

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

THE *Nation* of May 12th compares the "spirit of tolerance and reason" in which the Indians put the Kenya case, with "the complete denial of the idea of Empire citizenship" betrayed by the White Settlers who "present themselves as the accredited guardians of Empire interests." How this "guardianship" is interpreted in South Africa, whence come inspiration and help to their Kenyan kindred, is vividly illustrated by the official Report—just published—of a S. A. Commission on the Bondel Zwaarts' massacre of a year ago. It appears that this Bondel tribe of Hottentots—a miserable remnant of the pre-Negro autochthones of South Africa—had been "driven to extremity by poverty and by an acute sense of injury and injustice real or imaginary," and had in consequence actually dared to resist the payment of a new and excessive dog tax imposed upon them by their new Boer masters, who have succeeded the "unspeakable Hun" in this formerly German colony of German South West Africa. As a consequence of this refusal, the Bondels were declared to be "in rebellion" and, though they never touched the hair of a single White, they were accused of having forced a Boer farmer's wife to—what?—prepare and serve coffee for some of them! To wipe out this insult to Boer prestige, presumably, a punitive expedition, consisting of horse and foot, aeroplanes and artillery, descended upon the hapless tribe and managed most satisfactorily to wipe out its 1500 members—men, women, babes; and their cattle and villages to boot. These are the Boers, to whose spokesman, Mr. Smuts, the Kenyan Whites turn for help; this the method, whereby they discharge their "guardianship" towards people over whom they have been given a mandate!

Will those, who so shrilly clamour for protection of the Kenyan native against the unbridled licence of Indians kindly tell us what measures they are taking, to protect him against the "guardianship" of these gentle mandatories of the Bondel Zwaarts?

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*THE Indian Social Reformer* is much exercised by the severe heckling to which the Dasite party is subjected

A Further Relaxation. in the country on the line it wishes to pursue in the Councils. This heckling will not tend to diminish if every time Mr. Das pledges his party to wholesale obstruction, the *Reformer* employs all its ingenuity in emptying his pronouncements of all their content. Apart from the considerable help which his kindly commentators are giving him, there is observable an appreciable decline, in Mr. Das's own speeches, from the rigidity of the attitude which he took up on this question originally. Now he says that his party will be committed to an obstructive policy—in so far as it can be committed to anything at all—only if it obtains a majority in the Councils. If it is in a minority—well, it may as well support Government as oppose them. It would certainly be more to the purpose, as *Young India* says, for the party to tell the country what it would do in a minority; it is no use elaborating plans for a situation not likely to arise. But the whole of this proviso about the Das party's majority in the Councils is clearly an afterthought, found serviceable when the crude formula of obstruction, as originally framed, evoked growing opposition everywhere. For it finds no mention in the programme issued after mature consideration by the party towards the end of February last.

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INDEED, the stand which the party took on indiscriminate opposition at first is becoming progressively weaker as time flies. Its position in the beginning undoubtedly was, that the members of the party who would secure seats in the Legislature were inexorably bound, by the creed of non-co-operation to which they still owned allegiance, to oppose every measure that would proceed from Government irrespectively of the merits of that measure. To support even a good measure as the Constitutionalists were doing was, it was then declared, to betray the fundamental principle of non-co-opera-

Dasite  
Prevarication.

tion. The orthodox non-co-operators were not however to be consoled by such an exhibition of the dissenters' attachment to the non-co-operation creed. And the Dasites too bethought themselves of the need of introducing some loopholes in a formula which, in its original cast-iron shape, afforded no means of escape from uniform obstruction. Therefore, in February last, a clause was inserted empowering the party to obtain a mandate from the electorates if it was thought necessary. To seek a mandate at the election would imperil its chance of success at the poll; the mandate is therefore to be taken after the election is over, in what manner, we are not told. The clause is thus kept so beautifully vague that while it would impose no definite obligation on the members of the party, it would leave them entirely free to slide back into co-operation at will. For it would enable them to say, "We would, left to ourselves, offer indiscriminate opposition, but the voters seem to be of a different mind; and we must defer to their wishes." Thus the non-co-operators can at pleasure abjure their principles and become co-operators!

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Necessary Consequence of Obstruction.

NOW, however, Mr. Das carries his latitudinarian ideas a stage further and definitely refuses to bind his party to obstruction in the only circumstances which one can reasonably contemplate as within the bounds of practical politics. If the party is not committed to follow any particular course when in a minority, it is really committed to nothing. Apart from its own engagements, has the party nothing like a political faith? Is it absolved from the duty of following non-co-operation methods, merely because it happens to be in a minority? The *I. S. Reformer* speaks of a game of chess. A more exalted conception of politics is however, possible than that of unprincipled opportunism. The saddest part of the whole affair is that the *Reformer* points its finger of scorn to an unnamed member of the Swaraj party who refuses to live by hastily devised expedients without reference to principle, and who insists that his party shall in all its activities carry out the doctrine of non-co-operation by which it still swears. As an instance of the opposition even of good measures to which the party is bound, he mentions a proposal, on the part of Government, to release Mahatma Gandhi. Even such a proposal, he says, the Dasites would be forced to oppose. The *Reformer* is aghast that, sooner than get the Mahatma out of gaol by co-operation, certain members of the Swaraj party would, by persisting in non-co-operation, see him die in gaol. But our contemporary had better condemn the principle itself instead of the implacable activities conducted in obedience to the iron convictions of austere intellects. The principle conceded, these activities become not only justifiable, but a necessity and a duty.

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THE Maharashtra Swaraj party at least is altogether out of sympathy with the indiscriminate obstruction with which Mr. Das is still playing. The *Lokasangraha*, this party's Marathi organ, is very jubilant that at the All-India Congress Committee's meeting in Bombay the leaders of this party openly repudiated not only Gandhian non-co-operation, but Dasite responsive non-co-operation too and proclaimed themselves to be in favour of Mr. Tilak's policy of making full use, to the country's advantage, of such powers of self-government as are conceded by the reforms. The Maharashtra party, the paper says, does not support even the only plank in Mr. Das's platform which is not involved in obscurity, viz. the non-acceptance of office under Government. Such a restriction, the paper adds, is altogether inconsistent with the political philosophy of Maharashtra, and ought not to be tolerated. The Ministers have undoubtedly the power of doing public good; it would be suicidal to let go such an opportunity. It is possible that non-co-operators would taunt people ready to accept office as willing to sell themselves into slavery; but is not the same accusation levelled against them because they wish to enter Councils? All such charges should be squarely faced; it would be cowardly to run away from them.

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The Non-Brahman Party.

WE are not interested in the squabbles of the Non-Brahman party in Madras, but it is vain affectation on the part of Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty to pretend that all is well with his party except for the grumblings of one or two disappointed office seekers. If that was so there would have been no need for the Ministers to apologise to the rank and file of the party for neglecting the interests of the masses and for accepting a committee to advise them on details of policy until the party was provided with a constitution after the ensuing elections. The fact is, the party being formed not on political principles but on the hatred of Brahmans, there are within it two strong and incompatible elements—one consisting of zamindars and landholders who stand for class privileges and the other of democrats who want to see all privileges abolished and special facilities given to oppressed communities for developing themselves. The latter joined the party at a sacrifice of principle, believing—we do not say rightly—that the sacrifice was worth making in the interests of the down-trodden castes. Some of them indeed hoped to rid the party in course of time of its negative caste basis. Between these two elements trouble was bound to arise and it began many months ago when the Ministry, at the dictation of the landed interests, betrayed the Panchama agricultural labourer by crippling the Labour Department which was ameliorating his condition in various ways. As a consequence there was in the party, a defection which, morally if not numerically, was a serious one. Since then

dissatisfaction has been steadily growing, of which one manifestation was the recent conference fiasco in Madras, when Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty dramatically left the presidential chair and walked out of the hall. It is now announced that the democrats, though continuing in the party, will organise an opposition to the Government, i. e. the ministerialists; but it is a course which has neither principle nor expediency behind it. The right thing for the democrats to do is to stand on their principles—which are identical with those of the Liberals—and repudiate the caste basis of their party.

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Bowing to the In-  
evitab. . .

WHEN schemes are hard at work for developing Imperial trade mainly with the idea of finding substitutes for the markets lost to England in the war, we must be wide-awake to see that in this hot-house growth of manufactures India does not suffer, but gains by the Imperial arrangements that are being planned. The advent of a Conservative Ministry in England believing in tariffs and Imperial preference, makes our task all the more urgent. It is therefore very gratifying to obtain from the Under-Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, an assurance in his Manchester speech that the right to control India's fiscal policy belonged to her and could not be interfered with from England, and that in settling Indian matters, Indian interests shall be held paramount. It would be wrong to invite her to sacrifice her own interests for the sake of the Imperial sentiment, and in any case India would not listen to such an appeal. If it was desired that she should be party to an Imperial tariff policy, the appeal must be addressed to her individual interests. This is a good announcement of policy coming as it does from the present die-hard Government. Still we must never allow ourselves to be off our guard but must remain vigilant that no infraction of this sound policy may take place in practice.

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States Subjects in  
Conference.

THE third Deccan States Subjects' Conference was held last week at Belgaum under the auspices of the Deccan States Association. There was an attendance of about 200 delegates representing at least ten of the twenty States to which the Association's sphere of work extends. The Conference voiced a demand for a beginning of responsible government in the States and affirmed its determination to use all legitimate means to that end. The work that the Association has accomplished so far consists mainly in this, that it has put sufficient heart into the subjects of Indian States, always living in fear of their autocratic rulers as they do, publicly to state their grievances and to demand their redress. It was not possible at this Conference consisting of delegates of several States to consider the hardships of any particular State, but that subjects of many of the States are now holding their own Conferences in the States themselves is itself due to the activities of the Association. Every ruler now knows that if any constitutional agitation is started in

his State, he will have to deal not only with his subjects, but with the Association, which always throws the weight of its support into the scale against his oppressive acts. The State subjects are slowly but surely attaining a political consciousness.

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In a recent issue Mr. A. V. Thakkar *Welcome Change in Baroda.* drew attention to the disconcerting

contrast between the attitude of the Baroda Durbar and that of the popular part of the Bombay Government to the remarkable movement that has spread among the Kaliparajs. While the latter extended its sympathy and active support to the temperance activities, the former took steps which could only have the effect of arresting and repressing them. We find now to our satisfaction that the Baroda Durbar is coming slowly into line with Mr. C. V. Mehta's policy in the British territory. It is considering the practicability reducing of three to five per cent. of the shops every year, and we are told, "a system of rationing (the supply of liquor, we suppose) will also be adopted." We sincerely trust that a vigorous policy of rationing will be applied in Baroda. What is, however, even more gratifying is that the Dewan announced to a deputation which waited on him his intention of abolishing the system of forced labour to which the Kaliparajs are subject. He stated that the people were quite justified in not working for anybody at nominal wages. It will not do, however, merely to leave the illiterate Kaliparajs to fight their feudal lords. The Government must intervene to make it penal for any one to compel a Kaliparaj to labour against his wishes and place it within easy reach of these tribes to set the law in motion against all who may violate the orders of the Durbar.

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*The Reform of Mutts.* THE reform of Mutts is engaging the serious attention of the public in Mysore, stimulated thereto by the passing, by the Madras Legislative Council, of the Religious Endowments Bill on which, by the way, much ignorant criticism is expended, and by the unsatisfactory state of the affairs of the historic Sringeri Mutt, over which presided in the fourteenth century the celebrated Vidyananya, the scholar-statesman who built up the famous Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. Mr. D. V. Gundappa, the well-known journalist and publicist of Bangalore, has produced a thoughtful pamphlet on the subject in which he has adumbrated a workable scheme for modernising these institutions with special reference to the Sringeri Mutt. As he rightly observes, "they must be taken out of their medieval isolation into the broad daylight of the living and struggling and forward-looking world. We have to attribute their futility and even perversity to their ignorance of the difficulties and the trials of men in the modern world." We cannot commend, however, his suggestion that H. H. the Maharaja should take the initiative in the matter. It is true he is the chief disciple of the Mutt and his approval is necessary to the succession of its headship. But more than chief disciple he is the head of the State and any initiative taken by him would create a very bad precedent of a secular ruler's interference in purely spiritual affairs. The action of the Maharaja of Kolhapur ought to serve as a sufficient warning to the people of other States. The initiative should therefore be taken by other disciples. We hope there is sufficient earnestness and energy in them to do so.

### THE FUTURE OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

THE recent transactions of the Congress awaken in us mixed feelings. The decision of its All-India Committee to suspend active propaganda against entering the Councils or going to the polls will in effect kill non-co-operation, or such of it as is still surviving, and this is an eventuality over which we are not disposed to waste many regrets. However, we cannot but deplore that a death-blow should be given to the Gandhian movement professedly with a view to strengthening it by bringing about a unity between warring factions in the Congress. On the other hand, Mr. Rajagopalachar's determination to ignore the decision of the All-India Committee in preference to the resolution passed at Gaya by the Congress itself can only obstruct, in the measure in which it succeeds, a good work that is now approving itself to the judgment of an increasing number of people, viz. a beginning of self-government. But it would be sheer affectation to deny that our regret in this matter is qualified by the satisfaction that the real leaders of non-co-operation at any rate prefer principle to opportunism and honest dealing to duplicity. Our politics, so far as Council entry is concerned, coincide with those of the party which came out triumphant at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, but we can but condemn its pretence that Council entry is being advocated as a means of intensively carrying out and furthering the principle of non-co-operation. On the other hand, we sincerely admire the single-minded devotion of the other Congress party to principle, and our quarrel with them is not that their devotion is not fitful like that of so many others, but that they have chosen a wrong principle for such exemplary service. Politically, we are with the Dasites within limits; ethically, we are wholly with virginal non-co-operators like Mr. Rajagopalachar.

Boycott of Councils is the life-blood of non-co-operation, and to lift the ban on Councils is, as we said before, to eviscerate the movement of all its content. That non-co-operation can assimilate Council entry at need can be thought possible only by those who have never troubled to consider what the essence of non-co-operation consists in. This principle, which forms the cardinal article of Mahatma Gandhi's political faith, is certainly not so adaptable that, like certain lowly organisms, it can survive the amputation of its most important parts. And yet a serious attempt was made in Bombay at the All-India Congress Committee's meeting to accommodate the fundamental differences between non-co-operators and pro-Council men by practically cutting out Council boycott from the non-co-operation programme. It is true that the boycott of Councils nominally remains, but to forbid Congressmen to dissuade voters from voting is equivalent in the result to nullifying and removing the boycott. It is argued that if non-co-operation survived similar compromises in the matter of the two other boycotts of law courts and

schools, there is no reason why it should not survive this compromise in regard to the third boycott of Councils. Of course the name survives: but what else does? And when these three taboos go in fact if not in name, what will remain in the Congress programme which partakes directly of non-co-operation? The constructive programme has neither a co-operation nor a non-co-operation character; it is calculated to build up national strength which may be harnessed to co-operation or non-co-operation at the will of the nation. The non-co-operation spirit was reflected only in this triple boycott and by removing it or making it inoperative, the Congress has to all intents and purposes abandoned the movement of non-co-operation, if it has not renounced its creed. We are not sorry for the result, but we are deeply sorry that it should have been brought about by a subterfuge.

The so-called compromise was apparently brought about in the interests of unity—unity between Hindus and Muslims and between co-operators and non-co-operators. The Hindu-Mahomedan feud is no more likely to be stilled by allowing the Swarajists to go into the Councils than, e.g. the Franco-German trouble in the Ruhr. Indeed, the immediate result of a general movement for Council entry can only be that it will give rein to communal animosities. As to the healing of differences in the Congress itself, unity can never be attained by keeping rival beliefs and rival interests down without seeking to find a basis of common action. As a fact this attempt to produce harmony between two factions has only resulted in creating three factions—those who will go into Councils at all costs, i.e. the Swaraj party, those who will on no account offend against the principle of non-co-operation by seeking entry into the Councils, and those others who profess to be strict non-co-operators themselves, but who are more indulgent towards the Dasites. No one knows how far Mr. Rajagopalachar's anti-Council agitation will go, but it is certain that those who negotiated the compromise will soon find that the unity which they wished to usher in thereby is a chimaera. Unity is never produced by stifling opinions, but by giving free play to them, and by insisting that everyone shall act up to his belief. The utter *débâcle* which the non-co-operation movement has reached is the result of the outward conformity to opinions without an inner conviction of so many of our public men; and the moral atrophy that has overtaken the country in consequence is far more deplorable than failure in a mere political movement.

### MR. CHINTAMANI ON FURTHER REFORMS.

IN a remarkable address which Mr. C. Y. Chintamani delivered at Allahabad before the U. P. Liberal Association, which had met specially to express its approval of his and Pandit Jagat Narayan's conduct in resigning their Ministership,

Mr. Chintamani laid bare the defects of the present reformed Government and the difficulties of its Ministers, and most convincingly demonstrated the need for a further constitutional advance which should do away with diarchy, make the provincial Governments completely responsible to the legislature and reduce the power of the Governors over the Ministers to such an extent that it would correspond to the power exercised by a constitutional Governor in the Dominions over the Ministers. Some time after the Reforms came into force, it will be remembered, it was Mr. Chintamani who said that so far as the United Provinces were concerned one had to make a mental effort to realise that one was under diarchy—the two halves of the Government were working so harmoniously. But a change for the worse began on the 17th of November 1921 when the Prince of Wales landed in India and it was completed on the 10th March 1922 when Mr. Montagu's resignation was announced, and since when the position of the Ministers has become most unenviable. So long as Mr. Montagu, the father of the reforms, was in office the reformed Governments ran smoothly. But when the reins of office were taken from him, there was an attempt to deny the spirit of the Reforms while seeming to observe the letter of the Act. Said Mr. Chintamani :

"If I may so put it, the diarchical system has succeeded precisely where there was no actual diarchy. The moment the head of the Government remembered that this was a diarchical Government and decided to work it as a diarchy, nothing but friction has arisen."

Joint deliberations which apparently had been the rule previously became later the exception; the Finance Member's grip over the purse became tighter and tighter, and the members could only get anything for their departments after a tough fight; and the Governor's control over them began to be felt increasingly. Therefore, says Mr. Chintamani, with conviction born of varied experience, an immediate and earnest effort should be made to see that the satisfactory working of the Reforms does not depend upon the presence or absence of particular individuals, whether as Secretary of State or Governor or holder of any other office. This is to be secured by so modifying the rules that what is granted by the letter of the Government of India Act shall not be whittled down by those rules, by depriving the Governors of the extraordinary power of control over the Ministers which is now vested in them, by removing the recruitment and control of the all-India services from the hands of the Secretary of State and vesting them in the Central and Local Governments, and, not the least important, by abolishing the Executive Council and entrusting the whole administration to a ministry responsible to the legislature. In support of the last measure Mr. Chintamani argued further that the departments controlled by Executive Councillors were not administered either more efficiently or more economically than those controlled by Ministers, while the latter possessed the immense advantage of being more

sympathetic to the public and more responsive to the wishes of the legislature. As Mr. Chintamani pointed out, the Liberals accepted diarchy, not because they thought it an excellent system in itself, but because they could not then hope for anything better and were willing to give it a trial. Now that it has been tried for what it is worth and found unworkable and incompatible with the spirit of the Reforms, it is of course their business to see it removed. Along with these Reforms in the provincial Governments, Mr. Chintamani urged, changes should be pressed for in the Central Government that would base the military policy of India solely on the interests of India and not on those of the Empire at the expense of India, that by reducing military and other expenditure would make possible the abolition of provincial contributions, and that would so reduce the Governor General's arbitrary power to override the legislature that only in matters relating to foreign and political relations should he be permitted to refer a decision of the legislature to some authority in England—changes, that is to say, that would make the repetition of the certification of the salt tax or other financial measures utterly impossible in the future. These further reforms have all been formulated at recent Liberal Conferences, but they have now obtained invaluable support by the inside knowledge of perhaps the ablest Minister that any provincial Government so far has had.

Mr. Chintamani very aptly reminded his audience on this occasion that it was the right and duty of those who had faith in the principle of Liberalism to press for these changes. He said :

The time has gone by when we could be contented with the position of 1919. The experience that we have gained in the Central Government amply demonstrates the necessity of such a forward move. We would be a Conservative and not a Liberal Party if we rest content with our achievements of the past instead of constantly looking to the future and constantly taking steps to make an onward and upward march. If we do not bend every particle of our energy and utilise our organisation to achieve a further substantial reform on the lines I have indicated or on other lines that may commend themselves to your judgment, then I think we shall not be worthy of the confidence of any section of our countrymen.

He anticipated a criticism that will be easily made, namely, that the reforms advocated by him are indistinguishable from the Swaraj of non-co-operators. Government and Anglo-Indians might ask, what then is the difference between Liberals and non-co-operators? And non-co-operators might ask, why then should Liberals form themselves into a separate camp and oppose them? The straight answer given by Mr. Chintamani as indeed by every Liberal is: the Liberal Party has not been formed to please the Government or the non-official Europeans or Anglo-Indians. We are opposed to extremism and non-co-operation because according to our light they are against the best interests of the country. Direct action being out of the question in the circumstances, we stand for and place our faith in constitutional action.

We are glad Mr. Chintamani has resolved to

seek election to the Assembly in the next elections. His ability, forceful personality and organising capacity will be of invaluable help in that House alike against the reactionary Government and the direct actionists.

### THE INDIAN MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

( Contributed. )

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER has rendered a great service to his countrymen by his latest note on the military expenditure of India. The Inchcape Committee in consultation with the Commander-in-Chief recommended a total reduction of 12,403 soldiers, both British and Indian, which it is hoped will be carried out in the course of the year, effecting an annual saving of 303 lacs from the year 1923-24 onward. We are grateful for the prospect held out before us, but frankly we are not satisfied with the reduction proposed. The size of the Army and the cost of maintaining it has grown so enormously of late that unless steps are taken soon to revise the military policy in some respects and to define the functions of the army clearly, we are afraid the future progress of the country will be arrested. In the course of his last Budget speech at Delhi, Dr. Gour raised the all-important issue of what the duties of the army are. He said, "It is the duty of the civilians to maintain peace and order in the country, and if they require any extraneous assistance they can have the armed and unarmed police, but it is not the primary function of any army, much less a national army, to maintain internal peace and order". Dr. Gour further added, "If this fact is borne in mind we shall have a very substantial reduction in the military expenditure of this country". The reply of the Army Secretary dealing with this point is couched in most general terms and shows that the Government has not explored the possibilities of this change in policy. We venture to suggest that this question be taken up without much loss of time, and the practice in vogue in other countries of preserving the internal peace and order introduced in India. The peaceful nature of the inhabitants of this country, their temperament and outlook of life, their devotion and loyalty to the crown and their non-possession of fire-arms and ignorance of the use thereof are all factors that support the acceptance of the suggestion of Dr. Gour. The Esher Committee in its report dealing with Burma and Assam Military Police recommended that the transfer to the Army of responsibility for policing the North-East Frontier involving a large increase of expenditure could not be justified on grounds of military necessity. If a layman can hazard an opinion on military matters, we feel strongly that a similar system of maintaining internal security can with advantage be adopted throughout India.

We support the suggestion made by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his note that the Army Secretary should prepare a separate memorandum giving a full explanation of the proposals for military ex-

penditure for the guidance of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Dealing with the various heads of expenditure, he takes up first the item bearing on Commissioned Officers and says that for the first time we notice this year 24 Indian officers in the cavalry and 38 in the infantry and pioneers. We shall watch with interest the working of this new experiment and may we express the hope that their compeers of the British race will wholeheartedly co-operate with their Indian comrades in arms and extend full support to them, thus making their heavy burden lighter. The last Budget statement shows however, a reduction of 1,169 Indian officers and other ranks in the fighting units, and an increase of 13 British officers with King's Commissions in the armoured car companies. In the Veterinary Service there is a reduction of 876 in the Indian other ranks. In this connection we recall the recommendation of the Esher committee that qualified Indians should be granted Commissions in the Veterinary Service in India, and enquire as to what progress has been made so far in giving effect to it. Sir Sivaswamy draws the attention of the Government to the resolutions passed by the Assembly in March 1921 urging the admission of Indians into all branches of the army and the abolition of differentiation in various respects between the Auxiliary and the Territorial Forces, and points out that no decision has yet been announced. One of the services from which the Indians have been excluded is the armoured car branch of the army. While half the company of the armoured car branch has been made over to the Auxiliary Force, which is composed of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, it is noticeable that no similar provision has been made for the Territorial Force. Under the Budget head, Animal Transport, we find no proportionate or suitable reduction though there has been an enormous development of mechanical transport since the war, and we observe further that though the number of followers for animal transport has decreased very largely, the number of officers with King's Commissions, British other ranks, Indian officers and Indian other ranks has risen from 1479 in the year 1913-14 to 16,970 in 1923-24. The number of officers with King's Commissions in this Department is 64, which in our opinion can be conveniently reduced or in their place Indian officers substituted without either jeopardising the safety of the army or impairing its efficiency in any way. Turning to mechanical transport, Sir Sivaswamy refers to the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee that the number of vehicles necessary for army purposes should not exceed 1,600. After going into detail it shows that only 33 vehicles require to be replaced, while the Budget makes provision of Rs. 9,70,620 for replacement and Rs. 15,50,000 for repairs, which seems extravagant. We agree with him that there is no reason why, in view of the maintenance of establishments of base workshops for mechanical transport, the necessary repairs are not carried out each year in the ordinary course, and why

special repairs to such a large extent were found necessary. Our remarks made for Indianising the Animal Transport Service apply equally to the mechanical Transport Department, where the number of officers holding King's Commissions is 149, British other ranks 950, while Indian officers number only 29. Surely a considerable economy will be effected under this head, if the personnel be changed from British to Indian.

Dealing with educational and instructional establishments, Sir Sivaswamy makes the criticism that the total cost of maintenance of all the small arms schools and the physical training schools amounts to over Rs. 7 lacs. Roughly speaking, the cost of the supervising and inspecting staff is 1-7th of the cost of the institutions supervised. The proportion seems on the face of it unduly high. With reference to the cost of education of military pupils at medical colleges and schools, which comes to Rs. 2,67,280, Sir Sivaswami rightly asks the question as to why not men already in the medical colleges and schools should not be selected, thus saving this amount annually. Under the head of "Working Expenses of Hospitals," which is responsible for the large figure of 243 lacs, he says that this expenditure is out of all proportion to possible requirements. While on this item we reiterate the hope expressed by him that the enquiry recommended by the Inchcape Committee will be promptly undertaken and will embrace not merely the question of the number of hospitals and beds required, but also the possibility of a curtailment in the number of medical officers. Referring to the payments made to the Imperial Government for air force personnel, he says that it is considerably higher than the payment made for the army, and then after going into certain ratios and proportions he concludes that the air force is being maintained on very expensive lines. It seems necessary to watch the development of this new wing of the armed forces: for if it succeeds, much of the expenditure under other heads will decrease, but if it does not answer the expectations it will prove another millstone round our neck.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without urging on the government the pressing need of taking steps immediately 'to organise and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force on attractive lines.' A resolution bearing on this subject was passed and accepted by the Government more than two years ago, and we are not yet aware of what satisfactory progress has been achieved in this direction. The Esher Committee, while discussing the lines on which the experiment of the creation of a territorial force might be made, recommended among other things the training of cadets in schools in physical training and drill, with a view to prepare them, while young, for their duties as citizens later on. What action has been taken to give effect to it is not known to us. This is the first step which calls for consideration by the Government, and we trust that physical

training and drill on military lines will form part of the daily curriculum in schools for our boys. Then comes the part of the university and non-university corps. We are inclined to suggest that but for medical reasons, it should be made obligatory on every student in our colleges and universities to join the Territorial Force. We do not see any insuperable difficulty which will make the realisation of this suggestion impracticable. It will bring a fruitful harvest to all concerned. The Government will have in all important towns a force at its disposal to quell any disorders that may temporarily threaten the peace of a local area; the student will thereby learn manly habits, improve their bodies and make their minds alert; the country will escape the growing financial burden which the army is responsible for placing on it. The experiment of raising university and non-university corps has not been quite successful. We suggest that enquiry be set on foot to find out the root causes of this apparent failure, and every endeavour be made to remove whatever stands in the way of our young men enlisting in the Territorial Force in large numbers. The suggestion to make the terms attractive by offering them better pay and allowances and other kinds of reasonable facilities has our cordial support. We desire to see the burden of self-defence undertaken by a national army composed of educated citizens.

## RAILWAYS AND THE INCHCAPE COMMITTEE.

### II.—RETURN ON CAPITA.

IN article I of this series which appeared in the SERVANT OF INDIA of 31st May, we showed, assuming that *Capita at Charge* was the correct basis,

(i) that with the proposed minimum of 5½ per cent. the gain to the Central revenues would be only Rs. 5.17 crores and not Rs. 8.50 crores as arrived at by the Committee; and

(ii) that in order that a net gain of Rs. 8.5 crores may be secured, the minimum return required to be fixed at 6.09 per cent.

There are also "terminological inexactitudes" in the Committee's report which are likely to create a certain amount of misapprehension, if not confusion, as to the spirit of its recommendation. It will be noticed that the heading under which the recommendation is made refers to *capital outlay*; the paragraph in which the advisability of adopting the recommendation is explained refers to *capital at charge*; while the conclusions in which the recommendation is definitely set out refer to *capital invested by the State in railways*. The three terms employed in three different places with reference to the same recommendation are not synonymous and do not, therefore, mean one and the same thing. *Capital outlay* means such expenditure on railways as it has pleased Government, under the queer system adopted by them, to debit to capital account; for instance, it does not, al-

though it ought to, include either the cost, running into crores of rupees, of lands given free to the railways by the State, (paragraph 2 of Part II of the report), or the losses incurred in raising capital for railways from time to time (foot-note at pages 276-77 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India, for the year 1920-21). *Capital at charge* is even less than this so-called capital outlay, since it is arrived at by deducting from the capital outlay the amounts paid every year on account of annuity and sinking funds which go to wipe out a portion of the original cost of certain railways purchased by the State from the old guaranteed railway companies (paragraph 7 at pages 278-79 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1920-21). Capital at charge is, therefore, an annually diminishing figure, except for any additional expenditure. It will be noticed from paragraph 2 of Part II of the report that while the total capital expended on State-owned railways up to the 31st March 1922 shows an increase of Rs. 98.84 crores, the increase in the capital at charge is only Rs. 82 crores. The difference of Rs. 16.84 crores represents capital redeemed or wiped out by payments from revenue by the operation of annuity and sinking funds. When the specific liabilities on account of purchased railways for which these funds were started are fully discharged, the total reduction in the capital at charge will be no less than £95,022,344 or Rs. 142.53 crores at Rs. 15 to the pound (pages 284-85 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the year 1920-21.) As regards *capital invested by the State in railways*, it means *all monies expended by the State in creating the property and chargeable on a commercial basis to capital irrespective of the source from which the expenditure was actually incurred.*

#### RECOMMENDED BASIS UNSOUND.

In considering the question of the proper basis to adopt for the purpose of fixing a standard for measuring the remunerativeness of the railway property, that is, whether the monies invested from the revenue resources of the country should be taken into account or not, it is not necessary to go into the merits or demerits of the policy, hitherto followed by Government, of taxing the people for capital expenditure instead of allowing the money to fructify in their pockets. We have to face the facts as they stand. Rightly or wrongly large sums of money have in the past been spent from the proceeds of taxation (euphemistically called surplus revenue) in liquidation or avoidance of productive public debt connected with the construction and equipment of railways or their purchase. Part of the State has thus been acquired by the State not for nothing but in return for very substantial sums of money, and yet when judging of the paying extent of this commercial undertaking, Government have always excluded these sums in working out the return yielded by the property as though part of it was acquired free of cost. The Committee

also has, through inadvertence or otherwise, suggested the same method being followed in fixing the minimum return for railways.

It proposes that the return should be fixed with reference to the capital at charge, that is, with reference to a figure which is less than the total of the monies spent in creating the railway property. This figure, as shown above, has a constant element of annual reduction which, as years roll on, serves to increase the hiatus between the assumed and the actual values of that property. Railways are professedly a commercial undertaking while the procedure suggested is a breach of all commercial principles. The procedure is, moreover, unjust to the taxpayers, who, as pointed out by Sir Basil Blackett in paragraph 16 of his budget speech of March 1, 1923, constitute a class by itself of the State's creditors. The difference between them and its other creditors is that the latter lend their money to the State out of their own free will, can demand interest thereon and are entitled to direct repayment at the end of a fixed period or at the convenience of the State; while the former have to lend their money compulsorily and can demand neither interest nor repayment. There is, however, nothing in this difference to the two classes of loans being treated differently, in so far as the point under discussion is concerned, when such loans are used for commercial undertakings like the railways. Sir Basil Blackett, in the speech referred to, brought out very clearly the dangers which continued deficits bring in their train. Equally there are dangers in continued fat surpluses, although they do not perhaps come so quickly or become so immediately embarrassing to the State. The late Mr. Gokhale on every suitable occasion continued to press these potential dangers on the attention of the Government. One such occasion was in 1906, when, speaking on the Financial Statement for 1906-07, he said:—

"My Lord the surpluses of the last few years—rendered possible by the artificial enhancement of the value of the rupee, and realised, first by maintaining taxation at a higher level than was necessary in view of the appreciated rupee, and secondly, by a systematic under-estimating of revenue and over-estimating of expenditure—have produced their inevitable effect on the expenditure of the country. With such a plethora of money in the Exchequer of the State, the level of expenditure was bound to be pushed up in all directions. Economy came to be a despised word and increased establishments and revised scales of pay and pensions for the European officials became the order of the day. . . . The evil of an uncontrolled growth of expenditure in all directions in the name of increased efficiency was not checked and the legacy must now remain with us.

Government did not learn the lesson and the consequences are before us to-day.

These continued deficits are themselves a danger proceeding from continued fat surpluses. The war and its after-effects have only accelerated the advent of a danger which we were inviting by our unsound methods. What is true of the general financial condition of the country is also true of

the financial condition in which the railways now find themselves. The surpluses in the general revenues were not true surpluses or windfalls, but forced surpluses. Similary railway profits were not true commercial profits but 'faked' profits, in so far as they were arrived at by a progressive understating of the real capital value of the railways. These so-called profits have encouraged increased expenditure until the progressively increasing expenditure, accentuated by other forces, has outstripped the apparently increased profits and we now find our railways an unremunerative business.

#### THE TRUE BASIS.

The time has, therefore, now come to correct the self-deception by which we arrived at the present *impasse*. One of the necessary correctives is to adopt a truly commercial basis for the purpose of laying down the minimum return to which we are to work up, and this can be done, not by adopting the basis of capital outlay, or of capital at charge, but of capital invested by the State in railways as defined by us. It is true that Government have kept no account of some of the important items of expenditure such as that incurred on lands given free to railway companies. The Committee in paragraph 2 of Part II of its report says that particulars of this expenditure are not available. We do not really see why this information, or at least a substantial part of it, should not be reclaimable from the old accounts. But even if this cannot be reclaimed, there is no reason why a close approximate estimate should not be made of all such expenditure for the purpose of starting a real genuine commercial account. It would, in our opinion be quite safe to assume for rough calculation that the actual monies invested by the State in railways amount to no less than, say, Rs. 700 crores up to the end of 1922-23. In order that a net gain of Rs. 85 crores may accrue to the Central revenues, the railways must, as shown in our last article, yield net receipts, *excluding* all interest annuity and sinking fund charges, amounting to Rs. 34,35,40,000. This would give a return of 4.91 per cent. on the basis of capital invested by the State in railways, that is, Rs. 700 crores as estimated by us. Having corrected the error in the basis on which the standard minimum return should be calculated from capital at charge to capital invested by the State in railways, we shall, in our next article, examine the *manner* in which that return is proposed to be calculated by the Committee.

#### ECONOMY.

#### THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

**Belgian Women's Rights.** BELGIUM apparently is a country which—as regards women's rights—is a good deal behind India. The parliamentary franchise for instance not only does not exist, but is so little practical politics,

that it is not even being discussed. What Belgian women have got so far is the right to vote in communal elections; what is at issue just now is their demand for the suffrage in provincial elections. In this connection one has read with a good deal of pained surprise the proceedings of the recently held annual meeting of the Belgian Labour Party, which resulted in the rejection by the Party of the proposal of extending women's suffrage to the Provincial Councils. The reason for such complete reversal of the traditional Labour attitude towards women's suffrage must be sought in the fact, that the present Labour Party majority in two of the Provinces would only too probably be turned into a minority by the women's vote which is presumed to be solidly anti-Labour. Moreover, with more anti-Labour supreme in the Provinces, the Belgian Senate would automatically become more anti-Labour too: hence the party's refusal to lose their present tactical advantage. Still more significant, however, is that all the great leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, headed by M. van der Velde, have strenuously opposed the short-sighted attitude of their followers, who do not seem to care that they give away the whole case of democracy, by opposing its principle, whenever likely to injure their partizan interests.

**Women's Nationality Rights in U. S. A.** ANOTHER case evoking rather mixed feelings is presented by the so-called "Cable Act", which has recently given to American women the right to their own nationality. Hitherto the practice in the United States has been that prevailing practically everywhere—viz. that a woman is of the nationality of her husband. If he is or acquires a nationality differing from her own, she loses her own by the very fact of her marriage, quite irrespective of her own wishes in the matter. From now onwards, this position will no longer hold good in American law. A non-American woman will be able to become a naturalized American citizen, even if her non-American husband refuses to seek American citizenship. An American woman, marrying a non-American will retain her American citizenship unless she makes a declaration to the contrary. A non-American woman marrying an American will not *ipso facto* thereby become an American citizen, but will have to seek naturalization in the ordinary way. This is a great step forward indeed in the history of the emancipation of woman, marking, as it does, the disappearance of yet one more application of her *quondam* status as man's chattel. Then why the *mixed* feelings of our opening sentence? The reason is that one of the sections of the Act decrees that no woman marrying a person who is neither "White" nor of Negro descent can be an American citizen. In other words: an American woman who so "degrades" herself as to marry a Chinese or an Indian, is no longer fit to be an American citizen and loses that citizenship by the very fact of her marriage! Pretty; very, very, very pretty indeed.

*The English "Six Point" Group.* IN practical England the women's cause has now reached a stage where merely detailed application of a generally conceded principle is being worked out. There attention is now being concentrated on six points—four of which concern woman as a mother, and two as a wage-earner. The first point demands still more stringent legislation in connection with indecent assaults on children. The second asks for State allowances to widows for every child under 14 years—a point, as a matter of fact, already conceded by the laws of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Denmark. Point three refers to unmarried mothers and to the children of such unions: seeking to remove the monstrous taint of illegitimacy, under which the innocent children suffer at present; and equalizing the responsibility for them between the two parents, of whom one—the illegitimate father—hitherto has managed to escape almost completely. Point four deals with the analogous duties in married life—duties, which there are usually styled Guardianship Rights, and which at present entitle the father alone to determine the domicile, the religion and the education of "his" children. The last two points refer to the principle of "equal pay for equal service". The fifth point specifies the teacher's profession—in which everything is most patently identical, whether the teacher belongs to this or that sex: except the remuneration they receive! The last point refers to the Civil Service, from the higher branches of which English women are still excluded, and it demands there too nothing more—but also nothing less—than equal opportunities. A most admirably sane programme. What chance of starting a similar "Six Point Group" in Indian politics?

*Motherhood Endowment.*

AS will be seen, however, these six points are silent on what undoubtedly is the biggest and most burning problem: that of motherhood endowment. This principle is practically difficult to apply and succeeding conferences of the women of the British Labour Party (one of them has just been held in York) have found it a very hard nut to crack. For on the one hand it is quite obvious that the interests of the nation demand that its future should be safeguarded against the stunting of children inseparable from capitalistic exploitation. It is obvious that mothers obliged to do hard manual work right up to and immediately after confinement will impair their own health and those of their babies, whom they can obviously neither feed nor tend adequately. Should then the nation make an allowance to each mother direct for the national service to be rendered by her, enabling her to bring up healthy and strong citizens of the future? The practical result would unfortunately merely be an indirect subsidy to the employer, who can be trusted under the prevailing capitalist system to reduce wages, so as to "allow" for State grants and bring back the workers' wage to a point just above

the subsistence level. Then why not place the whole burden on the employer? Because in that case, he would only engage unmarried workers! The Capitalist system in fact must oppose motherhood endowment, since it would make the worker "too darned independent," as the elegant phrase is: for how many men would not have "chucked" or struck long ago, if the fear of what would then become of their wife and children ceased to haunt them? Municipal provision of medical attendance, milk, nursery schools, &c. would probably prove the most feasible first step pending such readjustment of the economic structure as will secure to the mother of dependent children the direct control of a money income proportionate to her family obligations. The main contention at present must be, not to leave the provision of such necessities to philanthropic institutions, but to make society at large acknowledge its duties towards the guardians of its own future; and this applies as much to India, as to Britain.

## REVIEWS.

### THE MOPLAH REBELLION.

**GOPALAN NAIR, DEWAN BAHADUR C.:** THE MOPLAH REBELLION. The Manorama Book Depot, Calicut. 1923. Rs. 2

SOME months ago the Madras Government announced that they had deputed Mr. Hitchcock, the District Superintendent of Police, who has had a very intimate and personal touch with the rebellion, its prelude and also its after-math, to write its history. But as it has not yet seen the light of day, the expectant public will welcome the little but succinct and eminently readable volume which Dewan Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair, Retired Deputy Collector of Calicut, has brought out on the subject. Mr. Nair is not a new hand at writing history. His history of "Waynad" (a taluk in Malabar) and "The Early History of the Mappilas in Malabar" contain valuable information presented in a charming manner. His present work is based almost entirely on newspaper reports and press *communiqués*, as the police reports on pre-rebellion activities in the area the details of military operations and other important documents relating to the rebellion are still confidential. In spite of this disadvantage he has succeeded in presenting to the public a fairly continuous and interesting account of the rebellion. The subjects dealt with are varied—the pre-rebellion time in Malabar when the Khilafat and non-co-operation propaganda were carried on and the important event connected with it, the actual course of the rebellion its suppression, the hideous atrocities of the rebel forced conversions, Malabar Police, Wagon Tragedy, Special Courts, Relief Work, the Government's work at reconstruction, Hindu-Muhammadan unity &c. The book also contains well selected photographic illustrations of some of the horrible excesses of the fanatics, especially of the forced conversions.

One rises, however, after the perusal of the book with the feeling of a keen appetite roused but left unsatisfied. The nearness of the events and the paucity of materials account for the picture being incomplete. In addition, the author suspends judgment on almost every important topic and leaves the reader in a state of uncomfortable suspense at the end of the book. This may be due to the author's anxiety not to rake up old quarrels and to his laudable reluctance to draw inferences and generalisations out of insufficient facts. But "histories make men wise," because they contain some definite morals drawn out of certain past events, which not only explain the past but illuminate the future. Most of us will agree with Mr. Nair in his explanation of the Moplah fanaticism and also to a large extent, with his opinion and exhortation as to how the Moplah must be treated, so that he and the Hindu may live together in friendliness or at least in mutual tolerance and both may enjoy peacefully the fruits of the fair land of Kerala. But one misses the explanation of the painful weakness and disorganised condition of the Hindus of Malabar who offered no serious resistance to the fanatical Moplals. How is their religion to be made a real and inspiring faith, loved and livable by the lower classes who are now, in its name, subjected to the most degraded and humiliating restrictions of caste and social usage? It is a great pity that on this important subject Mr. Nair is silent, for whatever he might have said would have been very valuable on account of his age and experience. Also in one or two matters of administration which are important, in as much as they pave the way for permanent peace, the author could have said something definite. For example, one may agree to a great extent with the author that agrarian discontent was not the cause of the last rebellion. But it is a fact the agrarian conditions of Malabar are far from satisfactory, that there is a large body of opinion in Malabar and outside which believes that they were the cause of the rebellion and at least two distinguished members of the Civil Service who were also Collectors of the district have held that they were one of the chief causes of the numerous Moplah risings before. Under these circumstances one wishes that a few pages at least had been given to this subject. Again in reading the chapter on the Malabar Police, a topic of special attention at present, one gets the impression that the police behaved admirably during the rebellion. But in the appendices there are two trenchant excerpts which give an altogether different idea. We hope the second edition, with the lapse of time and the help of more material, will be fuller and more definite in its views.

M. S. M.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS.

##### MR. SASTRI'S PLEA FOR KENYA INDIANS.

THE claim of the Indian population in Kenya to equal rights with the British colonists in East Africa was urged by Mr. Riniwasa Sastri, says the *Morning Post*, in a speech at the Indian Students' Union and Hostel, Keppel-street, on Saturday evening (May 12).

Mr. Sastri said that the question of the treatment of Indians in Kenya was a matter of life and death, not only to India but to the British Commonwealth. It was the most decisive test that had yet been applied to the moral character of the Empire. Official and non-official India were at one on the matter. (Cheers.) Although the delegation came from the

non-official side of the Central Legislature it had the confidence and sympathy in the fullest measure of the Government of India. (Cheers.)

Their adversaries—to apply no stronger term—set up the claim that they must dominate over Africa, and not over Kenya only, and that the Indians must submit not merely to political and administrative restrictions, but might even be driven out of the territory. The spirit of South Africa started with the doctrine that there was no equality between black and white. That unmitigated and unabashed racial domination and arrogance had extended to the portion of East Africa with which they were concerned.

None of those who had come from Kenya or India would abate one jot of their claims to an equal place in the Empire with any British subject whatsoever. (Loud cheers.) It was not possible to say much as to the prospects of the negotiations, as they had hardly begun, but he could say that wherever he had conversed with people in this country he found an appreciation of the magnitude of the issues involved and of the dire and irrevocable consequences that would follow a wrong and unjust decision. (Cheers.) If the British Commonwealth failed to do justice on this occasion it would not be due to ignorance or failure to appreciate the matter at its fullest.

Britain's verdict would be her deliberate and final verdict on the position of India in the British Empire, and they were here to apprise the Colonial authorities that much depended on what they did. Not merely Kenya, but the Commonwealth, depended on the steadfastness with which the authorities carried out the just conclusion to which they must arrive if they wished to preserve their great heritage.

The Indians had hitherto opposed to the extreme demands of the white settlers—their immoderation, threats of violence, and even the menace of rebellion against their own mother-country—nothing but patience and forbearance, believing that somehow or other the British nation would find a way out of the difficulty which would keep Indians contented and self-respecting within the British Empire.

They would maintain that attitude, in the conviction that moderation was a virtue in this matter. He appealed to them to continue to be moderate, for the greatest harm that the white settlers had done to themselves was by the alarm they had created among their own countrymen by their unrestraint and by in many respects, their unscrupulous propaganda in the Press. (Cheers.)

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

From J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

BUXTON, NOEL AND T. P. CONWIL-EVANS: OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. 1922. 7½ x 5. pp. 230. 6s.

From P. S. King & Son, London.

STROBEL, HEINRICH: SOCIALIZATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. Translated by H. J. Stenning. 1922. 7½ x 5. pp. 341. 10s. 6d.

From Labour Publishing Co., London.

DALTON, HUGH: THE CAPITAL LEVY EXPLAINED. 1922. 6½ x 4. pp. 96. 1s.

From the Labour Office, Bombay.

SHIRRAS, G. FINDLAY: REPORT ON AN ENQUIRY INTO THE WORKING CLASS BUDGETS IN BOMBAY. 1923 pp. 299. Rs. 3-14.

From G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND C. F. ANDREWS: THE VISVABHABATI. 1923. pp. 51. As. 8.

From Charles Scribner, New York.

DEPEW, CHAUNCEY M.: MY MEMORIES OF EIGHTY YEARS. 1922. 9½ x 6½. pp. x+417. 16s.

From Bodley Head, Ltd., London.

DEWAR, DOUGLAS: BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA. (Illus.) 1922. 9 x 5½. pp. viii+287. 10s.

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