

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Welcome  
to the Prince.

SIR HORMASJI WADYA, President,  
Deccan Sabha, has, on its behalf,  
conveyed the following message to  
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: "The  
Council of the Deccan Sabha most cordially wel-  
come your Royal Highness on your visit to India  
and pray for your health and well-being through-  
out your stay with the strenuous work it must  
entail. They fervently trust that the visit will  
enable your Royal Highness to know the views and  
wants, and the wishes and aspirations of all  
classes, and ensure your sympathetic regard, and  
thus contribute to make India more contented,  
more prosperous and happy, and more deeply devo-  
ted and firmly attached to the Person and Throne  
of His Majesty the King-Emperor."

Neither Justice  
nor Mercy.

THE Viceroy's decision in regard to  
the martial law prisoners in the  
Punjab will provoke intense dis-  
satisfaction throughout the country. We believe  
that Lord Reading has judged of the cases from  
the records and feel that he has not made sufficient  
allowance for the circumstances under which they  
were originally heard. We could wish nothing  
better for the prisoners than that their trials were  
held over again *de novo*; for we only want justice  
to be done. But if a re-trial was impossible, it was  
clearly necessary on the part of the Viceroy to  
temper such justice as alone would be warranted  
by the defective records with a large measure of  
justice. One cannot resist the thought that in these  
cases neither abstract justice nor practical states-  
manship has had free play.

THE Government have during the  
A Good Riddance. past week published the long looked  
for scale of pensions on which I.C.S.  
may, if they wish, retire prematurely on account of  
political incompatibility of temper with its new  
regime. So far, we are told, there have been few  
aspirants and it will be interesting to see whether  
the published scale is so generous as to induce a  
greater exodus. It is of course questionable policy to  
"reward mutineers", as *New India* so indignantly  
puts it; it is equally inadvisable, to burden the  
already growing Indian budget with yet more  
pensions. It would seem, that roughly speaking,  
the new scale equals the pension on which a man  
may already be invalided out of the service, plus a  
little "douceur," of £100—and we must say, we do  
not see the sense of perpetuating that extra tip.  
Increase it, when the man leaves, so as to give him  
some money in hand with which to set up in some  
other occupation—but why go on with it indefinite-  
ly? Anyhow and for all that, we must candidly  
say, that our principal feeling is one of great relief  
at the prospect of a good riddance—even though  
costly at the time. India has had enough of foreign  
bossing; foreign helpers remain welcome, though,  
as their utility decreases, so will naturally their  
number and, probably, their remuneration be de-  
creased. In the meantime let all those who call  
themselves *civil servants*, but in fact conceive of  
themselves as heaven-born autocrats, quit. We  
believe it will pay India handsomely to make  
them quit: even at the published scale. But there  
is one, and only one, condition: that the place of  
those we have got rid of at great expense be per-  
manently reserved for Indians.

Light, More Light!

IN last week's *Young India* an  
attempt is made to light up a point  
which seems obscure to us—the  
possible connection between home-spinning and  
civil disobedience. The argument runs thus: civil  
disobedience is inviting suffering on oneself; no  
one can be a willing sufferer who is a pauper; there  
is pauperism in the country at present and it can  
be removed only by hand-spinning; therefore it  
follows that no one can practise civil disobedience  
who is not a hand-spinner, i. e. who does not know  
the art of spinning and does not wear hand-spun  
and hand-woven clothes. There is not a single step  
in this process of reasoning which is free from  
fallacy. Even to mass disobedience it cannot  
apply; but it is clearly inapplicable to individual

disobedience, for the simple reason that there must be many amongst those who are unable to spin with their own hand or use hand-spun or hand-woven clothes who are not paupers, and there is no reason why they should be under the disability which the All-India Congress Committee imposes upon all individuals alike. Surely it is not alleged that only hand-spinners are capable of any kind of sacrifice, but nothing less than that is required to make the condition attached by the Committee to the practice of civil disobedience at all reasonable. We are not alone in having to confess to an utter inability to find a reason for the only tangible requirement imposed by the All-India Congress Committee. A Nationalist organ of Maharashtra edited by a member of this Committee writes in the same sense, and informs the world that a member of the Committee went so far as to suggest, no doubt by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, that every civil resister must grind his own corn and another that he must abstain from smoking, implying that there is as little reason in these conditions as in the one actually sanctioned by the Committee.

\* \* \*

**A Strain on  
Party Loyalty.**

BUT this paper urges far from more comprehensive objections to the resolution of the A.I.C.C., and we make prominent mention of the fact here because we believe it correctly represents the general view of the Nationalists in Maharashtra. It criticises the adoption of civil disobedience as premature, the country being, in its opinion, unprepared for such a campaign. The preparedness, however, is not to be measured by the tests applied by the Committee but by altogether different tests. Nor does the paper think that the campaign will achieve the end in view, if it is to take the form which it took after the passing of the Rowlatt Act. The resolution is thus open to manifold objections, but, the paper adds, that "the present A.I.C.C. is so formed that its members are generally found to boil inwardly with indignation against its resolutions, though, when time comes for adopting them, these very men raise their hands in their favour." Such is the slave mentality to be observed at present among the Congress bodies, and the paper takes much credit for the Nationalist party in the Deccan that the latter stood firm against the resolution when it was proposed. Indeed, the party has never believed in the programme of non-co-operation and has never disguised the fact that it is giving a trial to it only because the Congress—though composed as it knows how—has decided to do so. But it is possible to put too severe a strain upon its loyalty to the Congress, and it is all but certain that, after next Christmas, it will consider itself free to follow the path marked out by its convictions rather than by the "decisions of the nation." It is surely time that all those who feel that the salvation of the country must be sought by other means than those of non-co-operation should bring their contribution to the political life of the country instead of being

engaged all the while in treading paths of which their judgment does not approve.

**Let  
Well Alone.**

THE Nationalists in other provinces also are in a similar case. The general body of political workers who have so far allowed themselves to be guided by the Congress against their better judgment will probably regard themselves absolved from the self-imposed obligation, and there will consequently be a considerable shrinkage in the number of non-co-operators. This likelihood only adds strength to what we have been urging on the Government from the start, that they should leave the non-co-operation movement alone as far as it is possible to do so, intervening only when otherwise the preservation of order is in immediate peril. Non-co-operators who promise swaraj within a year by the turn of a prayerwheel are not a political party in any ordinary sense. They depend on magic and the best way of exposing the fallacy of their magic is to give them free scope for the time being. Only some six weeks now remain to the time when swaraj must be a reality; during these weeks let the most extreme forms of non-co-operation be given a trial if the non-co-operators so desire, without let or hindrance from Government. A few minor infractions of the law or a few refusals to pay the tax during the next few weeks are things on which Government can well afford to look with unconcern; on the contrary, to haul these people before State tribunals produces results exactly contrary to those that are desired. Let the Government also play the game of non-co-operation with the non-co-operators—and refuse to notice the movements of the latter, until the self-appointed time for swaraj is past.

\* \* \*

**Need for Relief.**

MR. DEVADHAR concludes his third progress report of relief work in Malabar with the following appeal, which we sincerely hope will meet with a generous response from the public, for there is urgent need for a very liberal augmentation of the Committee's funds:—

The situation in Malabar has reached a critical stage when the least indifference on our part will have to be reckoned in terms of human lives either lost or slowly ground down by want and misery. Already, the problem is great, having to keep such a large number of refugees, which is daily threatening to grow into unwieldy proportions and to look after every one of their needs. The brave workers who are cheerfully bearing the burden of the task in the relief camps at Calicut, struggling among the numberless worries and difficulties that such a work involves, see the magnitude of the task and urge me to put the whole situation in all its detail to the public and appeal to their humanity. This vast mass of poor refugees have nowhere to go to, having been deprived of everything they had and reduced to utter destitution. . . . Have the people of India realised the situation? I cannot resist the conclusion that the nation as a whole is not alive to it. It is a picture which the most graphic of words can but feebly convey. It is a crisis the like of which we have never seen in modern times. We have all heard of the cruel devastations and unspeakable horrors of the war, and the ruthless suffering that Belgium was heir to. Malabar is in a somewhat similar plight.

### THE STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

THE Secretary of State appointed last year a Committee to enquire *inter alia* into the relative merits of managing the Railway system in this country directly by the State or by companies under contract and to advise what should be the future policy of Government on this question. It will be recollected that Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla raised this discussion in the Viceregal Legislative Council with special reference to the East Indian Railway, which is being worked by a company and the contract with which was to expire in 1919, and as a result thereof this Committee was appointed. The Secretary of State had in the meantime entered into a five-year contract with the East Indian Railway Company for working that railway, pending the final decision of Government to be guided by the advice that the Committee may give, and had decided that the management of the E. I. Railway should be transferred from England to India in 1924 when the short term contract ran out.

The total mileage of all railways in India at the end of 1919-20 was 36,735 miles. This includes railways owned by Native States, Local Boards and private companies. These comprise in mileage one-third of the total, and the remaining two-thirds belong to the State. No doubt, the majority of these were constructed by guaranteed companies with their own capital, but they have almost all been bought over under the terms of their contract and form the absolute property of the Government of India. It is with regard to this State property that the Committee was asked to advise whether it should in future be managed by the State direct, or by companies in England, or by companies in India or by a combination of companies in England and India. Now the case of Indian railways at present worked by companies is fundamentally different from the case of railways in countries like England, France and the U.

America, as the former are owned by the State but leased, mainly for the collection of fares and rates, to foreign companies, while the latter are *owned* and consequently managed by companies as sole proprietors. On this question the Committee have unanimously recommended that the *English* companies shall be brought to an end on the broad ground that they do not correspond with modern Indian conditions. As the Committee remarks,—

There is a great deal to be said for company management. Few people will be found to deny that a company, investing its own money, managing its own property, and judging its officials by their success in producing results in the shape of dividends, usually conducts its business with more enterprise, economy and flexibility than are formed by experience to be attained in businesses directly managed by the State.

But such is not the case in India at present. Here the railway companies are in the position of a class of people in Bombay and Calcutta to whom house property belonging to other people is leased for a certain number of years. The contractor in this case keeps the house in order and collects the rent

from tenants under certain conditions. This position would be tenable only when the owner is a minor, and the trustee has not the time or energy enough to deal with the tenants himself or if the owner has no human interest in the tenant. In the case of the Indian railways the owner is the State and the Indian nation the users of the railway, i. e. the owner and tenant are practically identical. In that case the third party, the managing railway company, is something like a fifth wheel in the coach.

The management of railways by English companies as well as by a combination of English and Indian companies is unanimously ruled out by the Committee. But on the question of management direct by the State or by the so-called Indian companies the Committee has been almost equally divided. The Chairman, Sir William Acworth, and four members, Messrs. Sastri, Hiley, Purshotamdas and Tuke, are in favour of direct management by State, after the present contracts with companies fall due; other members, Messrs. Burt, Mookerjee, Anderson, Godfrey and Ledgard are of opinion that in future Indian companies should be formed to raise a part of the railway capital required for increased expenditure on existing railways and to work them after the present contracts with English companies terminate. It is proposed that the Boards of such Indian companies should consist of ten Directors, five of whom should be Indians. The first group of the Committee members argue that the present companies do not and cannot, manage the railways; they cannot, without the permission of Government, break any new ground in any direction; neither does the Government manage, it only controls and restrains. Further, they attach great importance, as they should, to Indian public opinion, which is unanimously against company management. As it is with money secured on Indian taxation that the Indian railways have been built, it is the Indian public that uses the railways and it is the Indian Legislative Assembly that votes the railway budget, it is important, in their opinion, that Indian public opinion should not be prepossessed against railway management. Further they are fortified by the opinion of the Government of India as mentioned in the latter's despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 17th August, 1917, which stated their "unanimous view that so far as efficiency is concerned, there is really nothing to choose between a company-managed line and one under State management." Lastly, even if it were a question between two experiments—State management and management by a new company of Indian domicile—and assuming either to be a failure, it is easier to transfer a State-managed railway to a private company than to disestablish a company already established on short notice.

On the other hand, the second group of Committee members argue that the present good management of State-managed railways is due to emulation inspired by company-managed lines and they quote a number of statistics to prove that at the

present day the latter are worked more economically than the former. Figures quoted by them of the three State-managed railways named above are compared with similar figures of the five principal company-managed railways (Bengal-Nagpur, East Indian, G. I. P., B. B. & C. I., and Madras and Southern Maratha) to prove smaller operating cost incurred by the latter. They further think that it is objectionable, if not dangerous, to make Government the sole employer of the vast labour-force employed on all railways. In order to prove that after company-managed railways are taken over by the State, the cost of management is necessarily higher, they quote the examples of Switzerland, Italy and Austria.

It now remains with the Secretary of State and the Indian Legislatures to pronounce their final decision. On the one hand is the opinion of a man of world-wide reputation in railway matters, supported by unbiased English opinion and the majority of Indian opinion. On the other hand is the opinion of the men who are wedded to certain peculiarly Indian traditions and who are interested in the continuance of company management. Leaving aside the question of future policy to be decided by fully self-governing India, the immediate question is, by what agency to work the East Indian, the G.I.P. and the Burma railways, as the contracts of the companies that now work them expire in 1924, 1925 and 1928 respectively. The country has had so far a sufficiently long trial with company management, has been fully fed up with it and will continue to have it on other railways, the contracts for which will not run out before 1930 to 1950. If the country finds that it has taken a wrong step, there will be plenty of time to retrace it. But the Indian commercial and industrial men firmly believe that without State-management the indigenous industries will not be favourably treated, Indians will not be allowed to learn to manage their own railways, and that the exploitation of the country will not abate in the least.

#### GOD OR CÆSAR ?

MAULANA MAHOMED ALI at the recent Karachi trial rested the explanation of his conduct on the fact, that he perceived a conflict between the law of Islam and the law of British India, and he contended that in such a conflict he, as a Moslem, could not but choose to obey the Islamic and disobey the British Indian Law.

Whether in the case before the Court there actually was such a conflict implied or not, is not of primary importance. What is, however, of the greatest general interest is to know the morally right choice which ought to be made in such a conflict. It will therefore perhaps be useful to elucidate the principle upon which such choice should rest—and that in the most general sense, apart altogether from its application to this or that State law and to this or that religion. In a conflict between State and Religion, which ought to prevail—God or Cæsar ?

Before a satisfactory reply can be given, it is necessary to recognize that "Religion" comprises two systems which are best distinguished as "Natural" and "Supernatural" Religion and which stand to each other in the relation of foundation and superstructure; the former being erected by reason, the latter by faith.

As a rational being man, *qua* man, is capable of acquiring and every man actually does acquire Natural Religion to an individually varying extent; just as all human beings are capable of a knowledge of mathematics, though with some that knowledge may go no further than the assurance that  $1+1=2$ , whilst the keener intellect of others may be trained to deduce not only the whole of Arithmetic but of Higher Mathematics as well from so humble a beginning.

Natural Religion, then, is the property of all human minds. It consists of the recognition by reason of (1) God, (2) Soul, (3) Moral Order: which threefold recognition is co-extensive with the human race. It remains true, nevertheless, that, though universally held, the details of these three conclusions, at which natural man arrives, are not universally agreed upon with anything like the unanimity of mathematical conclusions. Man of course is not born with the idea "Moral Order" innate in his brain, any more than with that of the Pythagorean theorem: both are "learnt." What is innate in man is the faculty of recognizing truth when confronted with it—thus when man comes to observe the distinction made by others between something said to be "right" and something else said to be "evil," he has the natural faculty of judging that distinction to be "true;" in exactly the same way that, once he understands the property of a "right angle," he is able to recognize the truth of  $c^2=a^2+b^2$ . Truth therefore does not drop down ready-made into man's lap, but requires laborious effort. And if training is needed to master mathematics, it is no less needed to master distinctions between good and evil. "Conscience" is often popularly spoken of as some mysterious oracle, as a sort of spiritual penny-in-the-slot machine, which emits moral judgements with the exactitude of such a machine emitting packets of chocolate. Against this it is well to bear in mind that mental judgement consists of the same intellectual process, whether the matter judged is of a moral or of a material nature. In both cases training increases the value of the judgement; as *e. g.* the untrained observer may say, "This is a little water worm," whilst the trained naturalist can, rightly, judge, "This is the larva of an Anopheles mosquito:" so also an untrained conscience may say, "It is good to keep a promise," whilst a trained moralist would more truly judge that "a promise binds, provided that which is promised is in itself good and possible."

And if it is possible to train the reason, it must also be possible to warp it. Take the teaching of national history in schools: this side of the frontier a French master will train his pupils to judge that

in Franco-Prussian conflicts it has always been the Prussians who are blamable; whilst on the other side, the Prussian teacher will elicit the habitual judgement that the blame rests always with the French. Both judgements are inconsistent, of course; hence it is clear that one, if not both, must be wrong and that some or all these youngsters are being trained to judge wrongly, instead of rightly. Similarly, a child of one of the criminal tribes may be trained to judge it good to steal from persons not belonging to the tribe. In both cases the child starts with a faculty of truth, and in either it will depend only on its training whether his historical or his moral judgement is actually true. There is no difference between the nature of the two judgements, as if a judgement on morals was a supra-rational affair: the one a function of Reason, the other of "Conscience." Conscience is simply another name for Reason in the particular case when Reason is judging the truth of moral propositions.

But the training of the Reason is not merely an extraneous matter. It depends equally on the individual itself, *i. e.* on his will. Yet with a difference. For if it is true that the will enters into all rational processes, since it is the will which enables the intellect to be "attentive" and since without attention no reasoning would be possible; yet the will in some cases does and in others does not try to influence the judgement itself of the intellect. For instance: that the sum of all the angles of *this* triangle equals two right angles, is a judgement to which your reason will give assent without the will trying to influence it into saying that it is really only  $175^\circ$  or  $270^\circ$  in this special case. Once reason understands the structure of the triangle, reason will be clear that in all triangles the sum of the angles is  $180^\circ$  and can never be anything else. Not so if the judgement was, "It is wrong to steal *this* mango." If you are thirsty and weary, if you have no money, if you cannot discover the owner, the general assent your reason gives to the judgement, "To steal is wrong," does by no means preclude your will from trying to make the reason withhold its assent to the judgement, "To steal this mango is wrong." Your impulse is to eat the mango; and because of that impulse, your will tries to make your intellect find a reason for satisfying the impulse. In other words, you have an interest for saying that "it is not wrong to steal this mango," but you have no interest for saying, "the sum of the angles in this triangle equals three right angles."

The difference between a purely intellectual assent and a moral act will lead us at once to see the reason for such difference. For whilst a logical judgement merely discovers truth, a moral judgement obliges to truth; in the former case the mind is passive like a mirror, whilst in the latter it is active, controlling an impulse. Irrational creatures are incapable of such control; in their case the at the time most powerful impulse is always acted upon with an inevitable necessity, as a magnetic

compass must turn north. Hence they are unmoral; for, as the saying is, animals can never "help it." But man can: he can "help," not giving way to an impulse of, say greed. Volition can inhibit impulse, *i. e.* it can say "no." It can freely do so, not as of necessity; and because that is so, we say that man is a "free will" being. But for a free will being to make a right choice is of value: for the very reason that for an irrational being to make a choice is of no value—*i. e.* because for the latter there is no question of a choice being right or wrong. Conversely it follows, that man, having free will, alone can produce moral value; but it also follows, that his choice of doing the wrong instead of the right must be perfectly free. Only if free, it is of value, if I do right; and if I am to do right at all, I must be perfectly free to do wrong.

To recapitulate. Natural Religion is the realization by man that there is a God and a soul and a moral order. Man has an innate faculty for recognizing their reality as true; which faculty can be trained and warped, both extrinsically (*i. e.* by other minds) and intrinsically (*i. e.* by the mind of the individual itself).

This will explain why Natural Religion, even if we agree that there is such a body of real truth in the abstract, will be found in the concrete to vary a good deal. For in each particular case of an individual, or even of a community, its Natural Religion will depend on the training received and rejected by such individual or number of individuals, and thus is sure to contain admixtures of error due to ignorance and/or malevolence. The fact remains, that, broadly speaking, mankind has always agreed on the three main points of Natural Religion; that the commonsense of all ages has always tacitly assumed their truth; and that by universal consent man has always acted, assuming them to be true. Of course, as regards details, as regards interpretations as to what exactly is meant by "God" and "Soul," as to which conduct is actually moral or immoral: on all such subsidiary points men have differed from age to age and from clime to clime. But that is only what is to be expected. For, as circumstances change, new judgements are called for; thus new data lead to the discovery of new truths, new tasks to new rules of conduct. In the light of the new, old judgements may have to be revised, inconsistencies rectified, malevolence exposed. Yet in all this the common sense of mankind as a whole and the rational faculty of the individual will act as an appeal court to which, and to which alone, decisions must be referred again and again, until, as in a refiner's fire, the dross will gradually disappear and nothing remain but the precious metal of truth and righteousness.

(To be continued.)

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

THE advice which Lord Reading gave to the ruling Princes in his speech at the opening of the Chamber

of Princes, might have been more explicit than it was. There was a time when distant hints alone seemed possible to these members of the Indian aristocracy as to a reform of their administrations. Lord Chelmsford once told them, that crown after crown had been disappearing within the space of a month before the mighty forces of democracy. It has become imperative on the part of British statesmen now to advise the Princes that they must conform to the recognised standards of British Indian administration. The Viceroy should have seized the present occasion to tell the Princes straight out that if they want to be respected in the councils of the Empire they must immediately introduce representative institutions in their States. The Imperial Government should further evince their earnestness by honouring only those who comply with this advice. The membership of the Chamber or the invitation to the Peace Conference or to the League of Nations ought to be conferred only on those Princes whose Governments approximate to the British Indian administration. The inclusion of the despotic ruler of Cutch or the autocrat of Navanagar in the Assembly of the League of Nations is incongruous in the extreme.

His Excellency hoped that the Chamber would be fruitful of benefit to the Princes, as well as to their subjects, to British India and to the Empire; but there is nothing in the constitution of the Chamber which enables it to understand the views of the subjects of Indian States. Surely the interests of the Princes are not identical with those of their subjects. The Princes look upon their States as their own private property, they are reluctant to surrender power or their privileges. But the people in the Indian States are pulsating with new impulses of freedom. They want that the States must be ruled in their interests. They desire that the resources of the States ought to be used for their good. They do not grudge the Indian Princes their position as constitutional rulers and the prerogatives which such a position may carry along with it. There is thus a conflict of interests between the rulers. Under these circumstances, we invite Lord Reading to examine the constitution of the Chamber critically, in order to find out if there is any safeguard in it which will ensure the grant of political rights to the subjects of Indian States. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State are intended to represent the mass and classes of British India, but the Chamber of Princes represents only the order of Indian aristocracy. The classes, not to speak of the masses, are not at all represented. Will His Excellency try to remove this fundamental defect in the constitution of the Chamber?

His Excellency mentioned three subjects not included in the agenda, namely the Fiscal Commission, the re-organisation of the forces of Indian States and the protection of the rulers of States from attacks in the press and on the platform of British India. As regards the Fiscal Commission we wish

that an Indian statesman, having the experience of Indian States and the requisite knowledge and ability, should be added to the personnel. The inclusion of Sir Visvesvaraya, the distinguished Indian administrator would certainly advance the interests of the Indian States about fiscal reform. We also hope that witnesses from Indian States subjects would be invited to give evidence before this Commission. As regards the reorganisation of the forces of Indian States we have said enough in these columns and we do not wish to reiterate the same. We earnestly request Government to abandon their policy of distrust and to give liberty to Indian Rulers to marshall all their man power and all their resources, so as to make them really serviceable in the cause of the Empire. As regards the third subject of giving protection to the rulers of States from attacks in the press and on the platform we fail to see the propriety of raising this question, when once it has been authoritatively disposed of by the Government of India. His Excellency gave a very sound reason when he stated "that it would have been difficult to retain for the benefit of the members of your order a measure of law which was thought unnecessary by His Majesty the King." Lord Reading referred to the grant of protection in another form. The claim for protection of the Indian Princes in the face of the considered opinion of the Government of India is simply preposterous. This subject ought to have been dropped and if it is going to be considered again at the instance of these rulers, we have to enter an emphatic protest against the same. On abstract principle the Indian Princes are not entitled to this concession. The British Government is the paramount power and the overlord. It has claimed the right to depose Princes for gross and continued misrule. If then this position of overlordism is once accepted, what prevents the press and platform in British India from criticising the administration of these rulers and their vagaries with a view to appeal to this paramount power? As the supreme authority, controlling the destinies of Indian States, there is a heavy responsibility resting upon the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the subjects of Indian States before thinking of granting any protection to the autocratic rulers. In not a single State is there any liberty of the Press. There is not a single newspaper worth the name (after the *Karnataka* of Bangalore) ventilating grievances of the people in any Indian State. Are not the subjects of Indian States entitled to claim this elementary right of citizenship of expressing their views and their grievances to their rulers in an open and organised manner? And so long as this state of things continues in the Indian States, will the Government of India be justified in entertaining the idea of granting protection to the rulers of these Indian States?

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

## A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 27.

### THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

MR. SASTRI is now on his way, with his party, to the United States, where he should arrive on the 1st or 2nd November. Before leaving here, he contributed an interesting article to the *Times* on the Prince's visit to India, of which the text will doubtless have been reproduced in the Indian Press. I see that both General Smuts and certain organs of the Canadian Press have animadverted upon the manner in which the Dominions have been treated by the United States Government. They have certainly not received a direct invitation to attend the Washington Conference, and General Smuts seems to think that to go to Washington without one is to derogate from the national status accorded to the Dominions at Versailles. However that may be, South Africa is not being directly represented at the Conference, her interests, such as they are, being confided to the British section of the Empire delegation. On the other hand, Canada is being represented by Sir Robert Borden, who was so largely responsible for the definition of the status of the Dominions at the Peace Conference. It is a matter that does not vex public opinion here very much, for the British people have already accustomed themselves to the independent national viewpoint upon so many subjects of the Dominions, and America, as she comes into touch with the Dominions representatives, will learn to appreciate more clearly than she appears yet to have done something of the importance that the British Empire gives to the Dominions. And in this connection I would like to emphasise a remark that Mr. Sastri makes in his article to which I have referred above. Referring to the part played by the Crown in the British Constitution, he says:—"Aspiring to Dominion status—in fact, not far removed from it and actually enjoying it in inter-Imperial and international consultations—she (India) has a vivid perception of the crucial and delicate part played by the Crown in the British Constitution and realises fully that it forms the link by which the Empire is held together." It will be seen what a great importance, in the opinion of a statesman so familiar with the inside of Imperial politics as Mr. Sastri, is attributed to the Dominion status (de facto) that India has achieved.

### THE PRINCE'S INDIAN TOUR.

The Prince has now left our shores with the warmest hopes and sympathies of the British people, and it is generally expected that he will receive a warm welcome from the people of India, not only for the exalted station that he occupies, but for himself and in recognition of the splendid services rendered by him to the Empire with the strong sense of duty that is the peculiar quality of the British Royal Family. It is not anticipated that the fears of the pessimists will be realised, and public opinion is prepared to back up the robust optimism of those who have persisted in advising the Royal visit to India at a time of transition, when every statesmanlike effort should be made to improve and cultivate the relations existing between the two peoples. The Moplah disturbances at first aroused a good deal of anxiety among those who have a very hazy geographical idea of India, but as the circumscribed character of the trouble began to sink into people's minds, the fears of widespread disturbance, which some of our reactionaries have, with characteristic malice, endeavoured to foster, have become allayed.

### INDIA IN THE LORDS.

Timed to take place on the eve of the Prince's departure, and in spite of the Government's appeal, Lords Sydenham and Amptill, supported by Lord Salisbury, insisted upon debating at length their extraordinary view of the situation in India. What, exactly, they hoped from this attempt to arouse public anxiety is not clear. Probably, not having emptied themselves of venom for some months at the expense of the people of India, they felt they had to do so now—it was a specially dramatic occasion—or burst. At any rate, if they have done no good, they have done no harm either, for the public is quite unmoved by their lordships' revelations. On the contrary, the only person to come off with flying colours was Lord Chemsford who delivered a weighty speech that carried with him the bulk of members present. Lords Sydenham and Amptill did not add to their already tarnished reputations as faithful witnesses to Indian events. Lord Curzon had bluntly asked Lord Sydenham whether he imagined that he knew more about the situation than Lord Reading and his Government. And Lord Sydenham, like Brer Rabbit, lay low and said nuffin'. But Lord Chelmsford's contribution deserves a little further notice.

He attributed most of the trouble to an influence that was by no means confined in its operation to India and was certainly not of a few years' origin. He attributed much of the trouble in India to the growth of race and colour consciousness. But this, he said, was a world-wide issue. There was a revolt of the coloured races going on everywhere against the ascendancy of the white races, and Lord Chelmsford advised his fellow-peers to study the views on this subject of Mr. Stoddart in a book called "The Rising Tide of Colour." He pointed out that race and colour considerations entered into practically all Indian problems, however irrelevant they might seem to be to the subject of controversy, and he instanced the questions relating to the position of Indians overseas, in Fiji, East Africa, and the Dominions, railway policy, problems of exchange and currency, and so on. Two results had flowed from this fact. In the past we had governed in India on the basis of an acknowledged superiority of the British race. That superiority was now challenged, and in surveying the situation, they could not ignore the fact that the challenge had been made. Then, too, it had often been truly said that there was no Indian nation. But this colour issue had become the unifying force in India, and through all the diversities of creeds and races, it was creating a unity. Lord Chelmsford then made a powerful defence of the Reforms, and also of the Indian educated classes, and said that it was all nonsense to depreciate them because they were in a small minority. That could be said of all countries, and in India, where the masses were illiterate, the educated classes were more influential than could be imagined by those who had regard only to numbers. It would not do, he said, to make the same mistake, in ignoring and neglecting the educated classes in India that Pitt had been obliged to do by a perverse sovereign in ignoring the Irish Catholic priesthood, with consequences to Ireland from which both countries were still unhappily suffering. Finally, he took all responsibility, for himself and his successor, for the policy of deliberate conciliation adopted in the handling of the non-co-operation movement. The Secretary of State, who had only accepted that policy, but had not initiated it, was not the sinister figure that he had been painted. The real cloven hoof had been shown, not by Mr. Montagu but by Lords Chelmsford and Reading.

## NEGRO RIGHTS.

Curiously enough, emphasis has been placed upon racial issues not by Lord Chelmsford alone, but by no less an authority than the President of the United States. President Harding is reported in to-day's papers as having addressed a public meeting in the black belt of United States on the subject of negro rights.

He advocated the right of the American negro to broader political, economic and educational advantages based on race pride but never on aspirations for social equality. He appealed to the nation to "lay aside old prejudices and old antagonisms" and give its support to a constructive racial relationship policy.

"Politically and economically" he continued, "there need be no occasion for great and prominent differentiation provided that on both sides there be recognition of absolute divergence in things social and racial." He added that he would let the black man vote where he was fit to do so and prohibit the white man from voting when he was unfit.

The speech was devoted almost exclusively to the race question.

The President contended that the world-war had brought with it a realization that the race question was not sectional, but national. The sudden migration of blacks northward and westward at that time, he said, made the people of those sections realize to some extent the difficulties of the communities inhabited largely by both races, while the people of the South came to realize their industrial dependence on black labour.

The President added that he went a step further in declaring that the whole world was confronted with the colour question. He then quoted approvingly from the article by Sir Frederick Lugard on the colour problem in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

"When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between races I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent as I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportionate to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual. Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word equality eliminated from this consideration and to have it accepted by both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing fundamentally eternal and inescapable differences."

## LORD NORTHCLIFFE ON FIJI.

Mr. N. M. Joshi and his colleague, Mr. B. P. Wadia must now be at Geneva, attending the International Labour Conference, which is being presided over by Lord Burnham. It is remarkable the importance in international affairs that men connected with the Press are given. Lord Northcliffe has been trying to solve racial problems in his own way, and is now on his way to the Far East. He was recently in Fiji, where he was the guest of the notorious Mr. Scott, K. C., who was so largely responsible for the hounding of Mr. Manilal out of the Islands and the prevention of his admission to practise as a barrister in New Zealand. Mr. Scott is the chief counsel for the Colonial Sugar Refinery, which Company dominates the Colonial Government and naturally, when in Fiji, he filled Lord Northcliffe up with his views of the Indian situation there. And it is not to be wondered at that the proprietor of the *Times*, which is advertising widely the noble lord's Imperial progress, remarks as follows:—"At the time of my visit a strike of Hindus was ending, a strike partly economic and partly in sympathy with Mr. Gandhi. Agitators, I was informed, had come from India to stir up their compatriots. The case of the employers, as far as I ascertained it, was that Indian immigrants are well paid and well housed. They certainly look it. It is not often one sees people with necklaces and other ornaments made up of English sovereigns, but here they were quite common. Indian wives were unusually well-dressed and had plenty of jewellery, and as the passengers came down the gangway from our boat, and wandered through well sanded streets, most of them were approached by

Indians who asked them if they had any gold to sell. Surprising as it is, some of them had. A young Canadian sold an American gold piece to a coolie for 32s. Another fellow passenger sold a sovereign for 25s. The housing of the Indians I saw was superior to that I have seen in India. The coolies whom I interviewed seemed quiet and reasonable; but their complaint was that, though their wages were good, the cost of living had increased so greatly that they were unable to live as well as they did at home. They objected also to the hutment tax. I pointed out to them that I had been in India, and doubted very much whether the scale of living in India was anything approaching that in Fiji. I asked whether it was true that a large number of their compatriots were anxious to come to Fiji, and they admitted that it was. I pointed out the phenomenon of Indian natives buying gold from new arrivals by ship. I drew attention also to the wearing of English sovereigns as necklaces. They were silent. I came away with the conclusion that the coolies in Fiji, like most other people, have some grievance; but the fact that they don't want to return to India does not suggest that, beyond the passing aftermath of war trouble, they have any real cause for complaint." Now that Lord Northcliffe has so satisfactorily diagnosed the Indian trouble in Fiji, why should the Government of India throw away money upon a delegation to that Colony? It almost seems absurd that the Indians can have any complaints that they should have been on strike for months together. Lord Northcliffe did not seem to trouble to inquire why this had been so and, doubtless, Mr. Scott did not enlighten him. But when you are accepting someone's hospitality, it is so easy to accept his cigars and his stories, too. Meanwhile, Mr. Corbett is leaving San Francisco about January 5 for Fiji, and he may be depended upon to make a more thorough investigation than Lord Northcliffe was able to do, and I cannot quite see him swallowing all that Mr. Scott may give him to digest.

DR. JIVARAJ MEHTA.

Among this week's passengers to India is Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, whom his many friends will rejoice to see again in India, practically recovered from the serious illness that has kept him out of activity for so long. He is joining the Baroda State service. Another passenger is, I believe, Dr. Hardikar, who is returning to his Motherland after a period of years in the United States.

## THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

*Queensland Borrows*— THE news that Queensland has just raised a £2,300,000 loan in New York is of the kind which is apt to escape the average person. Indian papers which keep their public telegraphically informed, regardless of expense, of the fate of some fiddle or of the full details of yet another *crime passionnel*, scorn to provide their readers with facts less sensational, if more important. And this Queensland loan is indeed of paramount importance in more than one respect. To understand this, it is necessary to remember that the Queensland Government is completely "Labour" and that amongst its legislative measures there has been one which was directly aimed at landlordism—at the big capitalists who own "sheep runs" and used to run the State besides. Some time after this piece of legislation had be-



come law, Queensland required money and accordingly Mr. Theodore, former Labour Leader and present Premier of Queensland, went to London to place the loan. What was his surprise to find the City closed to him! But the City said quite plainly and logically that if Mr. Theodore was so anti-capitalist, capitalists were not prepared to help him; and that, if he wanted the help of capital, he would first have to rescind his anti-capitalist legislation. Whereupon Mr. Theodore expressed a preference for seeing them somewhere or other first, slammed the door and returned to Queensland. And now he has got his money in Wall Street! No wonder, the capitalist press is not over anxious to broadcast the news.

*Wall Street Leads.*

BUT as a matter of fact, this Queensland loan is of further importance as showing the way the wind is blowing. Canada of course has since the war regularly filled all its financial requirements in the United States, but this Queensland loan is the first instance of any part of the British Empire, situate outside the Americas, not having got its financial aid in London. It is the first straw, but it indicates pretty clearly the new Pacific orientation. For that is the new problem of the Pacific—that the United States alone today has got the spare cash needed to develop (or exploit, as you please!) the vast territories which bound the Pacific in the West. Having got all the gold in the world, America of course needs nothing but an "Open Door"; and so it clamours for that Open Door in China, for instance. In the ante-diluvian days before the War, when England had the hoard of all the gold in the world, it was England that insisted on the Open Door in China. To-day, it prefers "spheres of influence"—safeguarded not by its financial supremacy, but by the bayonet (or poison gas, again as you please!). Hence the necessity of the Japanese Alliance. Hence those tears at Washington.

FOR that Washington Conference *Alliance or War?* can only end in one of two alternatives: an Anglo-American Alliance or an Anglo-American War. We are exactly where we were a quarter of a century ago, only that Germany then stood where England stands now, and that the U. S. stand where England stood. There was the possibility then of an Anglo-German Alliance: it came to nothing, because in every Alliance there is a prominent partner; and it was not Germany which was to be that partner then. Similarly to-day, an Anglo-American Alliance is only possible, if England is prepared to play second fiddle to America. It is doubtful, to put it mildly, whether British Prestige will be prepared for that. Only—let us be clear about it, let us be intellectually honest about it: the alternative is War. Not to-morrow or the day after. War with Germany did not come for a decade or two. But come it will; and that will be "the next War." England will find itself increasingly up against a

American stonewall of military or naval power and of commercial competition in every quarter of the globe; it will feel "encircled"; it will fall back on concentrating its whole existence on preparations for "The Day." Sooner or later, the explosion will come, as it came in 1914: and it is a foregone conclusion that Canada will play the role of Italy. Will Australia too? One wonders. Anyhow, there will be the solid Franco-American Entente, so sedulously cemented already; there will be China, of course, on that side, and Poland, Germany, Spain, Japan on the British side, equally naturally and inevitably. And Russia? One would not be surprised. The next War! It cannot be prevented by calling it unthinkable: on the contrary. Let us think then; let India also think, furiously.

*The Degeneracy of White Skins.*

THE eminent physician who is the medical correspondent of the *New Statesman* has, over his usual signature "Lens," contributed to the October issues of our contemporary a series of articles on Heliotherapy in general and Dr. A. Rollier's work at Leysin (Switzerland) in particular. Dr. Rollier apparently in the pure air and bright sunshine of his Alpine sanatorium has achieved remarkable cures of consumption by simply exposing the patient to the sun. The first day the patient's feet are put in the sun for 5 min., the second for 10 min. &c.; the legs for 5 min. the second day, for 10 min. the third &c.: until within a couple of weeks the whole skin (except where protected by a diminutive strip of loin cloth) is sun-bathed from 3-6 hours per day. The result is startling in its general efficiency and has converted "Lens" to "Sunworship"! He gets into medical ecstasies over the skin of these people, which by the natural action of sunlight regains its original function as a "most beautiful, versatile and wonderful organ," instead of being, as it is in the West, "smothered, blanched and blinded in clothes;" becoming "a velvety, supple, copper-coloured tissue," well nourished and of increased blood circulation. Copper-coloured! Ye gods and little fishes! Whatever will the "100% whites," talking of the "foul touch of the inferior dark races," say to that? If science should come to see that a bare, properly functioning and well pigmented skin is an essential of health, it would follow that an unpigmented skin is the result of degeneration on the part of poor Hyperboreans who, living an Eskimo existence amidst Arctic snows, have lost the use of their skins in their shell of clothing, as cave animals lose the use of their eyes... A white skin no longer the mark of superiority and purity, but of albinism and degeneracy! Our condolences to the poor Kenya Uplanders.

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

"INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ECONOMICS"  
TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—While I thank you for your favourable review of my book, I do not think you have quite appreciated my idea. I

think rural interests are already overtaxed, paying not only directly taxation in the form of land revenue assessment but also indirectly as consumers by the multifarious high import duties and also as producers by the export duties, partly on jute, and wholly on tea, hides and skins. A cultivator with a nett income of Rs. 2,000 would probably have to produce Rs. 4,000 gross, and on this his assessment would be anything up to Rs. 600, leaving him only Rs. 1,400 nett for himself. A townsman may earn Rs. 2,000 nett without paying a pie of direct taxation.

You admit Protection involves sacrifice on the part of rural interests, but you consider such sacrifices only "temporary and necessary" and to be more than recompensed when millionaire industrialists shall have multiplied at their expense! Another sort of "9d. for 4d."!

A wise man prefers 4d. in the hand to 9d. in the economic bush.

"Man never is, but always to be, blest." For myself I can never think you will benefit the agriculturists by taking his ready money from him.

The Fiscal Commission is heavily overweighted with ardent Protectionists of the Bombay school. The last word however, is with the legislature. The agricultural interest is not wholly unrepresented in the Assembly and is pretty strongly represented in the Council of State. I have, therefore, still strong hopes of the agriculturist getting fair-play and not being further mulct for the benefit of industrial magnates.—Yours, etc.

Karachi, October 31.

PRICE.

## SELECTIONS

### THE MULSHI PETA AFFAIR.

THE following statement has been issued to the public by the Tata Power Company, Ltd., in regard to the acquisition of land in Mulshi Peta for the Hydro-Electric Scheme:—

If in England the cry of "Back to the land" is raised, it is because roughly eighty per cent. of the population have turned to industrialism, and England depends for corn and produce mainly from abroad. In India, the conditions are precisely the reverse; and agriculture is the occupation of eighty per cent. of the population. Agriculture alone has never enriched a country and in the modern world a country's progress is always retarded as long as agriculture remains its chief pursuit. A greater diversity of occupation is required to relieve the pressure on the land.

If it had not been for the success of the cotton industry sufficient capital would not have accumulated in the country for the initiation of such large industries as the manufacture of iron and steel and for the other large schemes that have now been launched in India. The uplift of the masses has never been attained through agricultural pursuits, because the standard of living of the agricultural classes is low, their resources inadequate and the diffusion of ideas impossible where the people are spread over a large area. It is true that industrialism brings with it certain evils. But these can be met and cured in course of time. The great benefits of the rising wage, of increased intelligence, increased industry and superior efficiency—all conduce to the benefit of the country and are all therefore for the national good.

If India is far too agricultural in its pursuits, the diversion of some of its land to higher uses must be looked on as a national good. The Government of Bombay have agreed with our views in this respect and have accorded their sympathy and help to the Hydro-Electric Schemes of the Bombay Presidency which will form the basis of all increased industry between Kalyan and Bombay.

Among the benefits to industry which Hydro-Electric power confers are its smoothness of drive, cleanliness of plant, ease of manipulation, and, most important of all, the decreased cost. By supplanting coal as a source of energy, as has been pointed out in a previous statement, the full development of 150,000 H. P. of the Tata Power Scheme will save 525,000 tons of coal every year. It has been suggested that this is

only a small portion of the total output of India. But it should be remembered that the tonnage of coal referred to is of first class or good second class quality, which is the only quality which can be of any utility to the industries in Bombay, very distantly situated as they are, from the collieries, since the cost of freight makes it impossible to use any coal of lower grade.

The wild assertion by those who oppose the scheme that Government have undertaken to acquire land for this scheme because it will enable a conservation of coal for the British Navy can be answered outright by the fact that the best Welsh coal is just now being sold in Bombay in competition with Indian coal.

Apart from that, the saving of this volume of coal means the freeing of 26,250 wagons every year on the Indian Railways for other national needs, making it possible to distribute foodstuffs more evenly through the country and enabling Railways to meet other trade demands more easily.

Another benefit to the country is the fact that the numerous factories which will be converted or worked by electricity will scrap their steam engines and will cease to import the large number of spares required for their maintenance. Those who are familiar with the cost of spares or maintenance of steam power will readily realise that the money which goes towards their purchase will be kept in the country. New factories will not import engines and boilers at all.

The Company will also supply power to the Railways for suburban electrification to the Tramways. This will increase and accelerate communications in Bombay, enable the city to expand, and thus help to relieve the existing congestion and the insanitation, disease and mortality arising out of it.

It is true that when the acquisition of large areas of land took place for the first Hydro-Electric scheme, Government valued the land at about twenty-five times the assessment which was a rough and ready means of fixing market value in places where a ready market for the land did not exist owing to their being far away from any cities of importance. When the Andhra Scheme was initiated, Government were the first to draw our attention in 1917 to the fact that acquisition on such a basis was not fair to the evicted population. The Company readily and heartily concurred, but in so far as Government's intentions were generally to expend a higher contribution from it on general works of utility, the Company endeavoured to secure the benefits of such increased contribution directly and adequately to the evicted Mavlas themselves. The settling of these questions of policy, and, later, the collection of facts and figures as to the actual yield on each class of land did not bring these negotiations to a close till March, 1921. The figures obtained by Government with the yield on each class of land were, it may be mentioned, based on actual experiments on site, and on the average net income to the landowners for a series of years.

The long delay in the adjustment of how compensation should be paid brought about however an unfortunate circumstance. The Andhra works continued with all the speed that only industrial control is capable of, and many lands were submerged before Government had declared its decision on the compensation to be paid. Records of lands and buildings so submerged were, however, carefully kept. In any case this was a serious circumstance, which the Company has made every endeavour to avoid in the case of Mulshi Peta. There both Government and the Company have taken every precaution to expedite acquisition by the appointment of more than one Land Acquisition Officer, and strict orders have been issued to expedite the matter. The investigation into the Andhra and the Mulshi Valleys were carried on almost simultaneously so that the figures for the Mulshi Valley were declared by Government within a month or two after the compensation figures were declared for the Andhra Valley. The two previous mistakes of inadequate compensation and very belated compensation will therefore have both been avoided in the Mulshi Scheme.

We now turn to how the compensation was fixed. The Government officials went into the records of a series of years.

to arrive at the average yield to the landowners on each class of land. In several villages, actual experiments were taken as to the amount of corn that was threshed on a number of plots. This actual average yield was then valued at the price of corn prevailing toward the end of 1920, when prices were at their very highest. This income in money was then capitalised. Since Government paper fetches a secure and steady income at six per cent., it will be understood that capitalisation at eight per cent. for land is extremely liberal in so far as, even in Mulshi Peta which has never known famine, the yield from the land falls very often as low as eight anna crop. It will thus be seen that in arriving at these figures every latitude and margin has been allowed by Government. To this the Company have added a bonus of 15 to 25% to all landowners who willingly sell their lands, so that the best rice lands will be paid for at the rate of Rs. 522 per acre, including the extra amount paid by Government for compulsory acquisition, supplemented by the bonus which the Company offers to all owners who settle amicably.

It may be mentioned that, in the Andhra Valley, the compensation was considered so satisfactory that every one of those who had applied for lands in exchange withdrew their applications and took the money compensation instead.

Turning to some rumours which have been spread far and wide, it has been asserted that the whole of Mulshi Peta with its 40,000 acres will be laid waste by the formation of the Mulshi Lake. The Mulshi Lake will actually submerge only 10,600 acres out of the 40,000 and more acres of Mulshi Peta. It has been urged that the lake being in the lowest portion of the valley will submerge all the rice lands. Official figures show that the lake will submerge only 3,583 acres of rice lands, out of the 13,251 acres which produce rice in Mulshi Peta.

Rumours have been set afloat that outside the lake area lands will be acquired wholesale for afforestation purposes. The Company has already notified in Mulshi Peta that no such acquisition was ever contemplated. We believe Government also do not contemplate afforesting any of the lands round the lake.

Every effort will be made to complete the acquisition within the next few months so that compensation will have been paid out to all land owners very early.

The construction of the Mulshi Dam is such that raising the foundations to ground level alone will occupy about two years, so that hardly any land will be submerged during the first two years. Lands will then be gradually submerged so that the bulk of the area is not likely to go under water for the next five years. And the Company has notified landowners that they will be permitted to raise their crops free of rent during such time. This will be, to a very large number of landowners, an appreciable addition to the compensation and the bonus given by the Company. Thus the full income from the land free of rent for several years is assured.

Income from agriculture is always small. The establishment of the Mulshi works will be able to give the labourers who choose to come and work on the dam nearly four times the income they could get from cultivation. Those who wish to continue their agricultural pursuits will be able to do so for several years to come as shown above. By that time, in the neighbouring valleys, the extension of the irrigation works of the Nira Right Bank Canal will have progressed sufficiently for Government to assure enough water for rice cultivation at the usual rates for about 3000 to 4000 acres of such Mavlas as choose to settle in the irrigated area. The Government have assured the Company that such help is possible as a special case to such of the expropriated Mavlas as choose to settle in the irrigated area. The number of rice lands in the Poona District will therefore not in any way be decreased by the Mulshi works, nor will the Mavlas find their agricultural occupation gone.

The Company have anxiously done and will do all it can for the Mavlas. The Company, having paid full compensation and done everything for the benefit of the Mavlas, will arrange by every means in its power to enable them to settle along the Nira Canal in the next few years so as to take

advantage of the assurance given by Government. In this work such of the leaders of the Mavlas as have their true interests at heart can also substantially help.

It will thus be seen that the Mavlas who may be expropriated from their homes can be settled in their ancestral occupation in the neighbouring valleys should they so desire.

In the acquisition of land for a Hydro-Electric Scheme it is essential that an absolutely perfect title should be assured to the Company. This is only possible through the Land Acquisition Act. This is our only answer to the demand of some of the public that the Act should not be availed of. The public grievance that the Land Acquisition Act does not secure adequate compensation has been fully met, as explained above, by the action of the Company by securing ample money compensation. So confident is the Company as to the adequacy of the compensation, that it is quite willing that the valuation be made the subject of arbitration by arbitrators appointed by the Company and leaders of the Mavlas in equal number with, in the event of a difference arising, a Sar Panch or Umpire of undoubted standing, acceptable to both parties, to decide between them.

It may be pointed out that arbitration is only possible under two conditions. The acquisition of land is a matter entirely within the purview of the Government, and it is only when Government have acceded to our wishes by allowing the valuation to be decided by arbitration that the Company is now able to make this offer. Secondly, arbitration would be of no avail unless the Company feels sure that the leaders of Mavlas have a sufficiently powerful following amongst them to ensure the acceptance of the valuation as implicitly as the Company is prepared to do.

The Tata Power Company trusts that this explanation based on official facts and figures which can be substantiated from records will satisfy the public as to the bona fides of the Company putting through a scheme of undoubted benefit to the nation as a whole.

It might be pointed out that well over a crore has already been spent towards the execution of this great Scheme so that the hardship to the shareholders (amongst whom will be found a large number of people of small means) at such a stage by the abandonment of the Scheme would be infinitely greater than the hardship to a few Mavlas in the Poona District to whom adequate compensation and other facilities are provided.

It has been urged that the Tatas are pressing this Scheme because of the enormous benefits which they are to derive therefrom. The Tatas, as in all other Schemes consider themselves Trustees of public monies entrusted to them, and their own holdings in this particular Scheme is not more than about 550 shares out of 45,000 shares issued. The 50% of the total capital subscribed before the floatation was thrown open to the public was almost all subscribed for privately by such of the public as approached, through brokers, or directly by the agents and Directors of the Company, so that the whole of the Capital should be considered as having come from the public.

The Scheme itself, being one under a license from Government, has its maximum rates, to be charged to the public fixed by Government, and the experience of the previous Hydro-Electric Schemes has amply proved that though the income from investment in one of these is assured and steady, such income is small. The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company up to date has not been able to pay more than 7%, and it is only after much time and patient development that the scheme will be made to pay more, so that the shareholders have to take the risk of the development of the Company during the period covered by the License granted by Government, and should the Company by then have established itself on a satisfactory basis, it will be open to the Government which will soon be more and more the Government of the people, to take over the concern as in the case of the Railways. The Scheme is, therefore, essentially one which is nationalised, as it will be available to the nation after all the pioneering difficulties have been surmounted by shareholders, and that, too, for a low return through the early years of the Company's existence.

Finally, it may be mentioned that among the list of forty large consumers of power now actually on the waiting list of this Company there is not a single industrial concern which has not been capitalised in this country.

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