans for the reorganization


of the Department and its missions and posts abroad it was estimated that the Department would require about 300 persons to man the posts, while the number of Indian officials possessing the requisite experience was only a bare sixth of this number. Besides the regular schemes of recruitment and training emergency schemes of recruitment had, therefore, to be drawn up. (170)

The internal conditions of the country during the initial years of independence were also a big handicap to the development of India's foreign relations. The Prime Minister pointed out in 1948 how these events had adversely affected the international relations of India and its functioning in the United Nations. (171) The tremendous challenge thrown up on the administration following the partition of the country, the transfer of power, the near state of civil war in large parts of India and the near economic, and administrative chaos ensuing from it did not leave the Government with sufficient time, money and energy to devote adequate attention to problems of foreign affairs.

Nehru stated in the Legislative Assembly in 1947 that in the realm of foreign affairs, on account of these internal difficulties, Government had not been able to do all that it would have liked to do. (172)

(170) Nehru's statement at press conference dated 26 September 1946, Indian Annual Register, n. 161, 252.


Difficulties of a different nature were also experienced in the working of the Interim Government. Some of these difficulties were particularly experienced after the entry of the Muslim League into it. (173) The Government was itself a completely divided house; members belonging to different political parties indulging in open recriminations and condemnations against each other. (174) The Finance Department (under Liaquat Ali Khan - League) always held a veto on spending by any Department in the Government. This applied to External Affairs also and its schemes for reorganization and expansion. The League Members were suspicious of the schemes for expansion of Indian diplomatic representation abroad, thinking that they had been drawn up with the idea of launching anti-Pakistan propaganda and of eliciting support for Congress views and policies. It was in this context that the League Member in charge of the Department of Finance, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, raised objections to the appointment of Asaf Ali, a prominent Congress leader, as Ambassador in Washington. It was only after the intervention of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, that the question was finally settled. (175) Similar objections

(173) See footnote 157 above.


(175) Lumby, n. 174, 155.
were also raised by League members about the appointment of Mrs. V. L. Pandit as India's Ambassador in Moscow. Nehru was forced to postpone the question till after the partition of the country. (176) It was almost in retaliation that the (League) Member for Commerce in the Government, I. I. Chundrigar, sent abroad trade representatives exclusively responsible to his own Department to various parts of the world, some of whom acted as "vigorous propagandists for Pakistan." (177) Similarly, there were also criticisms that the Indian Publicity Section in the Indian Mission in Washington was indulging in "anti-Indian" propaganda. (178) There were also criticisms that the British officers in the Political Service often acted contrary to the instructions given to them by the (Congress) Member in charge of External Affairs. (179) These difficulties within the Government itself naturally retarded the progress of the reorganization and expansion of the External Affairs Department.


(177) Lumby, n. 174, 155.


(179) For example, see Legislative Assembly Debates (7 November 1946) 621, 624, 626, 635 etc.