

THE Servant of India

Editor : S G. VAZE

Office : KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. VI, No. 31.]

POONA—THURSDAY, AUGUST 30, 1923.

{ INLAND SUBNS. Rs. 6
FOREIGN SUBNS. s. 10

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	361
ARTICLES :—	
The Liberal Creed	363
England and India : Personal Union. By Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias	364
Malabar Land Tenures.—VI. By P. Kodanda Rao	365
Is this the Time to Build more Railways? By Economy	366
THE WORLD OUTSIDE	368
MISCELLANEA :—	
Kenya Deputation's Statement	369

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

Mr. Sastri. THE extremely warm welcome accorded on all sides, irrespective of party, to the Kenya delegation and to Mr. Sastri in particular on their return from London, has to Mr. Sastri's intimate friends been chillingly tempered by the realization of the extent of the latter's ill-health. The fortnight on board steamer has obviously been quite valueless and the strenuous week-end of his in Bombay has as naturally gravely worsened the position. Mr. Sastri arrived in Poona on Sunday night and, after what theoretically was to have been a day of rest, intended to open the Special Session of the Servants of India Society on Tuesday morning. Though he was able to get through his allocution, he had to retire at once afterwards and has been quite unable to take part in any of the subsequent discussions. As we write, Mr. Sastri has had to cancel his visit to the Deccan Sabha and it is patent that he will be physically incapable of attending even, let alone addressing, the advertised public meeting at the Kirloskar Theatre here. A consultation of doctors is about to take place and we fear that they can but endorse what to lay commonsense already is clear—that Mr. Sastri must completely withdraw from all activity and mental strain; and must do so for months. All the more insistent the duty falling now upon all sections of Indian opinion, to take up the lead, which Mr. Sastri has so brilliantly and courageously given, even at the danger of life itself.

* * *

The Government of
India's Position.

THERE is one point in the statement which the Kenya deputation made on landing in India which

will attract particular attention, viz. that while the terms of the proposals made by the Colonial Secretary to the Cabinet were kept secret from the Indian deputation, they were evidently disclosed to the European deputation, who in fact, to signify their acceptance, had signed them. Not only so but the Indian deputation were led to believe that the final decisions of the Government would be more favourable than they actually were. Indeed it is quite clear that on some of the important points the Colonial and the Indian Secretaries of State had made up their minds long before they were formally considered by the Cabinet and the Government of India could not have been unaware of the intentions of the authorities in London. But even the Indian Government gave no warning to India that the decisions were going altogether against this country and that it was necessary to take steps to make her voice felt. In the light of this fact, that the Government of India not only had not backed their despatches with a threat of resignation in the event of their demands being rejected, but had withheld from India all knowledge of the treatment which was about to be meted out to India, every one will be disposed to agree with Mr. Andrews that no small blame attaches to the Government of India as well. This being so, it is increasingly difficult to understand how Mr. Sarma, who was directly in charge of the department concerned, can continue any longer in office.

* * *

THE Provincial Liberal Conference for the United Provinces which met at Benares this week passed a comprehensive resolution in the following terms on the subject of Kenya, giving whole-hearted support to the retaliatory measures proposed by Mr. Sastri :—

"This Conference records its sense of grave and acute dissatisfaction at the utterly one-sided and most unjust decisions taken by His Majesty's Government on the Kenya question, decisions that are at once a flagrant breach of the past pledges and a direct negation of an equal and honourable place for India in the British Empire and are bound to affect the attitude of India towards the British Empire. This Conference regrets the utterly inadequate presentation of the case for India by the India Office and the Government of India which should exist for upholding India's interests and it urges the publication without delay of the whole of the correspondence between the Government of India, the India Office and the Colonial Office.

This Conference further protests against the systematic anti-Indian policy of the Government of South Africa and resents the disabilities to which Indian nationals are subjected in several other dominions and colonies and is certain that the people of India will make every effort in their power to win for India the same status in her dealings with other members of the Empire, as is enjoyed by the Dominions.

The Government and Parliament in England having failed in their duty of safeguarding India's legitimate interests, this conference is clearly of opinion that a policy of retaliation should be adopted by the Government of India and it urges that the Reciprocity Bill which has passed the Legislative Assembly should soon be approved of by the Council of State and assented to by the Viceroy and that rules be made thereunder and appropriate action taken without avoidable delay.

This Conference urges the imposition of a heavy import duty on South African coal, the revocation of the sanction lately accorded by the Government of India to the reopening of aided labour emigration to the Federated Malay States, Mauritius and Ceylon, the withdrawal of the Government of India from participation in the British Empire Exhibition and an amendment of the Racial Discriminations Removal Act so as to deprive the Colonials in India of any of the special privileges still accorded to Europeans such as in criminal trials.

This Conference is surprised that the Hon'ble Sir B. N. Sarma, the Member in charge should in his speeches in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State have attempted a defence of the Kenya decisions and it is of opinion that he as well as the two other Indian Members of the Government of India should resign their offices as a protest against the humiliation of India by His Majesty's Government.

This Conference expresses its sense of high appreciation of the eminent services rendered to India in this connection by the Rt. Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Messrs. C. F. Andrews and Polak, Messrs. Kamat and Jamnadas Dwarkadas, and Mr. Desai and other members of the Kenya Indian delegation.

* * *

The Hindu Maha Sabha.

THE Hindu Maha Sabha, which held its seventh session last week at Benares, has never been able to receive much support at the hands of the general community. The Moslems have looked upon it with great suspicion as being intended as a counterblast to the Muslim League and the advanced Hindus were no more favourably disposed towards it, viewing it as the refuge of all that is obscurantist in Hinduism. This year's session, however, while it has in no way removed the ill-will of the Moslem community, has taken a step toward conciliating progressive Hindu opinion. It has passed a resolution which, if acted upon, will go some way in mitigating the rigours of the social ostracism to which the so-called depressed classes are subjected. It declares that it is necessary "to allow them (the untouchables) to read in schools, to draw water from wells, to have Darshan in temples and to sit in public meetings." In his opening speech as President, Pandit Malaviya suggested by way of compromise that the untouchables might be admitted to certain parts of temples and wells only, but we hope that no such compromise will be accepted. The resolution also speaks in the earlier part of the need to make arrangements for the education of the depressed classes in sanitation

and religion and then refers to their admission to wells and temples, implying thereby that their present exclusion from all social amenities has a sort of justification in their insanitary condition and indifference to religion. Such an assumption is by no means warranted. If the untouchables are as a class dirty or innocent of religion, that is at least as much an effect as a cause of their segregation; and if this segregation is to be done away with, there is far more need of educating the higher classes in the right conceptions of civics and humanity than that of educating the untouchables in hygiene and the niceties religion. But what more could have been expected from a Hindu Sabha?

* * *

THE Bengal Legislative Council on the 20th inst. finally passed into law the "Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill 1923." This Bill differs altogether from the "Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act" in that it deals with the one thing, not touched upon by the Bombay Act: viz. the wholesale suppression of the brothel system. Our only regret is that both Acts do not apply to both Presidencies, for we feel that each, as it stands, is an incomplete and truncated affair, however much we rejoice that a first step in the right direction has been taken. Particularly do we applaud the Calcutta Member in charge of the bill in saying "that they could not go too far in advance of public sentiment in this direction": an attitude which we would earnestly commend to Sir Malcolm Hailey and to the Central Government in connection with their "Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1923." The Calcutta Act emerged from the Council much as amended by their Select Committee, except for the Section on Solicitation, which the Council deleted by 55 to 32 votes. We think the Council was very well advised to act in this manner and not to make a law which in practice has everywhere been found, not to abate the nuisance of solicitation, but to put money into the pockets of the police. The present law of Bengal already makes solicitation an offence upon complaint being laid: the new Bill was to have empowered police sergeants to arrest without complaint. Prof. Mookherjee said the accosting by "hopelessly diseased" women of all soldiers leaving the Fort was making "the military authorities nervous": an argument which fails to appeal to us, we must say, as we suspect that military nervousness is not caused by the fact of solicitation, but by the incident of disease. What we very much regret, however, is that with the clause has also disappeared all provision penalizing the abetment of solicitation: a provision most salutary and desirable; if the axe is to be laid at the root of the whole evil, viz. the traffic by third parties in the immorality of others. We are grateful to both the Calcutta and Bombay Councils for having shown the way in this direction, but trust sincerely that neither Presidency will think itself now entitled to rest on these laurels.

The Kaliparaj
Movement.

WE cannot reconcile the last conciliatory *communiqué* of the Dewan Sahab of Baroda dated the 14th June with the present action of the Suba and District Magistrate of Navasari, regarding the treatment of the Kaliparaj community. In the *communiqué* the several measures of the Baroda Government taken to show the special care and tenderness with which the backward community was treated were mentioned. As a contrast with this we know of several prosecutions that have since been instituted against several Kaliparaj leaders in Mahuva taluka for failing to provide securities for 'good behaviour', that very flexible and convenient clause in the penal code. This is, we are afraid, in reply to some Kaliparaj tenants refusing to cultivate the lands of some oppressive landlords and taken with a view to coercing them to serve their masters on the latter's terms. This is not an impartial attitude for the State authorities to take, especially in a struggle for emancipation from serfdom, between two unequal parties. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Suba had prosecuted merely on the strength of a report from a talati, as was proved afterwards in Court, several advisers of the Kaliparajs for holding private informal 'talks' on the plea that they held a prohibited public meeting. Fortunately the Court acquitted the advisers. But this shows how the wind is blowing with some of the authorities in Baroda, where a down-trodden forest tribe, attempting to come into its own, is concerned.

* * *

A Bihar Bill. THE Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries Bill, the Select Committee's report on which is now published, follows very closely the Madras Act which was passed by the Council last December. It differs from the latter, however, in that it has provided for the supply of machinery, not only to industrial but agricultural concerns also, on the hire purchase system. On two points of some importance the Select Committee are not unanimous. One of them relates to the constitution of the Board of Industries, which is recommended to consist of not less than twelve members. The majority of the Committee have recommended that five of them shall be elected by the Legislative Council, one for each division, from among its members. Mr. Collins, Director of Industries, suggests three instead of five and points out that in the Madras Act provision is made for only two representatives of the Council. We think the is right in saying that five would form too large a lay element on the Board of twelve. The other matter—the dissentients here are more numerous though the point is of less importance—relates to the provision that rules made by Government under this legislation shall not come into force until approved by the Legislative Council. The dissentients point out that the procedure entails unnecessary delay as the Council sits only twice or thrice in the year, and that no provision for aid could be made in the budget of 1924. The Minister in charge, Mr. Fakhruddin has suggested a compromise that the rules should come into force as soon as made by the local Government, but that they should be placed on the table of the Council as early as possible, and in case of disapproval or amendment by the latter there should be no prejudice to anything previously done under them.

THE LIBERAL CREED.

IN the manifesto of the Liberal Party which we have arranged to circulate with this issue the principles for which the Party stands are reaffirmed in view of the elections drawing near. The Party is new under this name, being formed when the latter seemed to be seriously imperilled by the unreasoning and wholesale opposition offered by the majority Congressmen. But the leaders of the Party are not new to politics, as indeed they are veteran politicians guiding the course of Congress politics from the very time the Congress was founded till it took a new and sinister turn. Indeed the object of forming the Liberal Party was but to continue the traditions of the old Congress in a new organization and is thus the true successor to the premier political body in the country which first gave shape to the political aspirations of educated Indians.

The Party was exposed to much misrepresentation when it was formed and is not free from it now. But the founders have enunciated the party principles so clearly as to leave no one in doubt with regard to them. The Liberals were sedulously represented as supporters of the Government, in all measures good or bad; they were portrayed as looking upon the reforms as the last word in political evolution, so far as India was concerned; they were made out to be wholly absorbed in working the present reforms at least for the next ten years, being precluded during this interval from carrying on any agitation for widening the existing constitution. The last three years have shown that every one of these representations is a cold and calculated lie. No member of the Party who has a seat in the Legislature has felt bound to support the Government that against which his conscience revolted. The Liberals have taken at least as prominent a part in opposing objectionable measures as in supporting commendable ones; indeed, whenever occasions of offering opposition arose, the Liberal members have been foremost in doing so and have thrown Independents or adherents of what has now come to be known as the Swaraj party into the background. They have never regarded the reforms as anything but a stepping-stone to full self-government. Indeed when they were being enacted they gave a discriminating support to them as worthy of acceptance for the moment, but subjected them to a good deal of constructive criticism, doing everything they could to enlarge their scope. Nor have they lost any time, while trying to make the reforms successful in practice, to point out the imperfections disclosed in their working and to agitate both in the Councils and outside for their extension. Thus on all these counts the malicious accusations of their opponents have been conclusively disproved.

If the Liberals have latterly to figure more prominently in opposition than at the beginning the reason is obvious, viz. that the policy of the

Government has undergone a vital change since the dismissal of Mr. Montagu from the India Office. But they have never subordinated the public interest to considerations of office or emolument, as is clear from the fact that the Ministers in the United Provinces resigned the moment it became clear to them that they could not continue consistently with their own dignity or the common weal. In every case of disagreement that happened before the Governor, however unwillingly, gave way. In spite of the unfavourable atmosphere in which the Liberals have to work of late, it will be found, on a dispassionate review of the work done by them, that considerable achievements stand to their credit, whether in the Central or in the Provincial Legislatures. A few such instances have been cited in the manifesto, and although we are free to confess that there might have been a better record to show if all parties had been represented in the Legislatures, as it is, the verdict of all competent observers must be that the reforms, in their hands, have made good. The failure of the reforms which is so glibly pronounced can be correct only in one sense, that they have proved inadequate to the growing political consciousness of the people and their rising aspirations. In this sense the reforms have undoubtedly failed, and realising this in good time, the Liberals have been devising measures for an extensive liberalisation of the present reforms.

The attitude taken by the Liberal party towards the present Kenya crisis is indicative of its readiness to offer strenuous resistance whenever the occasion calls for it. The reverse which the country has sustained on this question is indeed the greatest it has suffered for a long time past. Because this decision means the denial by the highest authority of the position of equality claimed by Indians and repeatedly promised by His Majesty's Government. If the denial is not in form but in effect, it is merely because the Imperial Government does not relate its decision to this postulate of equality. It does not set to itself that criterion and is not required to confess its failure to satisfy the test or reject the claim altogether. But however much the Government may try to evade the issue, the Indians must take it as a formal denial of the claims put forward by the Indians and at one time admitted by the Government. It is further clear that there is no hope of obtaining justice at the hands of His Majesty's Government unless the just claims, when brute force is opposed to them, can be backed by greater force. This is the plain meaning of Kenya, and never was the issue put to India in a more naked form. On this question the Liberal leaders did not require a moment's reflection in recommending, and the followers in accepting, drastic measures of retaliation which are open to Indians is the circumstances of the country. The resolutions adopted on this subject by the U. P. Liberal Conference, which are quoted elsewhere, recommend the severance of all voluntary ties with the outlying parts of the

Empire, which will not inflict serious hardship on the people here. The adequacy or inadequacy of these measures, it is not our present purpose to discuss; but that the party of so-called blind co-operation should pass on, without any serious mental effort, to devise measures of retaliation on the first important occasion, shows how unjust is its description as a party pledged at all times to co-operation. What the country requires most at the present time is a set of workers who will utilise to the full the opportunities afforded by the present constitution in building up the strength of the country in every way and who will at the same time make ceaseless efforts to widen their liberties and vindicate their honour. In the Liberal Party is found at present such an agency, and we hope that at the next General Election it will be returned in sufficient strength in both the Central and Local legislatures to enable it to make its contribution to the work of national redemption.

ENGLAND AND INDIA: PERSONAL UNION.

THE Kenya decision of the Imperial Government having made it clear that there is no longer room in the Empire for India on the old basis of equality, irrespective of race, for every person above a certain standard of civilized life: India on her part surely cannot but make it clear, that under these altered conditions she finds no longer room for the Empire in her own sentiments and aspirations.

On the one hand, it seems but bitter irony to speak any longer of "sister" Dominions, and therefore to profess still to be seeking "Dominion" status, or the maintenance of any connection with an Empire which aspires to the domination of forty crores of pigmented by seven crores of unpigmented races.

On the other hand I do believe that the past connection of India with Britain has been providential and that even to-day India's benefits from that connection are such, as to make complete severance of the historic tie even theoretically undesirable, quite apart from the practical feasibility of such a step.

To reconcile the two aspects of the present position seems to me only possible by India repudiating its Empire connection altogether and substituting for it that of a "Personal Union" through the Crown, the reigning monarch of the British Empire being at the same time the reigning monarch of the Indian Empire, whilst the two polities, British and Indian, remain as completely separate entities, as, for instance, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Austrian Empire were under the Dual Monarchy of the Hapsburgs, or as the twin Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway were under the Bernadottes.

And whilst, strictly speaking, the theory of a Personal Union demands nothing further than that the monarch of one country should at the same time happen to be the monarch of another country as well: in practice the two countries in question

LIBERAL PARTY MANIFESTO

By the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India.

THE Liberal Party of India is as old as the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and its greatest member was Dadabhai Naoroji. It is the Party that is faithful to the traditions and principles, policies and methods, and is steadily and consistently carrying on the work, of the Indian National Congress that was founded by Hume, served devotedly by Wedderburn, and rehabilitated after 1907 by Mehta and Gokhale, among others. It exists to realize the ideal held forth by Dadabhai Naoroji at the great Congress of 1906, of *Swaraj* for India within the British Commonwealth. It seeks to achieve by constitutional action Self-Government and Dominion Status for India as early as possible. It is to the constitutional efforts of the Indian National Congress that India owes the Reforms of 1892, 1909, and 1919. In connection with the last and most liberal of the three Acts, those robust-hearted Congressmen who had not lost faith or given up patience were obliged in the public interest to separate themselves from the old organization when it passed under a new control and ceased to be what it had been. They then founded the National Liberal Federation of India with the double object of ensuring the effectuation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in as liberal a form as possible and of sustaining the old Congress movement.

2. The Liberal Deputation to England in 1919 worked hard to get the Government of India Bill passed into law freed from defects and substantially liberalized. A comparison of the Bill with the Act will show that the labours of the Deputation had not gone in vain. In the following year equal efforts were put forth to see that the Rules framed under the Act were such as to fulfil its purposes. It is unfortunate that, on the whole, success did not reward the latter efforts. Since the Act came into operation members of the Party inside the several Governments and Legislatures in the country as well as in outside public life, have laboured unceasingly for the removal of wrongs and the redress of grievances as well as for the development of beneficial services. And they have succeeded not only in doing much present good but equally in demonstrating the fitness of Indians for the exercise of the rights of Self-Government. It is undoubted that their achievement would have been greater if a section of our countrymen had not withheld their cooperation from the Legislatures and pursued a propaganda which materially increased the difficulties of the situation and has proved an admitted failure.

3. A regrettable change of spirit and temper in the Government here and in England since the attempted boycott by the non-cooperation party of the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the enforced resignation of the office of Secretary of State for India by Mr. Montagu, is another adverse factor that the Liberals have had to contend against. Besides, the introduction of the Reforms unfortunately synchronized with the acutest financial stringency the Government in India were ever confronted with and this inevitably interfered with the development of schemes of beneficial services by Ministers in the several provinces. But, in spite of the fresh affront to Indian feeling offered by the decision of his Majesty's Government on the Kenya issue, the Indian Liberal Party have full confidence in the efficacy of vigorous and sustained constitutional agitation, as much as they remain convinced of the futility

of the method of non-cooperation that has been tried and found not only useless but positively harmful to the best interests of India. And it is their firm intention to work with redoubled vigour for such a transformation of the character and constitution of the Government as to make it as nearly as may be, "government of the people, by the people, for the people,"—in other words, *Swaraj*.

4. Holding the views they do on the question of the appropriate political methods for the people of India to pursue, and having regard to the position they took up in connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, it was right and natural that the members of the Liberal Party should have decided to take their full share in the working of that scheme as it finally took shape. The events of the last two years and a half have more than vindicated the wisdom of their attitude and action. Those Liberals who were appointed members of the Government as well as the much larger number who were nonofficial members of the Legislature, made strenuous attempts to promote the well-being and advancement of the people in every manner open to them. It will be seen from the instances given below that no inconsiderable measure of success has attended their efforts. Where actual results have not yet been achieved, the cause of reform has still been advanced and success can be said to be much nearer than before.

5. The Press Act, the most obnoxious of all the repressive laws of India, has been repealed, and so have been several other measures that curtailed the civil liberties of the people. The Acts that still remain in force would also have disappeared if the situation had not been complicated by the disturbing activities of non-cooperators. Extremist agitation and methods furnished the occasion or gave the excuse for the original enactment of repressive laws; to them must be attributed at least in part the continued existence of some of them on the statute book.

The many irritating racial discriminations that disfigured the Criminal Procedure Code have nearly been done away with.

The Legislative Assembly has several times advocated the introduction of further substantial constitutional reforms at an early date.

The Fiscal Commission, with an Indian chairman and a majority of Indian members, was constituted at the instance of the Assembly, and its recommendations when carried into effect are likely to give a much needed stimulus to the development of Indian industries. The first practical step has already been taken by the Government in the direction recommended by the Commission. The country is very properly interested in the Swadeshi movement. In this sphere the pressure exerted by the Assembly and the Councils and the work of Ministers have led to a policy of support of home in preference to foreign products in the purchase of Government stores and also to the institution of industrial surveys, the development of technical education, and the grant of state aid to industries. This, and not the Khaddar propaganda with its implied ban of the Indian mill industry, is the true and really beneficial Swadeshi movement.

It is the nonofficial members of the Assembly and of the Provincial Councils who brought about the appointment of the Inchcape and Provincial Retrenchment Committees, and who have forced the Government to reduce expenditure so as to minimize the necessity of new taxation. The effort to secure a reform of Military policy and a reduction of Military expenditure, with the double object of making the Indian Army eventually a truly national army adequate for all legitimate require-

ments in India and of setting free a much larger share of the public revenues for application to beneficial purposes of internal development, has been as unceasing as the attempt at a rapid Indianization of the civil services which should be recruited in the country itself and controlled by the Government in India acting in conformity with the policy of the Legislature.

The separation of judicial from executive functions, extended educational facilities and a reform of educational policy so as to bring the system into closer accord with Indian conditions and requirements, measures for the improvement of agricultural methods, more effective control by the Legislature of land revenue policy, so that zemindars and ryots may suffer no hardship or injustice, measures for the improvement of the position of tenants, the welfare of labour, the bringing of district administration into approximation with public opinion, a more enlightened and humane jail administration including the special treatment of political prisoners, temperance reform, a more economical administration of the public works department, extension and reform of the system of local self-government in municipal as well as rural areas including the establishment of village Panchayats, measures for the improvement of public health, more adequate medical relief including the encouragement of indigenous systems of medicine, measures of social legislation, and generally a vigilant criticism of administrative acts, methods and omissions so as to minimize abuses of authority and make the administration perform the better its true function of serving the public interests,—to these ends have the activities of the Liberal Party inside and outside the Legislative chambers been systematically directed, with, not complete it is true, but no small measure of success. It would have been greater if, as already stated, the first years of the new Government had unfortunately not also been a period of unprecedented financial stringency. The record of the public activities of members of the Liberal Party, marks an unmistakable advance along the path of self-government.

6. It certainly is not true that the Liberal Party is a body of indiscriminate supporters of the Government, as their political opponents sedulously misrepresent them to be. It exists with the single object of making organized efforts for the elevation of the political status of India and the amelioration of the social and economic condition of her people. The whole of the work of the Liberal members of the Legislatures, central and provincial, proclaims aloud that they are critics, not "cooperators" as the latter term is ironically used in some quarters. They have never betrayed the slightest hesitation in speaking their minds freely and plainly. *Their guiding principle is to say and do not what pleases the Government but what justice and the interests of the country demand.* Whenever they have been driven to a choice between serving their country and pleasing a section of their countrymen whom they believe to be misguided, they have unhesitatingly elected the former and higher course even at the cost of deliberate misrepresentation by extremist writers and speakers. They have worked the present Reforms and will continue to do so. But the experience that has been acquired during the last two years and a half, has demonstrated the correctness of all the suggestions and criticisms they made in the years 1918 to 1920. They never said that the Reforms were all that they should be, and it is utterly untrue that only now as a result of disillusionment have they begun to point out defects in them. Today they are more than ever convinced of the imperative necessity of a substantial amendment of the Government of India Act in the near future, to ensure that Indian interests shall not be sacrificed or

subordinated to British or imperial purposes and that India shall be governed in the largest possible measure by Indians themselves in accordance with the will of their representative Legislatures.

7. The sacrifice of legitimate Indian interests in many of the dominions and colonies and the indignities to which the Indian settlers there are not infrequently subjected, against which not only the Legislative Assembly and Council of State but the whole country has strongly and constantly protested, further demand that every effort should be made to secure Dominion Status for India. The betrayal of India by his Majesty's Government in the recent Kenya "settlement" has forcibly brought home to every thinking and self-respecting Indian the humiliation of the present position of his Motherland and the necessity of a supreme effort to obtain for India rights similar to those of the dominions in order that India's interests may be effectively protected and India's honour vindicated.

8. It will thus be seen that the programme of the Indian Liberal Party is to strive by means of vigorous and sustained constitutional action, to secure at the earliest possible date

(1) the same status for India in her dealings with other members of the British Commonwealth as is accorded to the self-governing dominions ;

(2) the approximation as far as may be of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India to the relations that subsist between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the governments of the dominions, and the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;

(3) a reform of the constitution and functions of the Government of India, so as to make it responsible to the Legislative Assembly in all matters save foreign, political and military affairs, and including fiscal policy ;

[such acts as the recent "certification" of the Finance Bill doubling the salt tax against the will of the Legislative Assembly should no longer be possible ;]

(4) the abolition of Executive Councils in the provinces and the conversion of the whole of the Provincial Governments into Ministries responsible to the Legislatures ;

(5) the extinction of the provincial contributions to the Central Government ;

(6) a radical reform of Military policy such that Indians may get into their proper place in all the branches of the defensive organization of the country, and a substantial reduction of Military expenditure ;

(7) a rapid Indianization of the civil services and their control by the Government in India instead of by the Secretary of State, as an integral and indispensable part of the policy of responsible government for India ;

(8) the widest possible diffusion of education and a reform of the system so as to bring it into greater harmony with Indian conditions and requirements ;

(9) the adoption of measures for the uplift of all the backward classes, and specially the provision of extended educational facilities for their boys and girls ;

(10) legislation to bring land revenue policy under the control of the Legislature for the better protection of the legitimate interests of landholders, and for the amelioration of the condition of tenants ;

(5)

- (11) the improvement of agriculture and the development of the co-operative movement ;
- (12) the development of Indian industries ;
- (13) social legislation, and the welfare of labour ;
- (14) the complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions as well as services ;
- (15) the eradication of the drink evil.

5. On this programme the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India appeal to the country with confidence to return at the ensuing General Elections to the Legislative Assembly and the various Provincial Councils candidates put forward or supported by the Liberal Party's organizations in the several provinces.

For the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India,

C. Y. CHINTAMANI,
General Secretary.

The 23rd August 1923.

T. P. W. Benares.

are always found to maintain also connections of a very special and intimate nature in such matters as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency, etc., so that under this system of a Personal Union ample room could be found for most of the existing special claims of Britain upon India and of India upon Britain.

In this connection it is noteworthy that for the best part of a century this Personal Union actually applied to His Majesty's ancestors, who found themselves to be simultaneously King of Great Britain and of Hanover. Even to-day there exists still a precedent, viz. in the relationship of the British Crown to the Channel Islands. George V reigns in Jersey not as King of England, but as Duke of Normandy; and not through the fact of a "Union" of the two countries, as that existing, e.g., between England and Scotland, which have become one "United" Kingdom, or that between that Kingdom and the "Overseas Dominions", which have become one "Empire". The only contact between the British Empire and the old Duchy of Normandy (of which the Channel Islands are the last remnant) is that of a Personal Union through the Crown.

Under a special Union therefore the way would lie open for India to declare on the one hand her complete independence of the Empire and existence in her own right, whilst on the other maintaining a historic connection with Great Britain, the present attitude of whose people and whose traditional policy in the past alike are at variance both with the general attitude of the Dominions towards the pigmented races and with the Kenya decision of an ephemeral British Government.

The substitution of Personal Union for Empire Membership would seem to me to have great practical, no less than theoretical, importance, because it would at last accurately express actual facts and end at one stroke the false and increasingly difficult position in which Indian loyalty to the British connection has for so long found itself. And if all parties contesting the coming elections would adopt the plank of "Personal Union" instead of "Dominion Status" I feel sure that the legislatures so elected should have little difficulty, in the light of such clear principle, to work out the practical implications and to secure for India an international status commensurate alike with her size, her culture, and her aspirations.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

MALABAR LAND TENURES.

VI.—PRINCIPLES OF LAND REFORM.

IF the considerations adumbrated in the previous articles are even approximately true, it is obvious that legislative interference with the freedom of contract between the landlords and tenants in Malabar is not only justified but also urgent. What, however, is to be the nature and extent of such interference? Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan

Nair and Mr. Kotieth Krishnan have placed before the public their drafts for a tenancy law in Malabar. But before making any further reference to them, it would be advisable to consider certain general principles that influence agrarian reform, even at the risk of being platitudinous.

Conservation of Rights of Property in Land. Rights of private property have grown up in land and it would be inadvisable to disturb well-established rights of people, simply with a view to correct ancient mistakes. Even if it were proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the Kanamdars were co-proprietors with the Janmis before the British occupation of Malabar, it would be sheer pedantic absurdity to change the law now, when it has been current for over a century, if the change were advocated solely to restore the old order. The necessary momentum for the change must be supplied by the economic and social incidents and consequences of the current law. Ancient rights and traditions can only point the path of least resistance and of popular acceptance of the change proposed. It is, however, desirable that there should be *minimum* interference with existing well-established rights, consistently with the attainment of the object aimed at by the proposed change. Doctrinaire changes may alienate the very people for whose benefit they are meant.

Social Justice.—At the same time sufficient consideration should be shown to the claims of social justice in the *distribution* of agricultural income among the different parties whose co-operation makes the land productive. The agricultural labourer must be secured a fair living wage, the enterprising cultivator who takes the risks of cultivation must be assured the fruits of his labour, the land owner his legitimate rent and the Government adequate resources to carry on its functions efficiently. All legal and economic barriers to such equitable distribution, however sanctified by age and legal authority, must be removed.

Increased Production.—Land is an instrument of production and agriculture a basic industry. Anything that impairs the stimulus to increased production must unhesitatingly be discouraged even though such a course may clash with vested interests. Inasmuch as the conditions of tenancy have an influence on production, a tenancy law should move in the direction of providing facilities and stimuli for increased production.

A Comprehensive Policy to Precede Tenancy Reform.—There is reason to believe that in the past land legislation in India was dominated much too much, if not solely, by legal considerations of *property rights*, customary, prescriptive or other. It was almost entirely a matter for jurists. Land was just property and no more. Rarely, if ever, was room found for the social worker or agricultural expert in deciding questions of tenancy legislation. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that tenancy legislation must concern itself not only with determining legal rights of rival claim-

ants to property, but also with securing equity in the distribution of agricultural income and increased production as well. The problem of the efficient use of land involves an enlightened agricultural policy, which must take in other problems, such as the general education and habits of the cultivators, supply of cheap capital and technical advice, economic and consolidated holdings, etc., besides social justice in the distribution of agricultural incomes as between the Government, the landowner, the cultivator and the agricultural labourer. It is to be hoped that the Government and the people will realise the important bearing of a comprehensive agricultural policy on tenancy reform. It may not be an irrelevant digression here to suggest that the Madras Government and the other provincial Governments as well should immediately appoint an expert Committee to recommend the main lines of an agricultural policy for the provinces. The Committee can only indicate the *direction* and *nature* of reform and the goal to which all such reform should move. It would be for the local Governments, when they have occasion to legislate, to determine how far and how soon it is practicable to take steps towards the consummation. This is not an extravagant suggestion to make. Quite a number of Committees have been appointed in the last few years to consider questions which certainly do not affect anything like the number of people affected by agriculture, the largest and the most important industry in India: further, in many provinces the problem of tenancy reform is coming up again for consideration. The Estates Land Act of Madras is said to be under consideration for revision. There are tenancy bills pending in Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar. And with the rapid growth of political consciousness among the masses, there is likely to be in the near future a larger and a wider demand for agrarian reform all over India. Should the reform in each province be a temporary patchwork of the conflicting claims of property in land, with no clear vision towards which each successive step in land reform should lead? It is not suggested that any uniform or immediate inauguration of an agricultural policy is possible in India to-day. All that is suggested is that the Governments provide themselves with such programmes even as they provide themselves with programmes of public works against famines and even as the Universities have been provided with the Sadler Committee report.

P. KODANDA RAO.

IS THIS THE TIME TO BUILD MORE RAILWAYS?

II.

THE fourth ground of objection to spend State monies on building new lines of railway in present circumstances is that it is unwise to build new lines, however remunerative, when the price of money, the price of labour and the price of stores

are all yet so high and thereby to saddle the lines permanently with heavy capital cost and heavy recurring charges on account of interest. The same objection *prima facie* should apply also to capital expenditure on existing lines; but in the matter of rehabilitating these lines there is no choice and the objection has therefore to give way to public convenience. Even in regard to such of the existing lines as are at present unremunerative further capital expenditure has been recommended by the committee to be postponed until they begin to yield an adequate return on the capital already invested. Similarly all the State railways taken together being on the whole unremunerative at present, any further capital expenditure which it would be necessary to incur in building new lines must also be postponed at least until the railways as a whole have been restored to due solvency. The only merit of borrowing large sums of money in excess of what is actually required for open lines by pledging our full credit and then spending the excess on constructing new lines is that it will give additional relief to the unemployed in the countries from whom we will have to buy our materials and will secure a proportionately enlarged market to the countries on whom we are dependent for our supplies of materials which we shall constantly require for the working of those railways and for their maintenance, repairs and renewals; but railways are *ex hypothesi* a commercial and not a philanthropic undertaking and it is therefore impossible to take that factor into consideration. It is no doubt possible to justify the proposal to spend on new lines on the specious theory of 'the long view', but there are times when the longest view is the shortest view and the present is obviously such a time.

The fifth ground is that it is unbusinesslike to bring new lines into existence since, as pointed out by Mr. Hindley, now Chief Commissioner for Indian Railways, "there is no object in constructing further extensions when the main lines are incapable of carrying the existing traffic offering, and, until the capacity of the present lines have been brought up to requirements", as such extensions would only bring in additional traffic and hamper the already overloaded main line routes. (Reply to question No. 18 at page 70 of Vol. IV of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21.) In defiance of this obvious consideration Government have, during a long term of years, been following the practice of spending money on new lines of railway to the comparative neglect of the needs, or gradual starvation, of lines already opened. The process was bound sooner or later to result in a state of affairs where the accumulation of arrears on open lines would make it impossible to overtake them within a reasonable period of time. The war has only accentuated the accumulation of arrears and not created it. The creative cause had been there long before the war. As a result of the inquiries made during the closing years of the last nineties it was found that for

many years expenditure on open lines was restricted to permit of the construction of new lines; meanwhile the old lines had outgrown the facilities with which they were provided. It was therefore decided in 1900 that open lines should have the first claim on the amount of money available for railway capital expenditure, railways already under construction coming next, and lastly entirely new projects. (Paragraph 92 of the "Report on the Administration and Working of Indian Railways" by the late Sir Thomas Robertson.) The one complaint during the 21 years succeeding the date of this decision has been that the funds that could be made available for railway capital expenditure were wholly insufficient whether for open lines or new lines, and yet as will be seen from the distribution given below, out of the total expenditure during that period of about Rs. 265 crores, the expenditure booked as against new lines amounts to no less than Rs. 65 crores, the balance of Rs. 200 representing what is supposed to be spent on open line improvement.

[IN CRORES OF RUPEES.]

Year ending 31st March.	Open Lines.			New Lines.	Grand Total.
	Rolling stock.	Other heads.	Total.		
1902	Information not available.		3.52	5.35	8.87
1903			4.82	5.24	10.06
1904			5.59	3.98	9.57
1905			5.03	5.75	10.78
1906			7.68	5.82	13.50
1907	3.83	5.09	8.92	5.56	14.48
1908	6.03	4.96	10.99	4.51	15.50
1909	6.66	6.25	12.91	2.19	15.10
1910	6.25	2.60	8.85	3.75	12.60
1911	3.00	4.50	7.50	3.67	11.17
1912	3.21	4.38	7.59	4.28	11.87
1913	3.71	6.99	10.70	4.14	14.84
1914	7.31	9.29	16.60	1.86	18.46
1915	9.08	6.72	15.80	1.35	17.15
1916	4.06	1.74	5.80	0.94	6.74
1917	0.72	1.14	1.86	1.11	2.97
1918	0.90	1.49	2.39	1.40	3.79
1919	0.71	5.02	5.73	0.51	6.24
1920	4.56	8.72	13.28	0.21	13.49
1921	10.15	12.91	23.06	1.02	24.08
1922	10.04	11.28	21.32	2.11	23.43
Total	99.94	64.75	264.69

The figure of Rs. 200 crores, however, exaggerates the real extent of the actual additions or improvements made to open line facilities, since it includes extraneous items such as the cost amounting to Rs. 23½ crores of stores purchased and held in stock, the cost of rolling stock provided by Government for non-State lines and new State lines (column 10 of appendix 4 to the Railway Administration Report for 1921-22), etc. It is safe to estimate the total amount of these extraneous items at Rs. 50 crores. It amounts to this, therefore, that although Rs. 265 crores were available, all that was spent on open line improvement was only Rs. 150 crores, while no less than Rs. 115 crores were spent for purposes not only unconnect-

ed with but detrimental to open lines, representing the measure of the infraction by Government of the policy once decided upon by themselves. Railroad extension has always exercised an almost irresistible fascination on our rulers. It is only natural that they should have had the support of the European commercial and monied classes in the policy of building more railways and yet more railways. But recently they have discovered another supporter in that "patriotic Indian who is anxious to see the advantages of railway communication extended to all parts of the country." (Paragraph 84 of the Railway Administration Report for 1921-22.) We cannot conceive of any patriotic Indian, however, who will advocate persistence in adding new lines of railway and multiplying and further accentuating the inconveniences and discomforts his countrymen suffer pending the arrival of that happy but indefinite moment when our existing railways will have come up to a reasonable standard of convenience and comfort.

The sixth ground is that it is inadvisable from the public point of view for the Government to commit themselves to a policy of further railroad extensions in present circumstances and impose it on the new machinery, viz., Railway Commission to be created. The old machinery, viz., Railway Board, has, after a period of 18 years, been found to be inefficient. The result of the enquiry made by the Indian Retrenchment Committee has shown that under the traditions set up by the machinery now to be overhauled the existing scale of working expenses is considerably in excess of what is essential for the safe and efficient working of the lines; permanent way is being renewed 15 to 20 years before its time; more expensive engines are being ordered out in increasing numbers, in the face of a large surplusage already on the lines, to replace existing ones quite capable of giving further service; unnecessary and ever increasing additions are being made to the stock of wagons, while the provision of sufficient coaching stock is being neglected; losses by way of compensation for goods lost or damaged are increasing unchecked; huge stocks of stores are accumulating in the warehouses, involving expenditure on the establishments engaged in maintaining them, the buildings for their accommodation and the inevitable loss from depreciation. We shall not add to the list by reference to the report of the Acworth Committee. The legacy which the new machinery will be called upon to take over is heavy enough in all conscience to tax and absorb for a long time to come all the energies of the most efficient machinery that can be devised. The new machinery is still to come into existence. No one can say how it is going to work. It may prove a success or it may not. Meanwhile public confidence has been rudely shaken and will have to be restored; and this will depend on how far the new organisation will succeed in solving the immediately pressing and difficult problem of