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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Jamshedpur Labour. IT is but natural that when the Tatas are about to be granted protection, the question of the labouring classes being given the elemental civic rights, which are now denied to them should be raised by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who is a labour representative in the Legislative Assembly. No one denies—and Mr. Joshi will be the first to recognise it thankfully—that the labourers in Jamshedpur are on the whole treated with much greater consideration than the average labourer is treated in India. Indeed the Tatas have set a very good example to the Indian employers in this respect. But it so happens that, owing to the obduracy of the foreigners in their employ, a labour union that has been formed in Jamshedpur is not given the ordinary right of association: they cannot meet to take counsel together as to how they should represent their grievances to the employers, nor are their representations at all considered by the Iron and Steel Company. This is a very serious matter and it cannot be set right by constituting a Conciliation Committee, as the Tatas have recently done, with a view to organizing labour. A labour organisation already exists and the question is not one of duplicating labour unions, but of recognising the one that is now in existence. The newly formed Conciliation Committee has not yet met and given its decision on the one outstanding question that it has to consider: viz., the right of the existing union to meet and make representations to the employers. It is a simple question involving no outlay of money and it should not be difficult for the Committee and the Tatas to arrive at a decision as to whether the right of association of the existing

labour union will be recognised. We know for a fact that it goes very much against the grain with the Tatas to put such restrictions on labour organizations as they have now put, but they must take courage in both their hands and right a great wrong that has been done to labour in their name.

* * *

Arya Samajists and Vaikom. AN important development in the situation at Vaikom is the conversion of a dozen prominent Thiyyas to the Arya Samaj and the refusal by the Travancore executive to these converts the right of way to the streets under dispute. That is to say, the executive have refused to recognise any change in the social or religious status of the converts. This decision must be condemned as absolutely arbitrary. The tenets of the Arya Samaj are so repugnant to the orthodox Hindu that he considers the Arya Samajist as belonging to a different faith—like the Sikh or Buddhist or even Christian. The Arya Samaj admits converts from Muhammadans and Christians, does not observe restrictions regarding interdining and intermarriage, invests any convert with the sacred thread and teaches him the Vedas—any one of which actions is enough in the opinion of the orthodox Hindu to send one to hell. One ceases to be a Thiyya, therefore, on joining the Arya Samaj. The orthodox people will not surely say, 'once a Thiyya, always a Thiyya,' for they admit that he ceases to be a Thiyya if he becomes a Muhammadan or Christian. How can they reasonably maintain then, that he remains a Thiyya if he becomes a Buddhist, Sikh or Arya Samajist? Suppose, instead of joining the Arya Samaj directly, a person became a Christian or Muhammadan first and then joined the Samaj. Would the right of way that he was allowed to exercise as Christian or Muhammadan be subsequently denied him? It is all too absurd. It may be said that in this case the authorities have not taken on themselves any responsibility of decision and that they have prohibited the use of the roads to the converts because they fear a breach of the peace from the orthodox Hindus. We have held this plea as quite untenable against "unconverted" untouchables. But in their case one could at least plead custom and long usage, while in the present case there is no excuse whatever. In fact it looks as though in this case the Travancore State has abdicated its functions in favour of unreasoning orthodoxy. Swami Shraddhanand has rightly pointed out that this action of the

Travancore executive amounts to a denial to the Arya Samajists of the status enjoyed by them in other parts of India.

* * *

THAT, however, will not be a satisfactory solution of the untouchability or unapproachability question. This was well pointed out by Dr. Kunhi Kannan in his thoughtful presidential address at the annual conference of the Thiyya community which, was held last week at Vaikom. Referring to a move among them for a wholesale conversion to Buddhism as a panacea for all the ills to which the community was subject, he said he did not think much of such a conversion for social convenience rather than to suit a change of conviction, let alone the question whether such a wholesale conversion was feasible; for unlike individuals whose habits and customs were overpowered by those of the religious body, a community on conversion was likely to take with it the social customs to which it was accustomed, as witnessed among certain Christians and Muhammadans in India. He rightly pointed out that by adopting such a course they would be only running away from the problem. To stay within the fold of Hinduism and break the custom was the manlier course and he advised his community to concentrate its energy and resources on that course. For, as he truly observed, there are no short cuts to progress, whether of individuals, a community or a nation. The Thiyya community possesses an excellent organization with devoted workers, a large membership and no fewer than 120 branches. It has started schools, erected a large number of temples, abolished costly and meaningless ceremonies, reduced litigation, made weighty representations to Government and in other ways has established a record of work which should be the envy of other communal organisations. It is eminently fitted to take up this fight against untouchability and we sincerely hope that its attempts will be crowned with success.

* * *

WRITING about Vaikom in *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi has defined the limits of the movement for the removal of untouchability so far as he and the Congress are concerned. He says:—

The present movement throughout India is to throw open to the suppressed classes all the public roads, public schools, public wells and public temples which are accessible to non-Brahmins. It is in fact a movement to purify caste by ridding it of its most pernicious result. I personally believe in *Varnashram*, though it is true that I have my own meaning for it. Any way, anti-untouchability movement does not aim at inter-dining or inter-marrying. Those who mix up the touch and the last two things together are doing harm to the cause of the suppressed classes as also to that of inter-dining and inter-marriage.

The use of roads, schools and wells is an elementary civil right, which is inherent in every one. It is however, denied to the suppressed classes wholly or in part all over India, but it has got to be vindicated everywhere, as is being done at Vaikom in respect of roads. Temples belong to a different category, as the right to enter them is not an elementary civil right. But the idea underlying the prohibition of temple-entry to certain castes is ceremonial purity, which is also the idea underlying restriction on inter-dining.

That being the case, it is inconsistent in one who strongly favours temple-entry for all castes, to ban inter-dining and inter-marriage. While claiming to be a believer in *Varnashram*, Mr. Gandhi does not observe any restrictions about inter-dining. The fact is, his ideas of religion are as far removed from those of orthodox Hindus as is his practice from theirs. But by his using the language of the orthodox some confusion results.

* * *

The *Indian Social Reformer*, would rather praise than blame Hindu society for treating untouchables

better when they became converts to Islam or Christianity than when they remained Hindus; because such better treatment "is simply an extended application of the traditional Indian rule of hospitality to strangers and foreigners." We do not think much of a hospitality which is reserved for strangers and foreigners while denied to one's friends and kinsmen. Apart from that, however, in the case of Muhammadans and Christians, our hospitable instinct seems to have been considerably quickened by political considerations. At one time or other almost every part of India has been under Muhammadan rule and it is not expedient to deny to a member of the ruling caste access to a public road. Far from acquiescing in any restrictions which orthodox Hindus might like to impose on his freedom of movement, the Muhammadan has been able to prohibit music or other noisy worship of Hindu gods in the vicinity of mosques. We wonder whether Hindu submission to these restrictions is also "an extended application" of traditional courtesy. Similarly our courtesy to Christians is very much influenced by the consideration that we are politically subordinate to a Christian nation. In fact, converts from among untouchables to Christianity are not invariably treated better than untouchable Hindus. In the Andhra country there are thousands of such converts who are in no way better treated for their conversion. But when by means of education or with the help of missionaries they are able to exercise political influence, they are treated with greater courtesy than before. Now that the untouchable Hindus are beginning to assert themselves, we daresay orthodox Hindu society will learn to respect them.

* * *

IN a recent issue we said that there was not much reason to fear that Tanganyika would be joined on to

Kenya as the Territory is administered under the Mandate of the League of Nations. We were in error in expressing this opinion, for we see that Article XI of the Mandate authorises the mandatory to constitute Tanganyika Territory into an administrative union with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control. There are thus no constitutional difficulties in the way of an East African Federation and the only question is whether on the whole the proposal will be conducive for good. To the Indians it will do nothing but harm and fortunately for us the white settlers are entirely opposed to the scheme on the ground that they will be altogether submerged by the native population. The proposal however, will be examined by the Commission to be appointed for the purpose, and we must be on our guard lest it should find favour with the authorities in England.

No Short Cuts to Progress.

How Courtesy is quickened.

Untouchability and Inter-dining.

Indians and E. A. Federation.

THE COUNCILS AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

THE constructive programme of the Congress is, according to Mahatma Gandhi, the positive side of non-co-operation, inasmuch as it seeks to create something to take the place of what non-co-operation aims at destroying. The triple boycott of Government schools, law courts and Councils is to his mind but the obverse of national schools, arbitration courts, and Congress soviets. This is a perfectly intelligible position: all these items of the constructive programme have a political aspect and may be advocated only in so far as they promote the negative part of non-co-operation. But the constructive programme contains some purely social items and it is difficult to relate them in any way to the political movement of non-co-operation. For instance, removal of untouchability. It is hard to imagine any plank in the non-co-operation platform to which this may be held to correspond. To say, as Mahatma Gandhi does, that unless we rid India of the curse of untouchability, Khaddar cannot be universalised, and that unless Khaddar is made universal, civil disobedience, which is the objective of all non-co-operation activities, cannot be made successful, and to establish in this wise a relation between the anti-untouchability movement and non-co-operation seems a bit far-fetched.

But we are not concerned here to show that some items at any rate of the constructive programme have nothing to do with non-co-operation nor to maintain that it is not wise to present what is essentially a social programme as part of a political movement, thus involving what is in itself universally accepted in unnecessary controversy. Our purpose rather is take the Mahatma's statement as it is and then to draw from it the consequences which in our opinion logically flow from it. If Councils are taboo to non-co-operators as symbols of the authority of a satanic Government, and if the constructive programme is an integral part of non-co-operation and is to be countenanced only in so far as it promotes the latter's growth, it follows that the Councils must not be used to prosecute the constructive programme. The aid of the legislative machinery must not be invoked, e. g., in banishing untouchability, or in increasing the production of hand-spun, or in bringing about prohibition (if the latter is, as we suppose, part of the constructive programme). The popular impression seems to be that those who go into the Councils against Mahatma's advice will somehow redeem themselves from the sin of violating the non-co-operation creed, if on entering the Councils they use all the power which they thus derive in forwarding the execution of the constructive programme. If they bring pressure to bear on Government in introducing hand-spinning and hand-weaving in schools, instead of multiplying the number of literary or technical or agricultural

schools; if they use legislative power in uplifting the so-called depressed classes, instead of in elevating the other numerous backward classes; if they bring about a restriction of alcohol consumption, instead of extending facilities for medical help; if they obtain the release of political prisoners, instead of severing the judicial from the executive duties of the civil service; they will to a large extent have reconciled their presence in the Legislatures with the principle of non-co-operation, and will have done much to reinstate themselves in Mahatma's favour.

This seems to be the idea behind the number of resolutions tabled by Swarajist members of the Legislative Assembly. When they offered themselves for election, they took the rôle of sheer obstructionists. They professed that their only concern was to impede governmental business and to do no business themselves. Therefore they laid upon themselves a prohibition to bring forward any proposal of a constructive nature, and pledged themselves to oppose every proposal that came from Government. From this position there has been a great climbing-down on their part. Now they have taken to making representations to Government, or "petitioning Government" (if an opprobrious term which they constantly use in the case of the Liberals is to be employed), on their own account in the matter of promoting the use of Khaddar or of limiting the sale of drink, &c. This deviation from their electoral pledges they will no doubt seek to justify by pleading that it is solely with a view to carrying out what Mahatma Gandhi enjoins upon every non-co-operator to do. There is here a subtle fallacy which it is our duty to expose. If Mahatma's teaching is to be honestly followed, the constructive programme can be pursued only from outside the Councils. It is, in his judgment, an important part of non-co-operation, and as such it is impossible to carry it out in Councils which are perhaps an outstanding symbol of the authority which the non-co-operators make it their business to overthrow. Judged by Mahatma Gandhi's standard, the constructive programme is to be valued only to the extent it promotes non-co-operation; it can have very little value for him if it results in increasing the popularity of the Legislatures which it is the primary object of non-co-operation to discredit. A school closely or remotely connected with Government, even if conducted on precisely the same lines with a national school, is to non-co-operators a thing to be avoided. Why? Not because the school is badly conducted, but because it is unclean, the very contact with Government making it unclean. Similarly, the spread of Khaddar, desirable in itself, becomes an evil if the agency of the Legislative Council is employed in promoting it. If therefore the Swarajists wish to retain any claim to be regarded as "non-co-operators from within," they must not make any constructive proposals themselves.

This inconsistency is observable, we are afraid, even in Mahatmaji's own reasoning. A correspondent asks in last week's *Young India* whether non-co-operators may serve on local bodies, and Mahatma Gandhi answers they may if they can thereby further the Congress aims. But this conditional answer will hardly resolve the doubts that have arisen in the correspondent's mind. If non-co-operators allow themselves to go on local bodies, they "have to keep up connection with Government": that is the difficulty of the correspondent. The Mahatma's answer does not go far to solve it. Is a non-co-operating member of a municipality bound, e. g., to work to release municipal Schools from governmental control and Government's recognition? If not, will he not be playing a double part, in the capacity of a non-co-operator withdrawing children from Government-recognised schools, and as a municipal councillor himself undertaking the responsibility of maintaining Government schools and thus strengthening the Government's own position? Mahatmaji says that if we cannot work, say, for national schools through these institutions, we must certainly vacate and shun them. But how is it at all possible to work for national schools by remaining on local bodies? The very essence of national schools being that they should be free not only from the control of Government, but from mere contact with Government, whether one or one hundred degrees removed, how can one use the municipal authority to establish national schools? Directly they are established, they become anti-national, according to the very definition of that word as used by Mahatma. And we have not seen even the stoutest of non-co-operators advocating the disaffiliation of municipal schools. We wonder if Mahatmaji himself advocates this course. This shows clearly how very imperfectly the principle of non-co-operation is practised by non-co-operators and how confused the ideas underlying that precept are. For ourselves, we are not sorry that the Swarajists are gradually giving the go-bye to the principle of non-co-operation, but when they try to make-believe that they are still true to non-co-operation, it is our business to lay bare the plain truth.

RETROCESSION OF BERAR.

III.—JUSTICE AND RIGHT.

THE last treaty between the British Government and the Faithful Ally is the perpetual lease of 1902, and it is of this treaty that the Nizam seeks revision. One version of the manner in which it has been arrived at is laid before us. Lord Curzon apparently made two representations to the Nizam:—(1) that under the treaty of 1853 Berar was already assigned in perpetuity and (2) that the British would under no circumstances return the province back to the Nizam. The second statement none has any reason to doubt; that Lord Curzon believed it himself

must be conceded; and indeed it should not have required a Curzon to tell the Nizam so. The first statement is at least partly a question of interpretation and opinion. One side may contend with all the force and vehemence of argument it can command that the interpretation must be all in its favour, but the other cannot be prevented from disputing it. Further, the Curzonian interpretation does not seem to have affected the decision. The Nizam's memorandum shows that he consented to the perpetual lease inasmuch as he was assured that the British would under no circumstances give Berar back. The entire omission of the interpretation of the treaty of 1853 in the Nizam's memorandum is significant. And the Nizam could not have been led away by this Viceregal interpretation. Before the fateful meeting his Highness had a consultation with his Council of Noblemen when the right of his state as based on the treaty of 1853 and the interpretation thereof was discussed. If it was a question of interpretation reference could and would have been made to the higher authorities in England. Instead the treaty, undoubtedly with the consent of the Council of Noblemen, was ratified and confirmed.

It is needless to go into the question of the previous treaties. In regard to this last treaty it is urged that the forceful and commanding personality of the Viceroy overawed the Nizam, who was of a shy and nervous temperament and no freedom of consent was possible under the circumstances. Here was the spectacle of the representative of the Sovereign of the biggest Empire on earth, himself a powerful personality of worldwide repute, treating on most unequal terms with a small state represented by a shy little man, although a Prince and a potentate. That the latter was overawed and compelled much against his will to part with his rights in consequence of such awe, one would be ready to believe. But after all what is the remedy? The question relates to international and not private law; and neither the disparity in the intellectual attainments of the representatives of the high contracting parties nor that in the immensity of the strength and power of one and the weakness of the other can affect the solution of the question. International law is in process of development; it is yet in fluid form; and in the form in which it does exist it regards contracts as valid, notwithstanding the use of force or intimidation even. What then of mere pressure, diplomatic skill and all that this means and includes? And the reason is obvious. Unless these are regarded as consistent with the validity of international contracts, no treaty made at the end of a war or for the purpose of averting one would be binding. If the contrary view is held, the geography of the world will have to be reconstructed; the world's atlas repainted in fresh colours; and heaven alone will be able to tell how much of the map of India will retain its present paint. Nay more! If you concede this principle, is there not cause for the Bhoslas of Nagpur to claim back the whole of

Berar from both the British and the Nizam? The little incident for which the Bhosla was penalized in 1822 is said to have taken place in spite of his wishes. And one who reads that story cannot even after a hundred years withhold sympathy from the unfortunate prince. The war which ended with the treaty of Deogam was the outcome of a deliberate policy of seeking and even creating opportunities of waging war, for the purpose of making the British the paramount power in India. It was not for Justice and Right that Wellesley fought; but to forestall Napoleon in seizing the Empire of India and becoming mightier than England. To Wellesley the possession of India was the occupation of a position of vantage in the great battle; there was no room for consideration and in this object, which was far removed from justice and right, the Nizam was the ally of Wellesley. If he claims justice will he and his powerful ally give justice to the Bhosla, and revise the treaties of 1822 and 1803? It does not need a Curzon to tell us that this is a hopeless proposal.

IV.—THE TERRITORY AND THE PEOPLE.

The retrocession of Berar does not merely mean the transfer of a territory; it does not contemplate the mere delivery of the possession of land, so many miles in length and breadth with only the little hills and the broad plains and the narrow streams; it means the transfer of 30 lakhs of human beings—and in these days they cannot be transferred like chattie. At the conclusion of the great war, when the allies at the Peace Conference were presented with the problem of similar transfers, they paid heed to the wishes of the people which were ascertained by the procedure of the referendum and a number of new states cropped up in consequence. The question of the proprietary interest of a particular house or kingdom did not weigh with the allies, but the wishes of the people as expressed through and by means of the referendum decided the point. What was considered a good principle in the cases of these small communities, cannot be denied to the people of Berar; and it is hoped that the deciding factor, if the treaty is to be revised, will be the will of the people.

Though such will has not been expressed with that authority which belongs exclusively to a referendum, signs are not wanting to show which way the wind blows. All politically minded people are at one on this point. There are a few genuine grievances of the people of the province, some of which are mentioned by His Exalted Highness in the letter; but they are not difficult to remove and this is not the place for a consideration of these.

Finally, I should most humbly press upon the attention of His Exalted Highness that it is within his power to help in the conferment of real autonomy on the province of Berar by diplomatic action and by setting up autonomy in his own dominions. Let him do that, and the people of Berar will be grateful. As at present situated

Berar is far in advance of his dominions proper in anything and everything that marks civil development, and it will be content to remain where it is. Recently Berar has been compared to Damayanty. Having drunk deep of the spirit of political and social agitation that has in waves after waves swept over India and having danced in the lime light, this Damayanty will refuse to take the veil and retire behind the purdah into the Nizam's harem.

R. R. JAYAWANT.

SEPARATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE.

WHEN we wrote our article on "Fiscal Autonomy for Railways" which appeared in the issues of the SERVANT OF INDIA of February 28 and March 6 last, we did not have before us the Government scheme for the separation of the Railway from the general finances of the country. This scheme is now before us in the form of a resolution moved by the Hon. Sir Charles Innes in the Legislative Assembly on March 3, 1924. The resolution runs as follows:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that in order to relieve the general budget from the violent fluctuations caused by the incorporation therein of the railway estimates and to enable the railways to carry out a continuous railway policy based on the necessity of making a definite return over a period of years to the State on the capital expended on railways:

- (1) The railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country and the general revenues shall receive a definite annual contribution from railways, which shall be the first charge on railway earnings.
- (2) The contribution shall be a sum equal to five-sixths of 1 per cent. on the capital at charge of the railways (excluding capital contributed by Companies and Indian States and capital expenditure on strategic railways) at the end of the penultimate financial year plus one-fifth of any surplus profits remaining after payments of this fixed return, subject to the condition that if any year railway revenues are insufficient to provide the percentage of five-sixths of 1 per cent. on the capital at charge, surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued for purposes of division until such deficiency has been made good.

From the contribution so fixed will be deducted the loss in working, and the interest on capital expenditure on strategic lines.

- (3) Any surplus profits that exist after payment of these charges shall be available for the railway administration to be utilised in
 - (a) forming reserves for
 - (i) equalising dividends, that is to say, for securing the payment of the percentage contribution to the general revenues in lean years,
 - (ii) depreciation,
 - (iii) writing down and writing off capital,
 - (b) the improvement of services rendered to the public,
 - (c) the reduction of rates.
- (4) The railway administration shall be entitled, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Government of India, to borrow temporarily from capital or from the reserves for the purpose of meeting expenditure for which there is no provision or insufficient provision in the revenue budget subject to the

obligation to make repayment of such borrowings out of the revenue budgets of subsequent years.

(5) In accordance with present practice the figures of gross receipts and expenditure of railways will be included in the Budget Statement. The proposed expenditure will, as at present, be placed before the Legislative Assembly in the form of a demand for grants and on a separate day or days among the days allotted for the discussion of the demands for grants the Member in charge of Railways will make a general statement on railway accounts and working. Any reductions in the demand for grants for railways resulting from the vote of the Legislative Assembly will not enure to general revenues, i. e., will not have the effect of increasing the fixed contribution for the year.

(6) The Railway Department will place the estimates of railway expenditure before the Central Advisory Council on some date prior to the date for the discussion of the demand for grants for railways."

In this article we propose to consider the proposals embodied in this resolution, as though the necessities of the case could not be met by guaranteeing a continuous supply of funds, both capital and revenues, and the objections indicated in the previous article did not exist. The scheme differs in the following principal respects from that outlined in paragraph 74 of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21. It is more detailed and precise; it does not contemplate the use of *revenue* monies for *capital* purposes; and finally it rejects the claim of the railways to the entire net profits and provides for a definite contribution to the general revenues. The resolution is supported by two very elaborate notes of great plausibility by the Chief Commissioner and the Financial Commissioner for Railways; the first explaining the necessity for separation and the advantages of the particular scheme proposed, and the second shewing why the particular method of assessing the contribution to be made by the railways to the general revenues has been adopted. Turning now to the details of the Government scheme we find that it is proposed that the general revenues shall receive out of the net profits of the railways a percentage contribution based on the capital at charge of the railways (excluding capital contributed by Companies and Indian States and capital expenditure on strategic railways). We question the propriety of basing the percentage firstly on the "capital at charge" and secondly on a reduced capital at charge (i. e. excluding capital contributed by Companies). Dealing with the second point first, the notes supporting the Government resolution do not explain why, in arriving at the percentage contribution to the general revenues, it is necessary to exclude capital contributed by Companies. As will be seen from paragraphs 193-201 of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21, what is described as "capital contributed by Companies" is merely State loans under different names. The whole of the proceeds of these loans is invested in the State railways and the Companies own no property against this so-called capital. It is no real investment by the Companies, who are paid interest on the monies

at guaranteed rates, who share no losses and who share profits not as shareholders but only as agents for working the State railways. There is therefore no justification whatever for singling out these particular loans for exclusion from the amount on which the percentage contribution to the general revenues is to be made.

Our objection to the percentage contribution being based on "capital at charge" is that "capital at charge" represents an amount less than the monies actually spent in creating the railway property. It does not, for instance, include the cost, running into several crores of rupees, of lands paid for out of revenue and used for the following railways prior to the purchase of the railways by the State :—

- (1) Bengal Central,
- (2) Bombay Baroda and Central India,
- (3) Brahmaputra Sultanpur,
- (4) Deoghur,
- (5) Eastern Bengal,
- (6) East Indian,
- (7) Great Indian Peninsula,
- (8) Kalka-Simla,
- (9) Madras,
- (10) Mymensingh-Jamalpur-Jagannathganj,
- (11) Nilgiri,
- (12) Noakhali (Bengal),
- (13) Oudh and Rohilkhand,
- (14) Ranghat Krishnagar,
- (15) Scinde, Punjab and Delhi,
- (16) Segowly Raxaul,
- (17) South Indian,
- (18) Tarkessur.

Land is an integral portion of railway property and as such its cost is a legitimate charge against capital. Similarly, the "capital at charge" does not include payments made annually out of revenue on account of annuity and sinking funds in extinction of a portion of the original cost of certain railways purchased by the State from the old guaranteed railway Companies. As will be seen from paragraph 31 of the Finance Member's Budget speech, of February 29, 1924, Government have decided that such charges should henceforth be excluded from the Railway Budget and would not go to increase the revenue expenditure of railways or to reduce the capital at charge; and if this decision is right in principle as regards future charges of this nature, it would be equally right to take a similar decision as regards past charges and correct the amount now held to be capital at charge by increasing it. These are only two of the several instances where capital charges have been met out of revenue and an attempt must be made to bring all such charges together, calculate interest thereon and start a regular capital account. On principles of commercial accounting, the true basis to adopt for the percentage contribution to the general revenues is, however, not the total amount of monies expended by the State in creating the property, but an amount which also includes the real losses from the inception of the railway service

borne by the general revenues calculated at 4 per cent. compound interest less the sums surrendered to the general revenues during the period as railway profits with compound interest. A calculation made on the lines indicated will show that the total capital invested in the railways since the inception of the railway service is nearer Rs. 1,000 crores than the "capital at charge" of Rs. 646 crores. (See sections 5A, 6 and 7 of "Indian Railways" by Rai Saheb C. P. Tiwari.) It will thus be seen that the railways have never been in the past a commercial success in the true sense of the term, nor can they be described as such even now. On this railway debt of Rs. 1,000 crores not only is it impossible to show a commercial profit for a long long time to come, but for a good many years it will be impossible to show that the railways earn enough to cover even interest charges. To describe the railways as making a contribution to the general revenues out of profits on an under-stated capital of Rs. 646 crores under the separation scheme is, therefore, to persist in the course of self-deception which we have followed for nearly a quarter of a century. The so-called contribution by the railways to the general revenues can with honesty be described only as payment of a portion of the interest justly due on the debt obtained from the taxpayer under compulsion as distinguished from the debt given by the public out of their own free will. With this debt to the general revenues ascertained, the railways should be required to pay interest at, say, 4 per cent., any short payment of this interest being added on to the amount of the debt to the general revenues. The railways should be required to pay every year, instead of a percentage on the capital at charge, a minimum of Rs. 4½ crores, this minimum to be increased by Rs. 20 lakhs every year till the entire interest charges on the debt taken from the taxpayer can be met.

The proposal to deduct the loss in working and the interest on capital expenditure on strategic lines from the sum of the contribution to the general revenues of five-sixths of 1 per cent. on the capital at charge of commercial railways and one-fifth of any surplus earnings, introduces an element of avoidable uncertainty in the "regular and increasing contributions" to the general revenues. Statement II attached to the Finance Member's Budget speech of February 29, 1924, shews that the net contribution is arrived at as under:—

(xvi)	5/6ths of 1 per cent. on capital at charge	Rs. 4,53,67,000
(xviii)	1/5th of surplus profits	1,06,33,000
(xix)	Total contribution	5,60,00,000
(xx)	Deduct	
(a)	loss in working strategic lines	30,94,000
(b)	interest on capital at charge, strategic lines	1,01,76,000—1,33,70,000
(xai)	Net contribution	4,27,30,000

It will be seen from this extract that the net contribution by the railways to the general revenues will vary with the amount of this deduction on ac-

count of strategic lines, and will not relieve the general budget from fluctuations on the wrong side which, according to our reading of the preamble of the resolution, is the object of the separation scheme. Such fluctuations can be avoided by adopting alternative (iii) suggested at page 11 of the Servants of India Society Pamphlet No. 8, "Railways and the Budget", viz., that the Army Budget should make up to the Railway Budget any shortage in gross earnings necessary to cover interest charges and working expenses. It is no doubt true that this freedom from fluctuations on the wrong side is secured by a mere book entry. But such book entries in the case of a separate undertaking worked on commercial lines has been accepted as correct in principle by no less an authority than Sir William Acworth in his report on the Reconstruction of the Austrian State Railways, and endorsed by Dr. Zimmerman in his preface to the report.

ECONOMY.

EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION.

THE ultra-Imperialists have taken a step forward in the consolidation of the Empire. At all events that is the avowed object, and we certainly have no quarrel with the Empire builders on that account. But it may well be asked whether the consolidation of the Empire is the only or even the most prominent motive in the minds of those who have brought forward this proposal for the federation of East African Colonies. We are not concerned here with this for the moment. It is only desired to see how far such a federation as is proposed will affect the rights and interests of Colonial Indians.

The *East African Standard*, the settler paper of Kenya, has already given out the view, which appears to be substantially that of the jingo settler community of Kenya, that Kenya—meaning of course the jingo white settlers—would not support any federation scheme unless the policy of the federation is predominantly European, that is, unless the policy of European interests first (although natives may appear on paper at the head) in every thing is continued. The reservation of highlands for Europeans, limited or nominal franchise for Indians, the restriction of Indian immigration, and the ultimate exclusion of Indians from all the Colonies, follow as a natural result of this Kenya policy. Kenya will not join the federation, so they say, in short, unless the Kenya Indian policy is followed in other Colonies in the federation. This then is the avowed object of Kenya Europeans and this is the thing that we Indians have got to face.

The first talk about such a federation was heard when Mr. Churchill was at the Colonial Office in Mr. Lloyd George's Government. When asked in Parliament whether there was an idea of federating the East African Colonies, Mr. Churchill flatly denied any such intention and added that for some years to come he saw no chance of the idea taking any definite shape. Mr. Bonar

Law was followed by Mr. Baldwin and the Indian question was "finally" solved by the Duke of Devonshire in a real imperialist fashion and divine rights were reserved to Europeans. But federation was not talked of, at least publicly.

Now again the federation idea has come up before the public in the shape of a resolution in the imperial Parliament and the present Government is pressed to appoint a Commission to investigate the question. What comes out of the resolution and discussion is yet to be seen.* But it is significant that a good many influential members in Parliament are seriously thinking of such a union of E. A. Colonies and some day or other it may be realised, though the present is not the time for any such ambitious scheme.

In the first place a centralized Government will have to be set up somewhere in addition to the several local Governments, and this means additional expense which must come out of the pockets of the poor taxpayer, mainly the native, who has yet to learn to clothe himself and to cultivate land for world markets. Next to natives, the burden will fall on Indians, who form the next largest section of the population. Europeans will pay the least, being the smallest group and most of them being farmers, will always clamour for protection and will complain against taxes. If the necessary funds cannot be raised—and one cannot see any chance of a balanced budget for another ten years at least—the government will have to be carried on with loans every year as at present—by no means a cheerful prospect except perhaps to land monopolists.

Communications between the different Colonies are so bad at present that for a Central Government to be effective, all roads and railways will have to be overhauled and readjusted and new railways will have to be built, as the federation will be a huge place of the size of the Deccan plateau. So to improve roads and railways and to build new ones further loans will be necessary.

The population to be governed by the federation will be something like 12,000,000 natives, 75,000 Indians, 25,000 Europeans, spread over Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Rhodesia. Of these Colonies the most productive portions are already reserved or occupied by Europeans, *e. g.*, Kenya Highlands, Nyassa Highlands, Rhodesia Highlands. Only Zanzibar at present is solvent. In any case federation appears to be unnecessary where Europeans and Indians together make just a sufficient number to fill one good-sized town. The native does not understand and still less requires a federation. He only wants to be allowed to live in peace.

Besides, the several Colonies have a different status and their position, already anomalous, will be more so under a federation. Uganda and Zanzibar are Protectorates, but, as in all such Protectorates, the administration is altogether in the

hands of the British. Kenya pays a yearly tribute to Zanzibar for the leasing of Mombasa Coast from the Sultan. Tanganyika is under a mandate and must remain free from such racial prejudice as is to be found in Kenya. In Uganda there is no necessity for a Kenya Indian policy to be adopted. Nyassaland and Rhodesia have no racial trouble as the number of Indians there is very small. Zanzibar is the centre of Indian trade and strength. The main question, however, remains: what happens to the comparatively advantageous position of Indians in Zanzibar, Uganda and more especially Tanganyika? Tanganyika appears to be nobody's concern at present. The British appear to think that their only duty is to govern: development of the colony is not their concern, and that the League of Nations must see to that. The League of Nations has some supervisory authority and can call for reports yearly or on special occasions or subjects, but can exercise little effective control, nor can it shape the constantly changing policy as times change. On the other hand there appears to be some dread in the heart of the Colonial Office and the people that time may come when it may be necessary to give over the German Colonies to solve the European tangle. So capitalists are not very keen on investing in these parts nor are the settlers very willing to come down and settle.

In the meantime Kenya is slowly encroaching on the interests of Tanganyika. Tanganyika has been drawn into adopting a uniform customs tariff, the advantages of which to Tanganyika are questionable. The Voi-Kahe railway line, mainly and hurriedly built for military purposes and passing through a desert land, has been taken up by the Uganda Railway, *i. e.* by the Kenya Government. The reason given is that this Railway will serve more beneficially the European settlers of Moshi and Arusha. But the real object is the advantage to Mombasa Port, and this at the cost of the Tanga Railway and Port. The Tanga Railway is sure to suffer in revenue because of the goods traffic being shunted over to another line, and Tanganyika people will have to pay for it. On top of this there is a serious talk in higher circles to hand over the Highland districts of Tanganyika—Moshi and Arusha—for administration to Kenya. Although Highland districts, being under the mandate, these cannot be reserved exclusively for Europeans. Also, being coffee and cotton producing districts, they are about the most paying to the Government of Tanganyika and are also the best developed parts of the Colony. So, if these are handed over to Kenya precious little will be left for Tanganyika to govern.

All this has been said to show how far Tanganyika is being dominated by Kenya. And it is feared the same domination will be introduced in any scheme of federation. It will be Kenya's interest first and last. Consequently, Indian interests as well as those of natives will suffer heavily. It is also almost certain that neither Uganda nor

* Government has agreed to appoint a Commission to consider the question.—Ed., *S. of I.*

Zanzibar will countenance a scheme for federation. And hence the resolution against it in the last two sessions of the East African National Congress. In any case Indians cannot support such a scheme of federation.

M. P. CHITALE,

Tanga,
Tanganyika Territory.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 20th APRIL.

TEN months ago, when the French occupation had led to the great disturbances in the Ruhr district, known as passive resistance, and when it became clear that the whole economic and financial system of Germany was threatened by a breakdown, the German government made a new offer to M. Poincaré. It declared itself ready to pay a yearly sum of five hundred million gold marks from the returns of the railways. Other five hundred millions were to be raised for this purpose by mortgaging landed property of all sorts, about eight hundred millions were to be brought together by the creation of monopolies and by special taxes on beer, wine, sugar and tobacco. This last item, which was expected to increase with the progressing prosperity of Germany if moratorium was allowed until the first of July 1927, was thought of as indispensable. A little later, in September 1923, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Doctor Stresemann, supplemented this offer in acknowledging that a vacuum of four years would be too hard to bear for France. He therefore invented a complicated system, which allowed of France's immediately getting larger payments.

One must keep these facts in mind in order to be able to judge M. Poincaré's recent speeches in which he declares that the decision of the experts' committee means the acceptance of the French thesis and the rejection of the German claim of insolvency. What the experts have agreed upon is very similar to what Germany offered last year. It is true that out of the mortgage on the railways one expects to get six hundred and sixty million gold marks instead of the proposed five hundred, that three hundred million, moreover, are to be raised by taxing the traffic; on the other hand, they exact not five hundred, but only three hundred and sixty million from property and, as to direct payments during the moratorium the experts' report wants them to be made partly from foreign loans. A real difference, it is true, between the former German offer and the opinion pronounced by the experts, consists in the amount to be drawn from luxuries like beer, tobacco, liquors and sugar. The old proposal offered eight hundred million from them; the new demands amount to twelve hundred millions. But it is easy to see that this difference is not important enough to favour a negative opinion as to the whole report. On the contrary, the decision has, in spite of the tremendous burden it means to the economic life of Germany,

been received here with something like a sigh of relief. The military and political pressure of France since the eleventh of January 1923, the date of the Ruhr invasion, has been so tremendous, the cruelties and atrocities of the French military in the occupied district have been so unbearable, the French desire to destroy the German unity has become so outspoken, the wilful destruction of German industry and commerce has developed in such an appalling way, that the hope of coming to terms, by which the fearful war, that is being carried on at present, might be brought to an end seems to justify every sacrifice. It is certainly not the opinion of the German experts that what the report declares as feasible is in reality easy to accomplish. On the contrary, the report breathes an optimism as to the financial and economic recovery of Germany, which seems almost unlimited. It remains a fact above all that in order to raise the gigantic sums required, the German export must be increased to an extent which means a competition with the other nations which will be difficult for them to bear. Still the experiment is undoubtedly worth trying, if only to convince the rest of the world of Germany's 'bona fides.'

The real difficulty, however, consists in the attitude of France towards the proposed solution. The former offers, even if they showed the greatest likeness to what appears as the unanimous opinion of the experts committee, have been treated by France with scorn; for the military rulers of France quite obviously did not want reparations, but the destruction of Germany. If at the present moment the French government seems to endorse the proposed solution officially, it is difficult to see more in it than simply a bow to the public opinion of the world. But who will believe that it announces a sudden change of French politics? The report says: "It is hopeless to build any constructive scheme unless it finds its own guarantee in the fact, that it is to the interest of all the parties to carry it out in good faith." Now the proof of this good faith can only be furnished by the preliminary conditions being created which enable Germany to carry out what she has accepted. Of these the most important is the restoration of the economic unity of Germany. The report says so *expressis verbis*. But it is here where the French passive resistance begins. The weak policy of Downing Street during the last years has suffered the French to make themselves to such an extent at home in western Germany, the practical annexation of these districts has progressed so far, that French militarists consider the demand as almost absurd to give up a prey which they hold so fast between their teeth. The eastern frontier of the occupied area has been separated from the rest of Germany by a customs line. It might be removed. But at the same time the German laws relating to customs have been altered by the French, so as to facilitate the import of French and Belgian merchandise. The

German markets are being constantly flooded with French products. Numerous French merchants have settled in Rhenish towns and dispose of their goods there. By taking the railways into French hands and by other measures means have been found to throttle that part of German industry which means a competition to the French production. At the same time all moral resistance of the population has continually been trodden down. Still to-day more than fifteen hundred Germans are imprisoned for not obeying illegally given French orders on German territory. A great number of them had a very painful life as convicts together with the scum of mankind in French prisons like St. Martin de Ré. Does anybody expect the French customs officers to return to France, the French merchants to shut up their shops, the French prisons to give up their victims, because a treaty which in nearly such terms had been offered several times before has met with the approbation of some European cabinets? The most recent utterances of M. Poincaré make it abundantly clear, that this will not be the case. The agreement with the experts' report is, so to speak, mere lip-worship. M. Poincaré—it is true—agrees with the experts that the Germans should pay. But he is by no means willing to enable them to pay. So the problem is entirely on the same spot where it has been for years. It will be interesting to see how the perception of this state of things will react upon the policy of Mr. MacDonald.

Meanwhile the elections in France and Germany are at hand. Before these lines go into print the strengthening of the reactionary parties in Germany, which announces itself so visibly, will have become manifest. Its importance should however not be overestimated. The history of the socialist movement shows one how important a movement can be although its commencements are of the smallest, if only it has a few eminent men and a distinct programme. The reactionary movement in Germany has neither. Its leaders are muddle-headed, its programme consists of phrases. Its success can only be temporary.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, APRIL 24.

THE EMPIRE EXHIBITION.

THE Exhibition is far from complete, as yet. Weather and industrial conditions have been against this. But to those who saw Wembley a short fortnight ago, it is as though the age of wizardry had returned, for order has been reached out of chaos. The workmen have travailed by day and by night to get the Exhibition opened on the due date. They deserved that their representatives should be specially introduced to the King and Queen immediately after the result of their labour

was recognized in the Royal speeches. There is, nevertheless, still a great deal to be done before the best results can be seen, and I should think that quite another month of hard work must elapse before the place can be seen at anything like its best. It is to be hoped that the weather conditions will soon be pleasanter, since the dull days that we are experiencing after an extraordinarily warm Easter do nothing to recommend Wembley, with its great concrete buildings, to a holiday-making crowd.

THE INDIAN PAVILION.

Strange as it may seem, India is easily ahead of the Dominions in the extent of its preparedness, for the Indian pavilion, a splendid monument and a fine advertisement of something that is best in Indian architecture, will be fully fitted out inside another fortnight. The Dominions are not nearly so advanced as this. Moreover, India is the first section to issue even a preliminary catalogue, of a very elaborate character. All this is due to the indefatigable energy and the unfailing courtesy of the Indian Exhibition Commissioner, Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavachari. He has been and is all over the place at once, and his spirit is everywhere. His chaff and fun have made the wheels go round with the utmost ease, and his business instinct is superbly adequate to the occasion. It is a real enjoyment to meet a man so little bound up with official red-tape as "the Dewan", as he is generally known. Mr. Sinha's U P. court is one of the finest in the whole exhibition, and next to it is that of Madras, with the attendant courts of Travancore, Cochin, and Mysore. The Patiala display is very fine, as also is that of Bikanir, whilst Delhi and the Punjab make a fine show, as does Kashmir. Bengal is not yet ready, owing to difficulties with contractors, and Bombay has very little of a display. Some of the special exhibits are the centre of admiration, and the largest crowds passed slowly through the Indian section throughout the day, in silent or in noisy admiration, as the mood seemed to strike the onlookers. Mr. Sundarachari, the Madras Commissioner, is a bundle of enthusiasm, and the Raja of Parlakamedi arranged in the Madras court last evening a special dramatic display reproducing some pictures of South Indian life. The best item in a short programme was undoubtedly a scene from the Ramayana played with splendid dramatic effect by four Tamil boys under twelve years of age. Their talent was of an exceptional quality, and they are amateurs.

Sir Thomas Holland will preside on the 2nd May at the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts, when Dr. Jocelyn F. Thorpe will lecture on "Chemical Research in India". The occasion should be a most interesting one, and should open the eyes of all who affect to despise India's contribution to modern scientific knowledge.

Whilst the Kenya white Settlers are doing their best to harry Mr. Thomas into standing by even those parts of the White Paper which have no

direct or even indirect effect upon the native trusteeship policy, which they regard with increasing dismay and anxiety, for they have been given to believe that this is merely camouflage and not to be literally given effect to, they are doing their utmost to prevent the extension of equal citizenship to Indians on the ground that to do so would be disloyal to the South African whites and the doctrine of white domination of the African continent. They forget that Rhodesia which is much nearer to South Africa than Kenya has already conferred equal citizenship upon the Indian inhabitants, even though the Rhodesian Premier now threatens to close the doors of Southern Rhodesia against further Indian immigration. There is no real justification for this, and it is to be hoped that the Government of India will make the necessary investigations and representations. It is interesting to note that, in a long article in the special Exhibition issue of the "Times", there is not a word of the Indians or the racial controversy as though by silence one could ignore the existence of 22,200 Indians. And I see, too, that General Smuts, in his declaration of policy and analysis of the difficulties of the South African situation, in anticipation of the general election throughout the Union, has not a single word to say about the Indian peril. The fact is of course that there is none, and General Smuts knows this quite well.

MISCELLENEA

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE following letter appeared in the *New Statesman* of 19th April:—

SIR,—Less than four months ago I was lounging on the Ocean Beach, Durban, preparatory to sailing for Europe after more than thirty years' service under the Government in South Africa. A friend to whom I was speaking suddenly said, "Does not that make your blood boil?" I looked up, to see nothing more serious than a very respectable Indian driving a Ford car. Now, had my friend contemplated only an Indian waiter at a hotel, an Ayah nursing a white baby, the Indian coolies keeping the sea-front in that spotless condition of which the Durbanites are very properly proud, or even the Indians working on cane farms or in sugar factories, his blood would have stood at the normal temperature. And this is characteristic of South Africa's view of the great Coloured Question. So long as the Indian, the coloured man and the native are willing to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water to the whites all is well. But if they aspire to imitate the somewhat tarnished civilisation of the whites, then the blood of the repositories of that civilisation begins to boil. In Johannesburg which is the stronghold of the White South Africa agitation this objection to the coloured man other than a servant is shown, *inter alia*, by the regulations for the municipal trams which permit coloured men to travel when they are servants vouched for by a master, but refuse them accommodation when they attempt to travel as independent citizens.

I have no fault to find with your correspondent's presentation of the case except to say that most of the arguments against the Indians are excuses rather than reasons. I have already dealt by implication with the main one, *i. e.*, that the Indians are not civilised. That they are uncleanly is probably too true, but who would be more cleanly at the same rate of pay? Outside the towns in South Africa there is little attempt

at sanitation. But the farmer can distribute his fish over several hundreds of acres of veldt, the coolie has only a few square yards for the disposal of his. The poorer Indians, says your correspondent, establish themselves beyond the municipal boundaries to escape rates. They are not alone in the desire to shirk the obligations of South African Poplars, for the whites do it whenever they can and demand a suburban railway service to help them to escape. Cambridge, four miles from East London, is a characteristic instance, and on the suburban lines out of Durban, Port Elizabeth and Capetown there are many others. Best illustration of all, perhaps, is Wynberg, a little self-contained municipality surrounded on all sides by Greater Capetown. Wynberg, which is inhabited by well-to-do merchants, civil servants and professional men, refused to join with the Capetown municipality when all the municipalities did so, admittedly on the ground that it would have the less rates to pay by standing aloof.

The fear of a class of alien store-keepers established in the midst of a farming population is fantastic in view of the fact that such a class already exists, for such storekeepers are largely Jews of foreign origin and their hold on the trade is gradually being tightened. In saying this I make no charge against the Jew who, on the whole, is a law-abiding citizen enough.

The "instinct" of the white population to keep its blood pure is quite fictitious and was not discovered till the beginning of last century with the growth of the capitalist organisation of society. Shakespeare's Othello, *e. g.*, was not met by any demand for a white England, nor was it prohibited as are in South Africa films of fights between white men and negroes. That, however, by the way. The fact is that the coloured people in South Africa have not dropped down from the clouds but are the offspring of white men, whose sexual impulse was stronger than "the instinct which impels, etc."

Equally fantastic is the notion that South Africa can ever become a white man's country in the sense that Australia is such country, *i. e.*, by the absence of black people, seeing that the coloured people outnumber the white in the Union in the ratio of six or seven to one and that ratio is steadily increasing against the white.

Briefly what animates the white man in South Africa is to secure to himself what he has gained in comfort and security, to pull up the ladder after him, just as it is said that eminent diamond diggers, having made fortunes by buying stolen diamonds, introduced a law making the same method of enrichment for the future a penal offence. That this desire is not confined to whites the following story, which I know to be true, will demonstrate. The Johannesburg Philharmonic Society a few years ago tried the experiment of giving a performance of the *Messiah* at Christmas for the benefit of the coloured people of Johannesburg. The experiment was a great success, at the great town hall, which will accommodate close on 3000 people, was filled to overflowing. The Society merely gave the music leaving the organisation in the hands of the coloured people themselves. It was found that while the organisers admitted Indians, Chinese and coloured people of every shade of mixture, they drew the line at pure black people and refused to admit the maid servant of one of the chorus (that was how the fact came to light) who happened to be a negress and not "coloured"!

F. J. N.

Simiane, France,
March 31st.

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