

The

# Servant of India

EDITOR : P. KODANDA RAO—OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIV No. 4. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1931.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 15s.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	37
ARTICLES :—	
Swaraj with Safeguards. ... ..	41
Indian Women in Conference. ... ..	43
REVIEWS :—	
South African Railways. By Economy. ... ..	43
British War Finance. By V. N. Godbole. ... ..	45
Agricultural Cooperation. By M. S. Madhava Rau. ... ..	46
Black Episodes. By K. Venugopala Rao, ... ..	46
MISCELLANEA :—	
The Premier's Statement, ... ..	47
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	48

## Topics of the Week.

### British Sincerity.

TIMED as it was, the Viceroy's Address to the Legislative Assembly was not calculated to reveal any new developments in the policy of the Government. His diagnosis of the political situation will, however, be widely acknowledged as accurate and true. Even among Congress circles it has been recognised that the civil disobedience movement has recently tended to degenerate into violence. If prestige did not stand in the way, even Congressmen would grant that the Round Table Conference offers the "more excellent way" to Swaraj. If the progress of the Conference is less satisfactory than it might be, we have to thank our own communalists for it and not so much the British. We trust the leaders of the "great Congress Organisation", as His Excellency deservedly styled it, will take note "on the one hand of the sinister events in India and on the other, of the encouragement offered to India by the progress of the Conference in England", and turn to the "more excellent way." We trust and hope that Lord Irwin will offer every facility to Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues to examine the situation for themselves.

While Lord Irwin unreservedly acknowledged the "spiritual force" and sincerity of Mr. Gandhi, he hoped that Mr. Gandhi would not be unwilling to acknowledge that "the men of my own race who are today responsible for the Government of India are sincere in their attempt to serve her." If the Mahatma had believed in the sincerity of those responsible for the government of India, he would not have started his civil disobedience movement at all. It was because he had lost all faith in them that he resorted to his unique campaign. If Lord Irwin laid emphasis on "today responsible for the government of India," and meant himself and the Labour Cabinet, there is a large section in India which freely admits their sincerity. But it is the painful

experience of many that such sincerity has a way of suffering a sea-change as it filters from the centre to the circumference, where it actually comes in contact with the people. Between the authorities ultimately responsible for the government of India and the people is interposed the bureaucracy which is more truly represented by Sir Henry Craik of the Punjab who is reported to have said that "conciliation was moonshine; it would merely encourage crimes", by the Government of Sir Ernest Hotson who refused the widely-supported plea for the commutation of the death sentences on the Sholapur convicts, and under whose aegis have occurred the lathi charges in Bombay and the terrorism in Gujerat, and by Mr. Stewart of Gandhi cap fame in Madras, whom the King delighted to honour in the New Year Honours list. It was cynically remarked that every officer who was responsible for a lathi charge got a C. I. E. ! The sincerity of Lord Irwin and the Labour Cabinet does not percolate to the bureaucracy, who are really responsible for the government of India to-day. And unless he is able to secure greater control over his agents and get them to conform more approximately to the policies that he lays down, Lord Irwin pleads in vain for trust in the sincerity of those of 'his race who are today responsible for the government of India'.

### The Princes' Sacrifice.

THERE is much in the speech delivered by the Nawab of Bhopal at the Round Table Conference last week which will warm the heart of the Indian Nationalist. His appeal to Great Britain to respond generously to the united Indian demand for self-government was as telling as it was eloquent. The Indian Princes, he said, were no agitators, who would risk chaos and disorder and imperil administrative traditions, which were among the greatest gifts of Britain to India. And yet they had joined in the demand for responsibility in the Centre. Nay, they insisted on it as a preliminary to the federation of British India and the Indian States. His appeal to British India to bring about communal harmony and settlement had the genuine ring of sincerity.

But when he claims on behalf of the Princely Order that, in supporting the federal idea, they had made sacrifices for the common good of India, or that they had no desire to dominate British India or that they held "Our Mother Country before everything else, before our individual claims, before the claims of our States", he draws too much on our credulity. As proof of the sacrifices they made, His Highness of Bhopal mentioned that, while it was open to them to continue to enjoy the Swaraj which they already possessed and never lost the enjoyment of and which the British Indians were asking for at the Conference; while it was open to them to take their stand on the sanctity of their treaties, which were 'inviolable and inviolable' and continue to be

sovereign States, if only for domestic purposes, they had consented to transfer to the federal government their much-cherished sovereignty over a large range of very important subjects. On the showing of the Princes themselves, their much-vaunted sovereignty was just as much or as little as the Paramount Power and its agents tolerated in the States. It is a mockery to pretend that the Indian States had Swaraj or sovereignty, even if by the State only the Prince was meant, to the exclusion of the people. To take a recent example, His Exalted Highness of Hyderabad, the first among the Indian Princes, would not have been compelled to employ British officers if he had internal sovereignty or Swaraj. Only forty of the six hundred and odd Princes have treaties, which have, however, been riddled through and through with interventions of the Paramount Power, so much so that, in practice, they are not worth the paper they were written on. It is because the Princes have no Swaraj that they have joined the British Indians in demanding Swaraj. With this difference that, while British Indians demand Swaraj for the people, the Princes demand it for themselves.

As for the delegation of much-cherished sovereign powers over a large range of subjects to the federal government, they have, in practice, been already transferred to the Central Government of to-day. By virtue of the power of Paramountcy, the Government of India have been able to secure uniformity of legislation and administration in these matters of common concern to the whole of India. What the Princes now propose to do is to make a virtue of necessity, as it were, and deliberately part with powers which they had already surrendered and make a gift of what they have lost!

If the full claims of the Princes were conceded, they would have fifty per cent. representation in the federal legislature, but the laws passed by such a legislature, while binding on British India, would not bind the States. While the federal Government will administer federal subjects by its own agents in British India, it may not do so in the States. While the proceeds of federal taxation derived in British India will go to the federal coffers, the States may make reservations as it suits their convenience. Thus the autocratic Indian Princes, governing some one-fourth of the population of India, are to have co-equal power of legislation with democratic British India, having thrice the population under the Princes, and by their participation in the federal government, control British India, while their own autonomy should religiously be secure from any interference from British India. If this is not dominating British India, we should like to know what is. The Princes are entitled to claim that they exploited to the full their strategic position of vantage, secured all their selfish designs and, on the top of it, received thanks and ovations.

\* \* \*

#### The Assembly in Session.

THE session of the Indian Legislative Assembly which commenced last week has been uneventful so far except for the presidential election. Even this failed to provide much excitement and did not result in any surprises. About half a dozen members originally entered the lists but dropped off one by one until only two, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah and Sir Hari Singh Gour, were left in the field. Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, who succeeded Mr. Patel in the chair and is reported to have conducted himself with much credit and impartiality, was among the candidates, and was backing on the convention, to which expression was given by the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, that if a President offered himself for re-election he should be elected without contest. But the Government some-

how did not stick to it and when it became known that they would throw their weight on the side of the Bombay Muslim knight, the result was a foregone conclusion. Besides, since Sir Ibrahim secured an uncontested election everybody was, instinctively, as it were, marking him off for the Speakership of the Assembly. Some even went so far as to connect his refusal of the invitation to the R. T. C. with his desire to make his chance at Delhi quite *pukka*. It was the decision of the Government to support Sir Ibrahim's candidature that, we suppose, must have to some extent at any rate weighed with Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar in his decision to stand aside, though he was also anxious to avoid the affair assuming a communal turn. This would have been possible if even Sir H. S. Gour had withdrawn from the contest. But apart from this the Assembly's choice is unexceptionable. Sir Ibrahim has a long experience of public life and was known to be a successful Speaker in Bombay. The qualities which brought him success in the local legislature will stand him in good stead in the higher sphere.

As promised, the Government introduced bills giving legislative shape to the Viceroy's ordinances dealing with the Press and the no-tax inciters. But in deference to popular representations, their further consideration has been held over with a view to enable the Premier's important pronouncement of Monday last being considered in comparatively calm atmosphere. We wonder if this would be possible so long as a large number of Indian patriots are locked up behind prison bars and so long as ordinances and *lathi* charges are the main props of the administration. The execution of the Sholapur prisoners despite the universal demand for the commutation of their sentences has not enhanced the Government's reputation for responsiveness to public opinion. Indeed the executions are generally looked upon as vindictive and as having been carried out in order to maintain official prestige. We wish the government had done everything possible to avoid this impression. The atmosphere is so surcharged with suspicion that it is doubtful if the results of the R. T. C. will have that calm and dispassionate consideration which they deserve. But for this the Government themselves are largely responsible.

\* \* \*

#### Terrorism in Gujerat.

Father Elwin of the Christa Seva Sangha has done good service in publishing the results of his personal investigation into allegations of police excesses in certain talukas of Gujerat affected by the no-tax campaign. Unlike several other investigators, Father Elwin did not rush through the villages as fast as a motor car could carry him, but spent some fifteen days visiting some sixty villages, not specially selected from any particular point of view, and patiently investigated scores of cases with great thoroughness. He was not alone but was one of a company of several investigators, which included Diwan Bahadur Harilal D. Desai, who held the responsible post of Minister in the Bombay Government till December last. He was in office for full six months since the civil disobedience movement began, and even if he had no effective voice in the policy followed by the Bombay Government, it may be presumed that he was at least fully acquainted with the point of view of the Bombay Government. Under the circumstances, a joint report would have carried conviction even in quarters which may be disposed to discount Father Elwin's verdict.

Father Elwin's Report confirms the earlier allegations of police excesses in the realisation of land revenue from the no tax campaigners,—beating, abusive language, violation of the limita-

tions imposed by the Land Revenue Code in the matter of attachment of property, setting communities by the ears, and playing one against the other, and so on—none of them contemplated by the Code. Granting that the Code did not contemplate a no-tax campaign for political purposes either, it still gives ample powers to the Government to realise their dues by legal processes, and it passes understanding why resort should be had to extra-legal and abominable methods. The humiliation of leading men and the insulting of women are wholly unnecessary. Father Elwin complains that the Government did not "play the game", and alleges that they resorted to vindictive measures and wicked policies. Rightly, as he says, physical bruises will heal and will be soon forgotten but the mental bruises, due particularly to the setting of communities against each other for temporary advantages, will leave a festering sore for a long, long while.

Father Elwin demands an enquiry into the allegations. As long as Government denies these allegations, there is justification for an enquiry by an impartial tribunal. But we are more concerned in stopping the repetition of the incidents alleged. What boots it if the allegations are confirmed, as long as the mischief is done, some of it of a permanent character. The first thing to do is to put an end to these incidents. And we hope that the publication of the report of Father Elwin, particularly, in England and in other civilised countries, will go some way to achieve that purpose.

\* \* \*

#### Mr. Alexander's interview with Gandhiji.

IN his article in the *Spectator* of January 3, Mr. H. G. Alexander, the well-known member of the Society of Friends who visited this country on a mission of peace last year, lifts the veil somewhat on his conversation with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrowda jail in September last. According to Mr. Alexander, the extent of support which the civil disobedience movement received in the country was a matter of surprise even to Mr. Gandhi himself, as also the fact that the movement had remained as non-violent as it had. That however did not mean that the originator of the movement was satisfied that everyone associated with the movement had accepted non-violence as a cardinal principle of his faith—the supreme qualification he originally stressed in the case of all wishing to join it—rather than as a mere matter of tactics. Mr. Alexander found the Mahatma as anxious for peace as many others before him had done, and in his talk with Mr. Alexander, Gandhiji seems to have told him what the "substance of independence" meant to him. It implied "such control over financial and fiscal policy that it would be possible for India to reduce military and civil expenditure, to ease the burden of taxation, and to control imports in such a way that the peasants and workers of India might have better opportunities of developing their village crafts and industries." He also appears to have insisted upon the fulfilment of his eleven points, for Mr. Alexander speaks about his "various subsidiary demands, some of which may be as difficult to agree to." And among the things already won which the Mahatma was unwilling to give up were included the right to collect salt and the picketing of liquor and drug shops. This in six months had, according to Mr. Gandhi, reduced consumption by 60 per cent. It is for such things Mr. Alexander tells us, that Mr. Gandhi cares, while phrases like "dominion status" and "federation" mean little to him. "Unlike many of his countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty." Does anybody

doubt that those who are trying in their own way to achieve Dominion Status by methods different from Gandhi's want it for any other purpose but as a means of making this land worth living in and for? We do not suppose any body wants the higher status merely for the purpose of satisfying our national vanity; and to that extent the Mahatma's objective cannot be said to be materially different from that of those following constitutional methods. Those who have been following his public career need not be told that he attaches great importance to gestures showing a "change of heart" on the part of Government. Pandit Motilal Nehru's unconditional release was to Mr. Gandhi "an encouraging sign", though he disapproved of the Government giving "grounds of health" as the cause of their action. Mr. Alexander remarks that, though Mr. Gandhi has a way of putting his demands in an extreme form, he is not an extremist! If the work of the Round Table Conference convinces him that Britain really recognises India's right to control her own affairs, "he will be our most powerful ally in persuading young India to come in and work the new Constitution. Otherwise he will continue to be a mighty opponent of all that we do." As "the first step towards a rapid and full pacification" Mr. Alexander suggests his release and an invitation to Delhi to meet the Viceroy in person. Now that the question of responsibility at the Centre has been finally decided by Mr. MacDonald's announcement of Monday last, we need not add that we agree with Mr. Alexander. Not only that but we go further and say that it will tend to ease the present tension in the country considerably if the Government could lay aside all considerations of prestige and restore to liberty all the political prisoners, who are believed to number more than 50,000.

\* \* \*

#### Engineered Agitation against Sarda Act.

THE Sarda Act is a matter which principally concerns women and in these days of self-determination it is their voice that ought to determine whether the Act is to remain intact and be enforced. That voice as expressed at the Indian Women's Conference recently held at Lahore is clear and distinct. The Conference has unequivocally demanded that not only should the Act remain intact on the statute book but that its provisions should be strictly enforced. It need hardly be pointed out that their insistence upon the Act being left unmodified has reference to the agitation set up by some Mahomedan reactionaries to get it so amended that the exemption of particular communities from its purview can be easily secured. Women are rightly afraid that once this concession is allowed, it will open the door wide open to no end of applications for exemptions from the operation of the Act and the Act will virtually become a dead letter. After this clear expression of opinion on the subject by a Conference which, be it noted, contained many representative Muslim ladies, there should really be no doubt as to what it is that Indian women want done with regard to the Act. And yet we find Mahomedan obscurantists, who in this respect have strange bedfellows in some Hindu Sanatanists, trying to lash the whole country into fury over the Act by staging demonstrations against it, of which we had one in Bombay only on Sunday last. From the success or rather lack of success that usually attends such demonstrations one can safely say that they do not truly reflect the Muslim mind on the subject. If additional proof were needed to confirm that view, it is provided by the weighty representation which

has recently been submitted to the Viceroy by a large number of Muslim ladies, who are certainly no less "respectable and influential" than those who have made it their business to prevent the Act being strictly enforced. In it they make it clear that it is only a small section of Mussalman men who are demanding exemption from the Act for their community whose right to speak on behalf of Muslim ladies is seriously challenged in this representation. The opponents of the Act are very fond of raising the cry of "Interference with the Shariat law". It is pointed out in the memorial that there is not much substance in this contention, since these very people have no scruples in changing the Shariat law when it suits their own ends. In support of their statement they point to the change in the law of inheritance by customary laws in some Indian provinces without these worthies ever raising even their little finger in opposition to it on the ground on which they now oppose the Sarda Act! In the same way, they state, "the Shariat Law of Divorce for women has been allowed to fall into disuse and no question has been raised about it. In other matters also the law of Shariat for theft and murder has been changed and no Muslim voice has been raised against it." The memorialists attach so much importance to the Sarda Act that they regard it even more important than the Act abolishing *Sati* and ask the Viceroy not to mind what a few Mahomedans have been saying in disparagement of it. We think this ought finally to set all doubts at rest on the point whether the Act is abhorrent to the Muslim community and the Government ought to put its foot down firmly on all attempts for securing exemptions.

\* \* \*

#### Education in Fiji.

THE only thing that will interest people of this country in the Fiji Education report for 1929 is the information given therein about the educational condition of the Indian community there. This makes it clear that educationally our countrymen are very backward. The total number of schools—Government, private and missionary—maintained for their benefit is 79, out of which as many as 42 are officially admitted to be either "very weak" or "almost worthless". Nor is the number of pupils reading in such schools, unsatisfactory though they are, large enough, being only about 4,000. And this only so far as the primary stage is concerned, for the Colony does not apparently provide for any higher education. Taking the Indian population in Fiji, according to the 1921 census, at about 60,000 and the proportion of school age children at 15 per cent, the number of children to be brought to school, if there is to be universal literacy so far as the younger generation is concerned, would be something like 9,000. Which means that more than a half of the field yet remains to be covered. It is a pity the report does not provide statistics relating to Fijians equally clearly. But at one place one is glad to read that between 80 and 90 per cent. of the Fijian children of school age are attending some school or the other. That is an achievement upon which the Fiji Government can look with pride. But so far as the statistics go, we notice that there are seven Government and seventy-two private Fijian schools receiving assistance from Government. The attendance at these assisted schools was 3,879, of whom 2,735 were boys and 244 girls. In addition, we are assured, there are hundreds of Mission schools which educate native children. As in the case of the Indian schools, we would have liked to be favoured with a qualitative analysis of the number of schools catering for Fijians. Anyhow, it is something that a very large majority of the Fijian children are in receipt of some kind of

instruction or other. If the instruction is not as satisfactory as one would wish it to be, efforts must be directed to making it so in the near future. It is comforting to be told that selected Fijian youths are enabled, by means of Government scholarships, to prosecute their higher studies in European Colleges or at Australian or New Zealand universities. Several such men are reported to have completed their studies abroad and to have settled in Fiji.

Turning to the financial side, one finds that in 1929 £13,100 was distributed by way of grants-in-aid, a little over £ 3,000 going to Fijian education and nearly £ 8,000 to Indian education. As already pointed out, the position of the Indian community is very unsatisfactory and unless strenuous efforts are put forth to improve it, the consequences will be serious. In view of the fact that educational rates have been recently levied on the community, we look forward to a wide diffusion of education among Indians in coming years.

On the other hand, Europeans are educationally in an enviable position. In fact, the report refers to the "very efficient provision" for their education, in spite of "the widely scattered nature of the population and the resources of the Colony".

\* \* \*

#### Transvaal Bill.

THAT noble champion of the oppressed and depressed, Mr. C. F. Andrews, is again in South Africa helping to solve the problem created by the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill. After careful study on the spot, he has advised that efforts should be made to get the consideration of the Bill postponed till next year when the Cape Town Agreement may fall due for review. The Agreement was signed in January, 1927, and published in March of that year. By the beginning of next year it will have run for five years, and though no specific period has been set in it for a review, five years is not too long or too short for the purpose. Dr. D. F. Malan, too, is of that view, according to his recent interview in Cape Town. There is, therefore, much to be said for Mr. Andrews' proposal to postpone the Bill till after such review. Provided, however, that in the meanwhile, the Indian rights can be maintained. It must be remembered that even without enacting the present Bill, much damage can be done to Indians under the laws now in force. The only difference is that now it is left to private parties to invoke the repressive laws, while under the Bill the responsibility for it will definitely devolve on the Government. Also, in view of the uncertainties in the interpretations of existing laws, licensing authorities have refused to issue trading licenses and have, instead, connived at Indians trading without licenses. Even if the licensing authorities can be persuaded to tolerate this anomalous position for some time longer, there is no guarantee that private parties will not set in motion the existing laws to expropriate vested interests of Indians. The very prospect of the Agreement being reviewed in about a year's time is likely to incite the anti-Asiatics to take no risks and make the most of the existing laws and inflict the maximum of loss and hardship on Indians. Even if the Union Government can be persuaded to drop the Bill and abandon finally the principles underlying it, and reaffirm their adherence to the policy of "Uplift" of Indians, some kind of moratorium on the use of repressive and anti-Asiatic laws and provisions even in semi-private contracts is needed to secure Indian interests. Otherwise, before the Cape Town Agreement is reviewed, much harm will have been done.

\* \* \*

## Articles.

### SWARAJ WITH SAFEGUARDS.

**M**R. RAMSAY MACDONALD made a hope-inspiring speech at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference in announcing His Majesty's Government's policy with regard to India. In the first instance he assured the Indian delegates that there was no need for them to persuade the British Government regarding the status of India, for that was conceded from the very start. In his final words he returned to the subject of status.

Finally, I hope and trust and I pray that by our labours together India will possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her status of dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations, what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of Responsible Self-Government.

As was only to be expected, the functions of the new Dominion will not be co-extensive with the status for some time.

The view of His Majesty's Government is that the responsibility for the government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition the observance of certain obligations, and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by the Minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

For immediate purposes Government accept the scheme of a bicameral federal legislature representing both British India and the Indian States, and concede the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature. The Premier referred to three classes of safeguards. The first concerned reserve power to be brought into operation in emergencies when the ordinary administration breaks down, a power which is universally found in all free constitutions. To the reservation of such power in the Governor General none in India objects if he was assured that it would not be misused. Past experience does not inspire confidence, but it is well to remember that under the new constitution there shall be installed a responsible cabinet, and the Governor General will find it more difficult to resort to such powers, and that the occasions for their use will also be far less frequent.

The second type concerns financial liabilities of India and the maintenance of India's credit. These matters are not solely Indian, but concern other countries as well, and therein, he pleaded, was the justification for some transitional safeguards.

These guarantees in the interests of India herself have to be made clear to the world. It is

not that we want to interfere. It is not even that we want the money. It is that, if there were any doubts at all about India shouldering these responsibilities, the moral status of India would be deteriorated.

Vital as is the maintenance of financial confidence, we still wish that no such guarantees—we hate the word 'guarantees'—were not demanded statutorily. The reservation of defence and foreign affairs may be justified on the ground that today Indians equipped with the necessary knowledge and experience to take over the responsibility for them, are few and far between, but to demand guarantees for the financial integrity of the new Government of India is to cast doubts on the honesty of India. By emphasising the need for such guarantees in the Statement, the British Government, perhaps unwittingly, has done more to undermine the confidence of the financial world in India.

The third class of guarantees refers to the protection of the minorities. This is a matter primarily for Indians to settle between themselves.

The attitude of the British Government in such relations is nothing more than an overpowering desire to leave you to settle your own affairs. Again,

Believe me, the British Government has no desire to use your disagreements for any ulterior purpose—quite the reverse.

He was happy that during the Conference negotiations the communal 'gap' had been narrowed down and felt convinced that India could evolve a settlement. The British Government greatly disliked imposing one but if Indians failed to agree they had to impose one themselves, to the eternal disgrace of Indians.

Government accept the general conclusions of the Second sub-committee regarding the constitution of the Provinces. They shall have full responsible government with joint responsibility of the executive to the legislature and reserve powers to the Governor. The possibilities of separating Burma from India and of creating Sind into a new province will be committed to special committees to explore. Government accept the recommendations of the Defence sub-committee and immediately will proceed to move the Government of India to send up proposals for setting up a Sandhurst in India.

One of the most satisfactory features of the Premier's speech was that the drafting of the new constitution will not be committed to the bureaucracies in India or England but to the politicians of both countries. The collaboration of British and Indian politicians, so happily inaugurated by the Round Table Conference, will be continued, and in the fashioning of the new Indian constitution Indians will play an important and effective part.

As an earnest, as it were, of the change of heart of the British Government, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald undertook to investigate, in consultation with Indians of administrative experience, the possibilities of advancing the present Indian administration to the full extent permissible under the present Government of India Act, and to take suitable action. We wish some striking advance had been announced in the



speech itself. We hope much time will not be lost in implementing this promise.

Finally, the Premier appealed to the leaders of the Indian National Congress to abandon their campaign of civil disobedience and accept his invitation to collaborate in elaborating and constructing the new constitution. In response to the statesman-like and moving appeal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for amnesty for political prisoners, the Premier made rather a disappointing reply. It is true that imprisonment of Congressmen arose out of civil disobedience, but it must be remembered that the latter itself arose out of political grievances engendered by the Government itself. Whatever that may be, the Prime Minister and the Viceroy have both specifically invited the co-operation of the Congress, and it is only due that the Congress leaders should be given facilities to meet and confer. A general amnesty would not endanger the Government in the least nor even hurt its sense of prestige.

We earnestly hope and trust that the Congress leaders and in particular, Mahatma Gandhi, will accept the hand of friendship extended to them by the Premier's announcement. The highest interests of India demand it. For wisely handled, there is great promise in the situation; obstinacy will lead to disaster. The substance of independence is within reach if we pull together. The British Government, and the British political Parties have agreed to confer responsibility in the Centre if the Princes are included in it, and the Princes would join a federation provided it was endowed with responsibility, and the Muslims and other minorities would support responsibility in the Centre only if their claims were satisfied. Thus, in a sense, the key to the progress of India has been entrusted to the minorities; and specially, to the Muslims. It is self-determination with a vengeance. There is every danger that the communalists among them might dictate the future of India and irretrievably mar it if their pressure is not counteracted by nationalists. If the Congress continues to non-cooperate with the Government, it will drive them even more into the hands of the communalists. The Indian National Congress is the most influential force for nationalism and it is essential that it should exert its full strength to save India from the communalists in India and diehards in England.

#### INDIAN WOMEN IN CONFERENCE.

THE All-India Women's Conference which held its fifth session a few days ago at Lahore deserves to be congratulated upon the selection of the President. Few have worked as indefatigably as Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy for the uplift of Indian womanhood and she is in every way fitted to guide the deliberations of the Conference. Indeed, the honour was overdue in her case and none can doubt that her conduct in the Chair has fully justified the trust reposed in her by the organisers.

Her inaugural address was devoted mainly to a consideration of the educational and medical needs of women. Educationally, the country as a whole is

deplorably backward; but women far more so than men. The reasons, of course, are well known. There is not as yet as wide a realisation of the value of education as there should be and there are social customs, like the *pardah*, which serve as a great handicap to the diffusion of female education. Moreover, there is the usual official plea of financial stringency which is specially keen at the present time. But the present complaint of our women is not with the inadequacy of public funds, but with the manner in which they are allocated between male and female education. The remedy is the presence in larger numbers of representative women on local bodies and in the provincial legislatures so that they can press the claims of female education at the proper time. We are glad to see that the Conference as also its President fully appreciate this position. We do not know how far the mere appointment of a Deputy Directress, for which Mrs. Reddy pleads, to look after female education will help in the present circumstances. The financial outlook is very gloomy and there does not seem to be any likelihood of funds being available for development purposes for some time to come. In these circumstances it is doubtful if the contemplated Deputy Directresses in the different provinces will have anything to do. If it was the case that administrative difficulties were alone impeding the growth of female education, such an appointment as Mrs. Reddy wishes to see created would go some way in smoothing matters. But the real difficulty is one of finance which is not going to be solved by the multiplication of such offices, but by the finding of more funds for educational expansion and making the available funds go much further than they do now.

Another matter upon which the President rightly laid great stress was the proper provision of medical aid to women and children. As she pointed out, India as a whole has a high maternal mortality, a higher infantile mortality,—so high that in some cases as many as 50 per cent. of the children born do not succeed in living to the end of their first year,—and yet in no province have any organised attempts on an adequate scale been made to reduce both! The position is apparently not so bad in the big cities which boast of well-equipped and well-staffed hospitals and ante-natal clinics, but it is indescribably worse in the rural areas out of reach of such facilities. The situation may be better realised when it is remembered that in the rural towns and villages not even 3 per cent. of women have within their reach trained help during child-birth. Here too Mrs. Reddy proposes the creation in every province of a department of health in charge of a senior woman medical officer who should concern herself with the starting of new hospitals for women where they do not exist, appointing the necessary women medical staff, establishing centres of training for nurses and midwives and arranging research and post-graduate courses for women medical graduates, etc. There can be no doubt that work on such lines is badly needed. But though any development work requiring large financial outlay may be out of the question for some time to come, one fails to see why

greater attention should not be devoted to the carrying on of the necessary propaganda among ignorant and illiterate women in rural parts. If this is properly done, it may go some way in reducing both maternal and infant mortality. The fact is that these women have yet to be convinced that much of their suffering is preventable if they only persuade themselves to take advantage of such facilities as exist at present, meagre though they undoubtedly are. Even if the contemplated women's branch of the medical department does this and nothing more it will have done a good deal and paved the way for the proper utilisation of enlarged medical facilities, whenever they should become available.

As regards the work of the Conference, it passed many important resolutions upon matters vitally affecting women. Those who know anything of the work of the educational department need not be told about the fearful wastage that has been going on all these years in the primary stage. Of the pupils that join the infant class only a very small proportion succeed in reaching the fourth standard and retaining their knowledge of the three R's, the large majority lapsing again into illiteracy. Indian reformers have consistently urged the introduction of compulsory education as a way out of the difficulty which has received endorsement at the hands of the Conference. The need of adult education was also very properly stressed, for it is undoubted that an educated mother is a great asset to the education of the child. Its demand for the education of all girls in the same schools shows that there were no snobs among those who took part in the Conference. Polygamy and *purdah* were condemned in strong terms, as they deserved to be. It is to be hoped that the members of the Conference will not content themselves by merely expressing pious wishes, but will do their level best, each in her own limited sphere, to discourage these two evil customs as much as possible.

It will be seen from the above brief reference to the work of the Conference that it is no longer merely educational. Its activities are widening beyond the limits originally set to it and it is a misnomer to describe it any longer as educational. From this point of view the organisers would do well to consider the desirability of dropping that word from its name. The report of its activities during the year presented to the Conference by Rani Rajwade mentioned the pressure that was being brought to bear upon the organisers with a view to induce them to include politics in its programme. We think the Conference authorities have done wisely in successfully resisting such pressure. The Ranisahab was right in saying that if that desire were met, it would seriously jeopardise the success, if not the very existence, of the Conference. Let us hope the Conference will stick to this wise decision and not allow its good and useful work to be interrupted.

## Reviews.

### SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS.

#### THE RAILWAY POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

By S. HERBERT FRANKEL. (Hortors, Ltd., Johannesburg.) 1928. 24cm. 367p.

THE Railways of South Africa are among the most go-ahead Railways of the world. The present system which gives rail communication not only to all the principal centres of the Union of South Africa but to almost every village in the country grew out of very small beginnings during the short space of less than three-quarters of a century. The first completed railway which was opened on June 26, 1860, was the Port Natal line at Durban—only about 2 miles in length—connecting the wharf with the town of Durban. The next railway to be opened only 3 years later was on the Western side of the sub-continent, from Capetown to Wellington *via* Stellenbosch with a branch from Salt River to Wynberg—a distance of about 63½ miles. These lines were originally built to the 4ft. 8½in. gauge but the local geographical conditions having subsequently indicated the unsuitability of this wide gauge, they were converted to the smaller, 3'-6" gauge which is now the standard for all railways in the Union.

The entire railway system now totals over 12,000 miles, including the railways in the former German Colony of South West Africa which under the Treaty of Versailles was ceded to the Union to be administered as mandated territory. The adoption of the elevator system, the introduction of Agriculture Demonstration Trains, of road motor services in rural areas, the establishment of a Publicity Department on up-to-date and comprehensive lines, a uniform single fare for return tickets, the prolonged periods for which even ordinary tickets are available, mileage coupons, liberal allowance of free luggage, excursion tickets, and circular tours are some of the outstanding features of the South African Railways Administration from the point of view of its customers, while so far as the welfare of the staff is concerned there are the Pension, Superannuation Sick and Charitable funds, institutes, safety movement, and "The S. A. Railways and Harbours magazine." Some of these features were not to be found on the Indian Railways until only a few years since, while others are absent even now.

In view of the progress achieved in so many directions in the mechanical efficiency of the Railway Administration, one would have thought that the economic side was equally satisfactory. But it appears from Dr. Frankel's book published in 1928 "The Railway Policy of South Africa" that this is not the case. This is a remarkable book in more respects than one. It is, in the author's own words, the outcome of a request made to him by the Gold Producers' Committee of the Transvaal Chamber of Miners to conduct a scientific investigation into "Railway Rates in the Union, with particular reference to the general Rates policy adopted by the Railway Administration and its effect on the primary industries and on the development of the country generally." In India, investigations of importance and magnitude are generally entrusted to huge committees or commissions at enormous cost to the tax-payer. We know of only one instance in recent times where an important investigation was carried out by one single individual—viz: the late Sir Thomas Robertson. But this investigator was appointed by Government itself and the whole machinery of Government was available to him for assistance, even to the extent,

[we give the rumour for what it is worth] of elaborating and re-writing in the approved style of Government publications, the original intensely businesslike report consisting of a few foolscap sheets. Dr. Frankel's criticism is not of the milk-and-water kind with which we in India are so familiar; it is downright and grips attention. The whole book is an earnest study and like the late Mr. Gokhale "the writer has been careful not to base on any figure an argument or inference that would be invalidated if the figure was proved to be slightly greater or slightly less than his estimate."

In accordance with specific statutory provisions the railways, ports, and harbours of the Union are administered and worked under the control and authority of the Governor-General in Council exercised through the Minister of Railways and Harbours, who is advised by a Railways and Harbours Board appointed by the Governor-General in Council. This Board consists of not more than three Commissioners and the Minister who is the Chairman with a casting vote in addition to his deliberative vote. The Railways and Harbours Administration is required to conform to business principles with due regard to agricultural and industrial development within the Union. In order to render inviolate the true business character of the Administration the statute specially protects the Railways and Harbours Funds from losses for works carried out or done at the instance of Government. Chapter I brings out clearly the faulty character of the whole administrative machinery since the Railways and Harbours Board need not and in practice is not composed of experts, the Board possesses only an advisory capacity and the final decision is made to rest on the Minister who, as a Member, of the Cabinet, is subject to influences militating against the successful management of the Railways as a business concern. It also shows how the Board has not only frequently sanctioned practices wholly indefensible on business principles, but it has directly violated its statutory responsibility, and has acted merely as the tool of the Government. We do not agree with the contention advanced by the author that the words "due regard being had to agricultural and industrial development within the Union" are quite compatible with business management. In chapter II is shown how the capital of the Railways and Harbours is fixed at an arbitrary figure without any attempt having been made at an historical valuation, how the so-called Renewal Fund is misused by spending its balances on capital works, how railway development is starved owing to provision of inadequate funds and the system of lapses, how such capital funds as were actually made available were used on the construction of non-economic lines on reports of the Board couched in the vaguest possible terms, and containing astoundingly inaccurate estimates, how the uneconomic burdens on railway revenues are increased by the annual conveyance, practically gratuitously, of drought stricken stock to fresh pasturage, by the issue of free passes to ministers and members of the Union and Provincial Legislatures, by the practice of granting civil servants annual concessions which enable them to travel at half fare and by the employment of uneconomic white labour solely in order to "solve the problem of finding work for the civilised section of the community in South Africa"—the cumulative effect of all of which is estimated on the lowest computation at an annual loss of over £2 million. The inevitable consequence is the charging of high rates on traffic thereby arresting its full and proper growth. To almost every one of these instances of offences against business principles there is a tolerably close parallel in India. Even after the so-called re-organisation

carried out as a result of the report of the East India Railway Committee, 1920-21, the capital account here is understated, for one thing, owing to credits afforded to it representing redemption of capital, and to the omission of cost of railway lands from the account. As in South Africa, there is no provision made in the newly opened Depreciation Fund for past depreciation. Estimated cost of new lines frequently increases enormously as construction proceeds and new lines are undertaken on estimates of earnings expected during anything from one year to seven years after opening so as to show a reasonable return. When however the lines are opened, the actual return is said to be impossible of ascertainment and therefore remains unchecked. Specially low charges for the conveyance of troops and military live stock and stores and the concessional rates allowed to officers and men of the Army, Royal Navy and Royal Marines and their families and the low charges made for the conveyance of mails and the employment of highly paid European staff in the name of the conveniently indeterminate attribute 'efficiency' are some of the uncommercial burdens placed upon the revenues of the Indian railways. We do not agree with the author that from an economic point of view, the principle that interest should be paid on capital contributed from railway and harbour revenue is quite untenable. The existence of capital not paying interest is likely to show an exaggerated return on the total capital or conceal the extent of the actual loss on commercial working. In India, we do these things more consistently: we have paid huge amounts out of revenue for lands acquired for railways but as these are not shown in our capital account the question of payment of interest has successfully escaped attention. . . .

Chapter III opens with a lucid exposition of the rate-making principles, and from the critical analysis to which the Railway Tariff has been subjected, it appears that from the point of view of the working of the Railways as a business undertaking the tariff is a veritable mine of incredible anomalies and can only be explained by the operation of considerations extreme to business principles. The establishment of a Rates Tribunal is necessary at all times, but when rate-making has come to the state disclosed in this chapter, the matter becomes one of immediate urgency. Dr. Frankel has accordingly urged a complete revision of the tariff and the appointment of such a tribunal with widely defined powers including the power of independent review of the justice and reasonableness of any rate it may deem fit to examine. Chapter IV sets out the effects of the rates policy on the primary industries—agriculture and mining and on the secondary industries. The gold mining industry is made out to be the most adversely affected, taking as an illustration the case of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry since it is the largest export industry and the most important industry in the country next to agriculture. Agriculture is shown to be the most favourably treated industry. Dr. Frankel has calculated that the total burden on the Witwatersrand gold mining industry which results from the present uneconomic railway policy amounts to £1,000,000 equivalent to a burden of 8d. per ton mined. By way of demolishing the argument that because the gold mining industry is a wasting asset, it is necessary for the railways to impose a special tax, in the form of higher rates, Dr. Frankel says that there is every reason to believe that unless the life of the gold mines of the Witwatersrand is brought to a premature close through the imposition of uneconomic burdens, there will, when the mines are worked out, have been developed an immense self-supporting area which will con-



to continue to employ to the full the railway lines built to serve it. The contention is at least controversial and its omission would not perhaps have detracted from the force of the formidable case he has made out against the high rates charged on the gold mining industry. Other industries are shown to be favourably treated, agriculture receiving the greatest measure of this favourable treatment. Dr. Frankel rightly points out that it is no part of the legitimate functions of a State Railway administered on business principles to tax one industry in order to assist others which find it difficult to make progress. This is exactly why we said earlier that we do not agree with the author that the words "due regard being had to agriculture and industrial development within the union" are quite compatible with business management. Once a departure from a strict standard is allowed, it is difficult to know where to stop.

In conclusion Dr. Frankel has shown how detrimental to the economic development of the country in general and that of the interior provinces in particular is the protective rates policy which ignores the fact that mining being the complement of agriculture the general increase in the cost of living brought about by high rates on the mining industry affects the agricultural as also—even if in a less degree than—the mining industry.

The question of the future management and control of the railways falls outside the scope of the investigation entrusted to Dr. Frankel. He has accordingly set out his suggestions in an addendum at the end of the last (IV) Chapter. In this he suggests the transfer of the management and control of the Railways and Harbours to a Board of nine trustees constituted by an act of Parliament and incorporated as the South African Railways and Harbours' Establishment of Railway Rates Tribunal and the formation of a Ministry of Transport and Communications: the duty of which latter is to be to co-ordinate and watch over all the transport services of the country.

Three of the Trustees are to be men of considerable railway experience, one to be selected on the grounds of business experience and of intimate acquaintance with the economic needs of the country generally, and one to be selected on grounds of wide financial experience. These are to be whole-time salaried men. The remaining four, who are to be part-time salaried men, are to be representatives of agriculture, mining industry, railway employees and the Government. In our opinion the change is much too drastic and the Board much too unwieldy. The salary that might be held adequate for men of mere railway experience will obviously not be sufficient to attract a good business man and an expert financier and differentiation in salaries would be invidious. In India with over 40,000 miles of railway a Board of only 4 members is found to be quite sufficient. It is assisted by a Central Advisory Council and a Standing Finance Committee. The Indian plan is worth an experiment. The only improvement necessary in this plan is that the doings and views of the Board as business managers should, to the public view, be clearly distinguishable from those of the Government as a political corporation.

#### ECONOMY.

### BRITISH WAR FINANCE.

**BRITISH BUDGETS, 1913-14 TO 1920-21. 2ND. SERIES)** By BERNARD MALLET & C. OSWALD GEORGE. (Macmillan, London.) 1929. 22cm. 407p. 20/-

THIS volume is a continuation of the previous one dealing with British budgets from 1887 to 1913, and

contains a detailed discussion of all the War budgets, illuminating the various scientific as well as unscientific devices adopted to meet the war expenditure. The authors have throughout the volume impressed on the reader the supreme need of economy in public expenditure and the baneful effects of extravagance on national trade and have thus rendered a great service to the cause of sound finance. With regard to Mr. Lloyd George's fifth budget it is interesting to note that he had not the courage to propose an income-tax upon the wage-earners in spite of his being convinced that it was a just tax. The authors have given a timely warning with respect to the expenditure on social services which is growing without any limit to it except the financial exhaustion of the State. The budget of 1914 is noteworthy for the expedient of meeting the additional war expenditure by loans instead of taxation in spite of the lip-service paid to the merits of the latter method. Mr. MacKenna's first budget in 1915 introduced the thin end of the wedge of protection but made a courageous attempt to raise taxation to the level adequate for war expenditure. The authors have given a summary of the important criticisms directed against the successive budgets in both Houses and tried to assess the value of these criticisms. From the Indian point of view, it is interesting to note that the proposals for Imperial Preference in the budget of 1919 were criticised very strongly by the Labour members, especially as they would entail a tax on food. The free traders regarded the suggestion that Imperial Preference was essential for averting the disintegration of the Empire as an insult to the Colonies and a despicable "bargaining in terms of cash." The assertion that the General Election had given a definite mandate for introducing preference was contested by many able speakers.

In the budget of 1920, there was no attempt to reduce expenditure and this failure on the part of Mr. Chamberlain became the subject of strong adverse comment. It is to be regretted that the authors have not given any judgment on this very important issue. We ourselves would rather endorse the pronouncement of Lord Rothermere "that two such budgets might destroy the Empire."

The notes and comments attached to the volume supply a valuable guidance to students of finance, clearing as they do many obscure points in British war finance and the policy behind it. It is worth noting that war finance has failed to alter the familiar inequality of the distribution of national income and national wealth; and the social income had actually decreased by 10 per cent. comparing the year 1924 with the year 1911.

The eulogy passed by the authors upon the tax-system of Great Britain for its wonderful capacity for expansion to meet the emergency of war is, in our opinion, thoroughly well deserved. The authors give an excellent resume of the various criticisms on the war finance policy of Great Britain, especially the inordinate reliance placed on borrowing as opposed to taxation, from British financial writers as well as those of foreign countries. The general consensus of opinion was that, in spite of minor faults, British war finance, regarded as a whole, was remarkably successful and constituted a magnificent page in the financial history of England.

While the authors have strongly criticized the inflation of credit and currency from various points of view, they have recognized that, compared to the other countries which had indulged in an orgy of depreciation unprecedented in the history of the world, Great Britain had shown remarkable restraint when faced with the temptation of greasing the wheels of war industries cheaply by credit inflation, and had the smallest amount of inflation in Europe to its credit. The authors have shown commendable cour-

age in emphasizing the failure of British war-time policy to attain the optimum point of taxation and to avoid shifting the burden on to posterity. They have emphasized repeatedly the sound maxim "that objective costs of the war must be mainly borne by the present and cannot be transferred to the future." At the same time, they refrain from an unqualified condemnation of the British policy and think rightly that financial administration and financial policy during the war were sufficiently wise and sound and were certainly wiser and sounder than those of the most other belligerent nations. The volume deserves to receive a very warm welcome from students of finance as well as laymen interested in the study of national welfare in its economic aspect.

V. N. GODBOLE.

### AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

**YEAR BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1929.**  
ED. BY THE HORACE PLUNKETT FOUNDATION.  
(Routledge, London.) 1929. 21 cm. 476 p. 10/6.

"CO-OPERATIVE civilisation is even now building," declared ardently the Hon. Mrs. Irene Parlbay at the Third International Wheat Pools Conference held in Regina, in 1928, where representatives of the great wheat-producing countries of Europe and America assembled. To understand the movement and direct it along healthy lines "demands common concentration upon the common interests, and a constant pooling of new knowledge and ideas" in the interests of the future. The Horace Plunkett Foundation in London is doing the task admirably by attracting students and workers from all parts of the world and affording them varied opportunities in this direction. Obviously such a benefit can be availed of but by a limited few. The Year Book issued by it, therefore, will supply the larger need. The range of subjects is as wide as the British Empire (which, in this connection, one yearns, may soon be reorganised on a truly co-operative basis), and they are all dealt with manifestly by experts. 'Agriculture' is treated in a comprehensive and wider sense than it strikes at first sight. Production of all kinds, save industrial, and its distribution through co-operation, as it is in practice in different forms in different countries, is described at length and in a fairly exhaustive manner. Co-operative banking and finance, the wherewithal to these operations, will probably have (or is there already?) another volume for itself. The words 'British Empire' also do not set a severe limit to the survey of the movement. For in the chapters on "Legislation of Two Years" and "New Books and Surveys" the entire civilised world, where co-operation is working, is passed in review. An intelligent reader will gain therefrom more than a cursory knowledge of the great movement as it is being thought out, worked and developed in the various countries under different conditions. Underlying it all is the great human urge for "mutual aid as a law of life, and self-sacrifice for the common good" which, through its constructive enthusiasm, is binding the various countries and peoples of the world into an active fraternity.

Mr. Karl Walter has reproduced in an interesting chapter 'the fascination of the changing business as he passed from the village meetings of Ceylon, to the co-operative institutions of Australia, the dairies and orchards of New Zealand and the wheat elevators of Canada.' His experience confirms the voluntary and regional principles "or in plain language, each case should be governed by its own needs, so important to bear in mind in co-operative work. Mr. Shephard's

article on "Peasant Economy in the Tropics" is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the problem of the *soucar* or the moneylender who is to the co-operator what a red rag is to the bull. Mr. Digby sounds a timely warning against the tendency and danger of the co-operative society verging on a joint stock company. He puts in a strong plea for the preservation, at all costs, of the democratic principle in the movement, 'one man one vote'. Co-operative marketing has received prominent attention in the study of the movement and this should prove of immense help to co-operators in India where this important side of co-operative production has yet to be developed. The various methods in operation, from the voluntary local wheat pools in Canada to the "compulsory" system in South Africa, their principal traits, possibilities, and even dangers, if extended indiscriminately, are described and discussed in detail. The chapters on "The International Wheat Conference" and "Agriculture at the British Congress" afford vivid glimpses into the problem of food marketing as it is being tackled by some of the best brains in the world interested in co-operative business. India has a chapter for itself. It is mainly an admirable, but critical, summary of the Report of the Royal Agricultural Commission dealing with the subject. While approving many of the recommendations, a few are challenged, as when the question is put "if it is necessary to take so narrow a view of the possibilities of the non-credit co-operation, or wise to limit it at the outset to purely auxiliary functions". In Ceylon consolidation rather than expansion was the objective during the year, but "not much progress has so far been made in the de-officialisation of the movement, or in the fostering of the independence in finance and administration which it is so desirable that it should assume." To all enthusiasts in co-operation, and specially to those who may believe in the efficacy of rules and regulations to reorganise and reinforce the movement the wholesome advice of Mr. Norman, who writes on the progress in Ireland, is *Festina lente*, "for it is not primarily to machinery, but to those slowly growing forces, spontaneous loyalty and a deepened trust in co-operative principles, that we must look for qualitative progress, without which nothing else is of permanent value."

The book is a mine of valuable information on co-operation at work. The indispensable (or inevitable! as the average lay reader may exclaim) statistical census, covering nearly 200 pages at the end, will prove a helpful guide to the ardent student of the movement, but in no way does it annoy, bore and prevent the general reader from enjoying and understanding the book. It is sure to interest all who wish to know the forces that are making for the progress of the world through various departments of human aspiration and effort.

M. S. MADHAVA RAU.

### BLACK EPISODES.

**CAPTIVES OF TIPU. SURVIVORS' NARRATIVES** Ed. By A. W. LAWRENCE. (Cape, London.) 1929. 18cm. 24p., 3/6.

WITH the dissolution of the Mogul power which held the reins of central authority rather too harshly though well, the Indian Empire broke into as many pieces as there were adventurers to grab them. It was an age when independence prevailed with a vengeance and when the Britisher came, which he did opportunely, the Indians were spared the misrule of some of their own men among whom figure the two ruthless Sultans of Mysore, who usurped power only to abuse it. The narratives of the three victims

contained in this book make harrowing reading and excite horror of Oriental monarchy. Contemporaneously with the European rulers of the Inquisition time, India had her masters who were overwhelmingly zealous in establishing their faith at the point of the sword. Under Haider Ali, as a Persian historian of his time has it, "Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories was the commonest thing imaginable and of the killing of of a man there was thought no more than of treading on an ant. No person ever left his house with the expectation of a safe return to it." Tipu, his successor, possessed refined tastes but he was no less brutal in the way he spread his religion and exercised his dominion. It fell to the lot of James Bristow, a soldier in the army of Sir Eyre Coot, another officer of Colonel Baillie's force, and James Scurry to suffer the rigours of Tipu's authority for ten long and tortuous years. Caught prisoners by Tipu's army, they were summarily turned Moslems by means of an excruciating ritual called circumcision. It does great credit to the inexhaustible powers of endurance possessed by these unfortunate prisoners in that it was only by a miracle that they survived the prolonged agonies inflicted upon them. Recorded in all painful detail, their diaries echo similar experiences though gathered separately and in isolation. There is valuable history in them that fills many a gap and also brings to light the strange acts of the short-lived Sultanate of Mysore.

K. VENUGOPALA RAO.

## Miscellaneous.

### THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT.

*After reviewing the work of the Conference, the recommendations of the different Committees and the various considerations which had to be borne in mind, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made the following declaration regarding the future government of India on Monday last:—*

**A**T this point I will read to you the declaration which I am authorised to make by my colleagues of the Government.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The view of His Majesty's Government is that the responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations, and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by the Minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

#### SAFEGUARDS.

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

His Majesty's Government whilst making this declaration is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the working of such a constitution as is contemplated have not been finally settled, but it believes that as a result of the work done here they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations after this declaration will be successful.

#### ALL-INDIA FEDERATION.

His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have

proceeded on the basis accepted by all the parties that the Central Government should be a Federation of All India embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bicameral legislature.

The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and the representatives of British India.

The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their rulers in an agreement made by them on entering into the Federation. (Cheers).

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

#### RESPONSIBLE EXECUTIVE.

With a legislature constituted on a federal basis His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Under existing conditions the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

Moreover as the Governor-General must as a last resort be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of the minorities he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

#### FINANCIAL CONTROL.

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will insure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India.

The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a reserve bank, the service of loans and exchange policy, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions the Indian Government will have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for control of expenditure on non-reserved services.

This will mean that under the existing conditions the Central Legislature and the Executive will have some features of dualism which will have to be fitted into the constitutional structure.

The provision of reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has, indeed, been incidental to the development of most free constitutions, but every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use.

It is, for instance, undesirable that Ministers should trust to the special powers of the Governor-General as a means of avoiding responsibilities which are properly their own, thus defeating the development of responsible government by bringing into use powers meant to lie in reserve and in the background. Let there be no mistake about that.

**FULL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PROVINCES.**

The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it.

The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of self-government.

The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of Federal Subjects and to discharge its responsibility for the subjects defined in the Constitution as of all-India concern.

There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and to guarantee the maintenance of the rights provided by statute for the Public Services and the Minorities.

**PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.**

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the Provinces of responsible government requires both that the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert provisions guaranteeing to the various minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect, or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities.

In the opinion of His Majesty's Government it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement amongst themselves on the points raised by the Minorities Sub-Committee, but not settled there. During the continuing negotiations until such agreement reached, the Government will continue to render what good offices it can help to secure that end, as it is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new constitution into operation, but that it should start with the good will and confidence of all the communities concerned.

**APPEAL TO LEADERS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.**

The various Sub-Committees, which have been studying the more important principles of a constitution which would meet Indian conditions, have surveyed a considerable part of the structure in detail and the still unsettled points have been advanced a good way to agreement. His Majesty's Government however in view of the character of the Conference and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to suspend its work at this point so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done, and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. His Majesty's Government will consider without delay a plan by which our co-operation may be continued so that the results of our completed work may be seen in a new Indian constitution.

If in the meantime there is a response to the Viceroy's appeal to those engaged at present in civil disobedience and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration steps will be taken to enlist their services.

I must convey to you all on behalf of the Government its hearty appreciation of the services you have rendered, not only to India, but to this country, by coming here and engaging in these personal negotiations. Personal contact is the best way of removing these unfortunate differences and misunderstand-

ings which too many people on both sides have been engendering between us in recent years. A mutual understanding of intention and difficulty, gained under such conditions as have prevailed here, is by far the best way for discovering ways and means of settling differences and satisfying claims. His Majesty's Government will strive to secure such amount of agreement as will enable the new constitution to be passed through the British Parliament and to be put into operation with the active good will of the people of both countries.

**STATUS OF DOMINION.**

And now, my friends, we go our various ways. Our ten weeks of valuable co-operation and pleasant companionship and friendship are ended.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said, I think, that he hoped he was leaving England with friendly memories behind him. I can assure you that that is not only true of Sir Tej Bahadur. It is true of you all, and I can only hope that the memories you are taking away of us are equally pleasant, equally happy, and will be held equally precious to you as your memories will be to us. I pray that our contacts and our negotiations may be continued though oceans divide us by a whirl of seas. I hope you will go back and tell your compatriots what you have found. You may have to disagree sometimes and somewhere with the letter of what has been written. I hope you will never have to disagree with the spirit in which you have been met.

Finally, I hope and I trust and I pray that by our labours together India will possess the only thing which she now lacks to give her status of dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations, what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties but the pride and the honour of Responsible Self-Government.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

- EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION. Its Sumerian Origin and Real Chronology. By L. A. WADDELL. (Luzac, London.) 1930. 23cm. 223p. 12/6.
- BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1660-1672. By KEITH FELLING. (Macmillan, London.) 1930. 22cm. 385p. 18/-
- KAISER AND CHANCELLOR. By KARL FRIEDRICH NOWAK. Translated by E. W. DICKES. (Putnam, London.) 1930. 22cm. 301p. 21/-
- THE EMPEROR KARL. By ARTHUR COUNT POLZER-HODITZ. Translated from German by D. F. TAIT & F. S. FLINT. (Putnam, London.) 1930. 22cm. 470p. 21/-
- SAMOA UNDER THE SAILING GODS. By N. A. ROWE. (Putnam, London.) 1930. 339p. 22cm. 15/-
- DAWN IN INDIA. British Purpose and Indian Aspiration. By FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. (Murray.) 1930. 22cm. 331p. 10/6.
- SOCIAL CONTROL OF SEX EXPRESSION. By GEOFFREY MAY. (Allen & Unwin.) 1930. 22cm. 245p. 12/6.
- THE KEY OF PROGRESS. A Survey of the Status and Conditions of Women in India. Ed. by A. R. CATON. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 20cm. 250p. 7/6.
- BLACK MANHATTAN. By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON. (Knopf, London.) 1930. 20cm. 284p. 7/6.
- THE INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF INDIA. By RAJANI KANT DAS. (King.) 1930. 20cm. 212p. 8/6.
- STORIES OF AFRICA. CHOSEN BY E. C. PARNWELL. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 15cm. 359p. 2/-
- CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT OF INDIA. By A. C. UNDERWOOD. (Williams and Norgate.) 1920. 20 cm. 235p. 5/-