

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

*Vae Victis!* THE fifth anniversary of the day on which Germany was tricked into an Armistice was "celebrated" last Sunday. That the Allied and Associated Powers were not waging war on the German people, but on the German Government; that they were ready and anxious to receive a German democracy, liberated from the yoke of Prussian militarism, into the comity of a world made safe for democracy: all these solemnly reiterated assurances of Mr. Wilson as spokesman of the Allies had borne fruit. The German people rose, drove out their Hohenzollerns and other Princes and by a bloodless revolution put in the most democratic government in Europe, with the one instruction of ending the war on Mr. Wilson's terms. Thus was concluded the Armistice of November 11th, 1918: but it would be waste of words to-day to repeat that, once Germany was defenceless, every one of the promises, on the strength of which she had rendered herself defenceless, was subsequently set at naught. After the war on the German Government came the war on the German people: first by means of the blockade which mowed down the old and the weak, the women and the children; and then by the whole policy of indefinite "Reparations". Every humiliation, to which a Government can be put by foreign conquerors, was inflicted on the new Government of the German Republic: and the surprise is not, that there should be Germans who blame the Republic for all their ills, but that the bulk of the people should still be so resolutely attached to the Republic, as their only possible hope for political continuity. Yet such is the fact, and the utter failure of the Separatists' movement in

the Rhineland and the ease with which Monarchist "putsches"—from the Kapp putsch three years ago to the Hitler putsch of to-day—are put down, are proof that the great mass of German people still retain their political commonsense: for all that and all that.

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THEUS Germany's "dissolution" seems rather slow in coming and Germany, so far from being a mere geographical term, shows still a force of cohesion which few people had expected. Amongst these latter however, it is clear that the French Foreign Office could never have been counted. For French policy has never since the Armistice been in the direction of detaching any one part of Germany and making friends with it. For instance, Bavaria has never been told that France was ready to forgive and to forget, and that if only Bavaria came out of the *Reich* and let the wicked Prussians stew in their own juice, all would be well for her as one more of France's client states. France's attitude to the Rhineland "Separatists" does really not contradict this general judgment on French policy: for the "Separatists" have never yet been promised definitely by France any tangible advantage for the "Rhine Republic", if ever it came about. Neither by way of Reparations, nor of military occupation and the cost thereof, nor of political liberties has France held out the hint of a hope to the people whom Messrs. Smuts, Dorten and Matthes are supposed to lead. These three men have been paid, perhaps liberally, by France to stir up trouble: but France has never even tried to disguise that she is not in the least interested in Rhine Republics, but has only one object in view: to create trouble and, if possible, chaos in Germany, so as to prevent Germany from regaining her strength. Only thus can one understand, why France should suddenly avow herself so concerned about the growth of royalism in Germany, when only the other day it was proved in a *cause célèbre* at Munich that a highly placed French staff officer had subsidized the Bavarian Monarchists to the tune of several millions of francs. France is ready to subsidize anybody and any party in Germany, which promises to bring about civil commotion: perhaps even she would not hesitate to pay *agents provocateurs*, so that, on an instigated "war of revenge" breaking out, the French Army could be ordered to "nip it in the bud." And it is just like

the imbecillity of these German Junkers, Antisemites and reactionaries in general, to play into France's hands.

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**The Bombay Elections.**

AT the last elections in Bombay Presidency the Liberal Party has been completely effaced (so far as the results are known). Even in the old Council there were not more than ten who officially belonged to the Liberal Party, though many more were loosely described as Liberals for no other reason than that they were opposed to non-cooperation, which constituted at that time the distinguishing mark of politicians. Most of these have now lost their seats either to Independents or Swarajists. The Independents still form a large group, indeed larger than any other. Of the 60 seats, the result of whose election is so far known, some 30 have gone to the Independents whose political faith is uncertain and 20 to the Swarajists. It will be a mistake, however, to suppose that all the Swarajists are inspired by the same political ambitions; if there are a few wreckers among them, undoubtedly there are several who are opposed to that policy. The fact, that the great majority of the members returned are unwilling to put any label upon themselves and that those who are known by the same label still represent divergent policies, constitutes the gravest difficulty in Indian politics at the present time. To form a Ministry, animated by the same ideals, out of such nondescript elements, is a task which we do not envy the Government or members. But experience shows that the Ministry must be homogeneous and must recognise corporate responsibility. We would, therefore, advise the Governor, who we suppose will leave instructions behind for the guidance of his successor, that he will, as in Madras, invite a man who seems most to enjoy the confidence of the Council to select his colleagues and form a Ministry.

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**Composition of the Ministry.** THE Swarajists have won some notable successes. They are of course in a minority, but they still form the largest single group in the Council. If they were free to accept office, their claim to the formation of a Ministry would be irresistible. But they are precluded by specific pledges from assuming the responsibility of office. It is not improbable, however, that some of them may adjust the principles of their party to the conditions in which they find themselves. Their love of constructive work will perhaps outweigh their scruple to set aside a pledge which they never took willingly. In case, however, they refuse to bear the responsibility which is the inevitable concomitant of their numerical strength in the Council, their only utility will consist in forming a strong Opposition. If their opposition does not degenerate into indiscriminate obstruction, we would welcome their entry into the Council,

though we would like it better that they should supply their quota to the executive. The non-Brahmans will very likely form a cohesive group, and they also must in fairness be called to office. If here we have a Chief Minister, as in Madras, he will hardly neglect to include a non-Brahman representative in his Cabinet. Of the Liberals we would say that their complete failure at the elections will help them to build up solid strength in the country, if only they play their cards well. There is need for their progressivism in social and political affairs to be represented in the councils of the province, and if their point of view does not find representation in the Legislature, it only means that the Liberals must put forward a greater effort in the country to rally their strength. Nothing is more conducive to the building up of the strength of a Party than to be in a small minority.

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IN the course of an interview on Mr. Sastri's Visit to S. Africa, Dr. Sapru's achievements in the Imperial Conference, Mr. Sastri incidentally explained why he did not visit South Africa as the Government of India's representative in 1920. He said:—

Lord Chelmsford's Government had proposed in 1920 that I should proceed along with Sir Benjamin Robertson to watch the Indian case before the Solomon Commission of Enquiry, which had just been appointed. The Government of General Smuts would at first have none of me, but as my name was pressed by our Government, they stipulated that I should be warned that I would be treated only as Sir Benjamin's social inferior. In answer to further enquiry, they explained that owing to the activity of the Anti-Asiatic League feeling against Indians was running high, that it might not be possible to find me suitable hotel accommodation, that I might be subjected to indignities and that if I accepted social inferiority from the start I should have no right afterwards to complain of unequal treatment.

Our Government protested against this extraordinary proposal and succeeded finally in getting my name accepted, but not without an expression of regret on the part of the Union Government that owing to my association it would not be possible to extend to Sir Benjamin Robertson all the courtesies and hospitalities to which the representative of the Government of India was entitled. I was by no means eager to drag down Sir Benjamin to the black man's level, nor did I consider it wise for one who was to plead for the equality of his countrymen with other subjects of His Majesty to begin by admitting his own inferiority.

In the end, I felt constrained to decline in the circumstances to proceed to South Africa as the Government's representative. My decision at that time brought hard words on me from critics in India and several expressions of natural disappointment from our countrymen in South Africa, but the entire correspondence between the two Governments had unfortunately been by means of secret cables which I could not then divulge for exculpating myself. What however, was my surprise, when General Smuts disclaimed responsibility for it in 1922? How could a constitutional Governor-General, I wondered, purporting to speak on behalf of the Government of the Union, have raised a tremendous difficulty of that kind without the knowledge of his Prime Minister? I tried to probe the matter further, but succeeded only in discovering that there were other things than the partition of Bengal of which no one was desirous of accepting paternity.

## DR. SAPRU AT THE CONFERENCE.

It is difficult for me to express adequately my admiration for the heroic struggle which Dr. Sapru made at the Imperial Conference under conditions which must have been little less than a prolonged physical agony on account of nervous strain and exhaustion. It may not be fully known that he had suffered only a few days before from ptomaine poisoning and that his strength at the Conference itself could only be kept up by the doctors through the medicinal use of a stimulating drug which carried him through the ordeal. In such a condition to face General Smuts and to answer on the spur of the moment any new position that might be sprung upon him was a thing to try the strongest nerves. But he got through the ordeal with wonderful ability and success. For the first time, complete publicity was given to the Indian case; and it could hardly have been better stated. Both in his opening speech and his concluding remarks, the substance and the tone, the matter and the manner, were admirable. They shone in contrast with the fulsome and vulgar flattery which followed from the lips of the Maharajah of Alwar. This snobbery General Smuts at once seized upon with gusto and relish as an antidote to the hard plain facts which Dr. Sapru had brought before the Conference. If the Maharajah had had the imagination to realise what his own fellow-countrymen are suffering in Kenya and South Africa he would have been more restrained in his protestations of brotherly friendship and affection for the South African Premier, who more than any other single man has had it in his power to put an end to those sufferings, *and has not done so*. If again the Maharajah himself were to go under an assumed name to South Africa (in the same way as the Prince of Wales went recently to Canada) his first experience would be, to find himself refused a landing at the port of entry. Then if he were able,—through various bonds and securities, —to persuade the custom authorities, that he was a casual visitor only, and not in any way desirous of being resident, his second humiliating experience would be, to find himself roughly huddled by the European Guard into a crowded railway compartment at the back of the train (marked "for non-Europeans") which might at any time of the day or night be overflowing with 'coloured' people, including himself. If he went to the restaurant car on the train, he would not be served in the same compartment with Europeans; and if he went to a hotel, he would be turned out very quickly indeed. Such a salutary experience, every single detail of which I know full well from personal knowledge (while travelling with Indians) will soon teach him the value of his friend General Smuts' "somewhat outrageous" statement (to quote the General's own phrase about Mr. Srinivasa Sastri) when he said that

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"Indians in Natal suffer from no other disability except the lack of the political franchise." I doubt very much, if, after a week of such experience, the Maharajah would have had the heart to recite that wretched doggerel of his peroration :

Aye let's sail the ship together  
Through storm and stress of weather,  
Onward, ever onward, to the dawn.

But to turn back from this vulgarity, which must have made every true Indian patriot blush with shame, to the solid achievement of Dr. Sapru, I feel that he has accomplished three objects :

- (i) He has made India respected (as Mr. Sastri did before him) in the Colonies and Dominions.
- (ii) He has given world-wide publicity to the Indian claim for justice.
- (iii) He has opened a door by means of which many wrongs, from which Indians abroad suffer may be righted.

If I am asked the further question, whether he has found the key to unlock the Kenya wrong, I am not at all certain. I should answer now distinctly in the negative. But I should like to be on the spot, in England, before answering it dogmatically; and it is now almost decided, that I shall be going there very soon, in order to find out. For this one issue is perhaps the greatest that faces the world to-day, greater even than the tremendous issue of the treatment of the Germans in the Ruhr. For that after all is a local question, but the 'colour line' is a world-wide consideration.

If I am asked further, "Has the colour bar been removed in the least degree in Africa by this Imperial Conference discussion?" I am obliged to answer, "No! Not in the very least degree."

It will mean in Africa a hardening of hearts, an inflaming of passions, an arrogant determination never to yield an inch. That is how I read General Smuts' speech and all the speeches which have come from South Africa and Kenya of late.

C. F. ANDREWS.

### HOW BRITAIN ACQUIRED KENYA.\*

OVER the Sultans of Zanzibar who then owned the whole East Coast of Africa, England since the early eighties had acquired a considerable influence. Her desire to suppress the traffic in slaves which the French, Spanish, Portuguese and American ships carried on from Zanzibar brought her into special relations with the Sultans, who were induced by England's patrolling the waters of the East Coast to sign treaties prohibiting the export of slaves from their African territories. The hold which England had thus acquired over the Kings of Zanzibar in working in a righteous cause she did not scruple to use to her advantage in causes not so righteous. At this period the African Sultans were depicted in all European coun-

\* Taken mainly from L. Woolf's "Empire and Commerce in Africa."

tries as possessed by an irresistible passion for giving away their territory to whites, and we are told that in 1877, Sultan Barghash offered to Sir William Mackinnon (who five years before had started a regular mail steamer service between Zanzibar, Europe and India) "a concession under lease for seventy years of the customs and administration of the whole of the dominions of Zanzibar, including all rights of sovereignty, with certain reservations in respect of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba." But the British Government would not give Sir William the support he deemed necessary, and he therefore declined the Sultan's offer. In point of fact such an offer was never made, but it is true nevertheless that it would not have been difficult for England to obtain an offer of this kind at any time between 1870 and 1880, and the British Government could straightaway have declared, if she had so chosen, a protectorate over the greater part of the East Coast of Africa, without encountering serious opposition from any quarter.

If the British Government did restrain English capitalists in 1877 from acquiring rights of sovereignty, they thought better of it in 1884, when the German capitalists forestalled their English brethren and Dr. Karl Peters led, under the auspices of a commercial corporation "Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation", an expedition into the southern portion of the East Coast with the object of obtaining concessions and entered into treaties with a dozen African rulers giving to Peters and to Germany sovereignty over Useghu, Usagara, Ngura, and Ukami. The German Government recognised these treaties and granted a Charter of Protection to the German Company, which meant virtually the declaration of a "protectorate" over this tract of country. The Sultan protested, but the protest was disregarded. The British Government also favoured this enterprise of Germany, provided, however, that British capitalists were also given a similar opportunity to obtain commercial concessions and political sovereignty. They declared themselves satisfied "that there was no intention on the part of Germany to do anything against the independence of Zanzibar." There was, however, some doubt as to the extent of the Sultan's possessions on the mainland: the British Government were favourable to the German colonization, but—and this was the significant passage—there was a scheme "of some prominent British capitalists . . . for a British settlement in the country between the coast and the lakes." England agreed to urge no objection to the German aggression, seeing that, by allowing Germany a free hand, she could feather her own nest. In order however to avert any conflict between these two aggressors, the British Government proposed, and the German accepted, the appointment of a Delimitation Commission, to define the territory of the Sultan, and incidentally of Germany and Britain. The "prominent British capitalists" to whom the British Government referred in their reply to the German Government were the British East African Asso-

ciation, which had been immediately formed in London when the news of the operations of the Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation became known to British imperialist circles. This Association was soon turned into the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the British Government too granted a Charter to the English capitalists and handed the East African territories over to them for administration and exploitation.

The British and German Governments put forward claims to various stretches of territory and the Commission adjudicated between them and found that the Sultan had sovereign rights over the island of Zanzibar and Pemba and also upon the mainland over territory extending inland to a maximum depth of ten miles. The two Powers then divided the territory on the mainland into two "spheres of influence," the southern which came afterwards to be called German East Africa, being assigned to Germany, and the northern, afterwards British East Africa, to Britain. The Governmental Agreements settled the question of sovereignty, but sovereignty by itself was not worth much unless it was followed by certain "concessions." These concessions were only granted by the Sultan, one to the British East Africa Company on May 24, 1887, and the other to the German East African Company on April 28, 1888. They are almost word for word the same. The Sultan made over for a period of fifty years "all the power which he possesses on the mainland" and "in all his territories and dependencies" within the German sphere of influence to the German Company and within the British sphere to the British Company. The two Companies were in fact given the right to partition among themselves the sovereignty which the Governments' Agreements had recognised as belonging to the Sultan over the coast-line to a depth of ten miles inland. A monopoly of the right to purchase public lands, of regulating trade, navigation, and fisheries, of making roads, railways, and canals; the right to levy taxes on the inhabitants, establish customs-houses, to levy dues; an exclusive privilege to work mines and to issue notes—all these were included in the Sultan's concession. For all the concessions taken together the Companies each agreed to allot to the Sultan one Founder's Share in the Company (or its equivalent in the case of the German Company) which entitled him to 10 per cent. of the net profits of the Company after payment of a dividend upon the Ordinary Shares at the rate of 8 per cent. As the Ordinary Shares of both Companies never paid 8 per cent., the Sultan never received a farthing for any of these valuable concessions.

This action of the British as well as of the German Government can only be styled flagrant international robbery. But these Governments were not satisfied with robbing the Sultan of his hinterland. They knew that the Companies, who never had any intention of occupying the vast territory handed over to them or of setting up any

system of good government, could make nothing of this stretch of country, enclosed upon one side by the unknown and impassable forests of Central Africa, and on the other by a ten-mile strip of territory shutting it off completely from the sea. If the Sultan simply imposed a tariff in this tract, all the extensive acquisitions of Germany and Britain in the hinterland would be valueless. Consequently though the Anglo-German Treaty recognised the sovereign rights of Zanzibar over the ten-mile strip of coast, it was an integral part of the bargain and arrangement that the Sultan should be deprived, in favour of the German and British Companies, of his sovereignty not over the hinterland, but also over the strip of coast land. Hence the concessions to the German and British Companies. By those concessions the Sultan made over to the groups of British and German capitalists the whole of his sovereign rights upon the coast. When the Sultan of Zanzibar had signed the two Agreements handing over the different rights and monopolies to the Companies, he had been effectively stripped of every sovereign right and every inch of territory upon the mainland of Africa. In twenty-four hours the Sultan's Kingdom had shrunk and dwindled to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The Companies however experienced no little difficulty in making their possession effective. The whole coast burst into a flame of rebellion against European authority, and force had to be used in subjugating the people. But even after peace was restored no attempt was ever made to set up an administration and to undertake the commercial development of the enormous property which had been acquired. Five years after the acquisition of territory, a special commission was sent out, which reported adversely on the British Company's dealings. As a result of which, the Company had to resign its Royal Charter and its ownership of all territory in Africa.

#### EDUCATION IN AFRICA.—I.\*

THE report before us owes its origin mainly to the growing desire on the part of various missionary societies in America, carrying on work in Africa, to have definite data regarding educational conditions in that vast continent with a view to making their efforts on the educational side more effective than in the past. Indeed, the controlling authorities of some of the missions had begun to feel that further extension of their educational work could not be thought of unless they had before them the results of a thorough survey of existing conditions. This feeling was accentuated at the close of the Great War by the provision of mandates for backward peoples under the League of Nations, which "drew the attention of publicists in Europe and America

to the vital importance of adopting wise educational policies in Africa that would tend to prevent inter-racial friction, and fit the natives to meet the actual needs of life". The work of conducting a survey of educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa was finally undertaken by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, with the help and co-operation, not only of the representative missionary societies of America, but also of those of Great Britain. The co-operation of the European Governments in control of African territory was also secured as one of the essential requisites of a successful investigation.

Great care was taken in the selection of the personnel of the Commission which was to carry on the work of investigation for one year in Africa and make its results available to the missionary societies concerned in the undertaking. The leadership of the Commission which consisted of seven members was entrusted to Dr. Jones whose life-long interest in the welfare of the coloured people in America, and eminent services in connection with the study of the problems of Negro education in America singled him out as the person most fitted to direct and guide the work of the Commission. That the point of view of the African Native may not remain unrepresented, the Commission wisely included in it Mr. Aggrey, an educated Native of the Gold Coast, "whose humour, sanity, eloquence and knowledge of Native psychology, thorough training in education and sociology and high Christian purpose, all proved assets of great importance in dealing wisely and constructively with the complicated problems due to racial differences."

The specific objects directed to the notice of the Commission were (i) to inquire into the educational work done at present in each area, (ii) to investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions, (iii) to ascertain to what extent these needs are being met, and (iv) to assist in the formation of plans designed to meet the educational needs of the Native races, making adequate use of the Native resources and providing for the present and prospective demands of the country itself.

The Commission travelled during a period of about eight months over more than 20,000 miles by land and sea, visited numerous schools and institutions, held various conferences with the officials of different governments and delivered numerous addresses on the problems of Negro education.

The above general outline of the origin, scope and work of the Commission whose investigations are embodied in the report under review is given here with a view to impress upon the mind of the reader the extent and magnitude of the task undertaken by the Commission, the breadth of outlook and the sincerity of purpose manifested in its inception and the thorough-going earnestness with which it was attempted. These things,

\* Education in Africa: A study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission. Being a Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission and published by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York.

apart from the results of the investigations contained in the report which the Indian reader will find to be possessed of peculiar interest and significance, hold out to us a lesson of their own, which we may well take to heart and ponder over. The rich and religiously-minded section of the people of one country, prompted primarily by deep human sympathy, and undismayed by the sight of acute racial hatred in their midst, seriously interest themselves in the future well-being, not of a small community or communities but of the hundreds of millions of ignorant, uncivilised inhabitants of a whole continent, as widely separated from them as the poles of the earth in racial characteristics and modes and ideals of living and thinking and voluntarily take upon themselves the task of aiding in their uplift by sending out workers who will brave the hardest climes and persist in the face of the most trying circumstances, and by equipping them with all the necessary requisites of their task. This marvellous fact in itself ought to present to our minds a striking contrast between the demand for similar work to be done by ourselves in our own country, and the comparatively insignificant efforts put forth by us, with small actual achievement to their credit. It is true that the welcome accorded to the missionary in the lands he visits is not unmixed with a feeling of distrust and suspicion and that his Christian labours are but too often the precursors of the un-Christian activities of the unscrupulous trader, the tyrannical settler, and the scheming imperialist of his country. But, in spite of all it is hard not to recognise the purity and loftiness of purpose, that animates the fountain spring of benevolent liberality, feeding the countless streams of missionary work in different parts of the world, not by impulsive, uncertain floods, but by regular, well-directed supplies.

Indeed the missionary himself has not failed to perceive the harm done to his cause by the unthinking greed of commercial concerns. As the report says in one place, "The old relationship of merchants and missionaries was too frequently that of indifference, disapproval, suspicion or hostility. . . . As one wise missionary said, 'there is enough difference in manner of life' to account for much of the divergence between them. But the time has come when both merchants and missionaries should try to understand one another so that they may develop a helpful co-operation for the improvement of the native people. It is generally recognised that sound business principles require that the people among whom trade is transacted shall be given every opportunity to develop in every possible way. It is equally sound in missionary effort to insist that commerce and industry shall be encouraged by every means." With regard to the attitude of the commercial concerns the report observes, "it seems certain that these concerns have not recognised their responsibilities either in the nature or scope of their activities. In a conference with the Freetown Chamber of Commerce

it was brought out clearly that there was not a sufficient recognition of the value of education in the agricultural, commercial and industrial development of the country. The chief educational interest of the members seemed to be the preparation of clerks for their offices. Many of them seemed to have come from England, France, and other European countries to accumulate money and to return home to enjoy life. The home offices are beginning to realise that their permanent and real success in Africa demands that the Native shall be educated for economic production and citizenship, including the essentials of character."

In its survey of educational possibilities, the report tries in the first place to dispel many a misconception that has long hampered the efforts for development of the African people. It protests against the too common tendency of African travellers to depict Africa as "the Dark Continent" and give dramatic accounts of a wild country and a savage people. It states that even with the limited information available to the Commission, they found sufficient evidence of potential wealth to convince the most sceptical that Africa was the undeveloped treasure house of the world, rich equally in mineral deposits, forest and agricultural possibilities, variety of animal life and beauty of natural resources. Next with regard to the prevailing misconception as regards the unhealthy character of the continent too often described as "the white man's grave," the report points out that in evaluating the healthfulness of Africa we must differentiate the extensive plateaus which are sufficiently high and well drained to assure favourable climatic conditions even in torrid regions from the low-lying areas of the tropical zones and that even in these lower levels it is not only possible to control the preventable diseases but also to eliminate them from all the areas where they are now a menace. Finally the Commission deprecate the tendency to stamp the African races on biological grounds as disqualified for development by their inherent incapacity for it. They remark that an adequate study of the tribal customs and capacities of those who are still in barbaric and primitive stages is sure "to reveal the fact that the present condition of the masses of the African peoples is normal and comparable with other peoples at the same stage of development." In corroboration of this, they point to the handicrafts of the natives, their music, their forms of government, their linguistic powers, and "their capacity to respond to the wise approaches of civilisation so that they may share in the development of the African continent. Even in their brief tour the members observed goldsmiths, copper and iron workers, weavers of cotton and wool, and those skilled in pottery, leather, wood and ivory. There was evidence of considerable knowledge of agriculture, and even though the results are often crude, they are definite indications of native powers."

Having thus shown the extent of educational

possibilities in Africa and cleared the ground of misunderstandings and misconceived theories, the report proceeds to consider the adequacy of present educational facilities and their shortcomings. The Commission, after a careful survey came to the conclusion that the educational policies of governments and missions have been both inadequate and unreal so far as the vital needs of Africa are concerned. Then educational policies, they say, ought to be changed, for "civilization exhausted by the destruction of war and the confusion of an unsettled world, looks to Africa to help to replenish its resources. Whatever the significance of other incidents following the Great War, it is certain that the cry of 'self-determination' has emphasized the claims of groups hitherto largely disregarded. If the extreme demands of self-determination now threaten the peace and order of the world, the only safety is in the recognition of the brotherhood of humanity expressed in educational efforts that are both adequate and real. As nations are tested by their policies towards the handicapped groups within their borders, so it may be said that the continents of the world are now to be tried by their policies towards the continent of Africa."

Without questioning the sincerity and devotion of the missionaries, the report points out that the unreal character of the education is due to a defective conception of education itself while some look upon education as merely the imparting of information, others regard it as merely instruction in the Bible and understanding the spirit of Christianity. In the opinion of the Commission, education must be such that "its influence must make for improved health, effective industry, helpful recreation, sound character, and a spirit of service. Under this conception, the teaching of health is a religious duty, the cultivation of the soil is co-operation with God, and every other need of the individual and the group is a Christian responsibility."

The experiences of the Commission which confirmed them in this view will strike any Indian reader as being exactly those which they might have gone through, had they travelled on a tour of inspection through India, and one cannot but feel that the want of reality in education must, in India also, be attributed in a large measure to this want of adaptation. When visiting schools, the Commission followed the plan of getting from the pupils directly as much information as possible. Thus to ascertain where emphasis was laid in education, they asked the pupils to name the subjects they were taught. English (in the British Colonies) was named first, then rapidly, arithmetic and writing, more slowly, history, geography, singing and drill. It required patience (and even that was often of no avail) to discover whether hygiene, agriculture or nature study were taught. Asked what they wished to be when school-days were over, the vast majority 'plumped for clerks', a few wanted to be lawyers and still fewer doctors. Asked for the occupation of their fathers, there "came a perfect

chorus of "farmers." "Why" the Commission ask, "this contrast? Were their fathers not good men and useful to the community? Could they continue even to live if every one became clerks, lawyers and doctors, and none grew food?" When asked to sing the song they liked best, the chances were usually strong that the boys would sing "The British Grenadiers!" When pupils were particularly asked to sing a native song, the invariable result was a laugh through the whole class and even when the Commission declared their love for native music, the pupils hardly ever gave them a single African chant. "The investigation," says Mr. Wilkie, one of the members, "was driving the Commission to preach the doctrine of adaptation of education to the needs of the community".

V. B. NAIK.

### IS INDIA OVER-POPULATED. ?

BEFORE going into the statistics of the question it is necessary to clear the issue first by asking what is meant by those who assert that India is over-populated. As a rule they mean that we have got more hands than we could manage to keep in a state of efficiency. But here again the vagueness of the phrase 'efficiency' keeps the whole discussion in the sphere of cloudland. What is the standard of efficiency or 'standard of life' that we ought to apply in the case of India? If we apply the European standard, as defined by Prof. Marshall in his famous treatise, we might almost say that hardly one-fifth of the Indian population lives according to it and all over and above 6 crores or so is over-population. This would clearly be beyond the scope of the debaters on either side and would almost appear paradoxical. It is clear therefore that we must have in view the Indian 'standard of life'. If we can arrive at the meaning of the phrase, we can decide the question of over-population with reference to the facts of agricultural production and figures of income per head. Now taking only grain and cloth, the Indian standard works at 8 maunds per head per year and 10 yards of cloth at least. At the rate of five rupees a maund on an average and eight annas per yard of cloth this works at forty rupees for grain and five rupees for cloth. Now taking the estimated income per head, even according to the liberal estimate of the Curzon-Strachey school, at 40 Rs., there is a clear deficit of 5 rupees. The present population therefore cannot be maintained even according to the Indian standard after leaving out everything except the two items of bare necessities. If we add the other items, e. g., sugar, milk, house-room, amusements, then the yearly income is much more inadequate to keep the population in a state of efficiency. We have arrived at the above figures of grain and cloth by deciding on medical grounds what is necessary to maintain the body in a state of health. Anything below this would mean either semi-starvation or habitual low energy, and both would detract from national efficiency.

It would appear then that the phrase 'Indian standard of life' would mean as much food and cloth and other conventional luxuries which would keep the body and mind fit in an Indian climate, according to the Indian traditional way of living. The fitness of the mind would mean not only mental repose but a feeling of satisfaction and freedom from a feeling of privation. According to this meaning, there is a clear excess of population, as it is obvious, without going into statistics, that the present population is not maintained in a state of comfort suggested by this 'standard'.

Against this it is objected that if there is over-population we ought not to feel the scarcity of labour in agriculture and manufacture that we do feel by common consent. If men are not getting enough food and raiment labour ought to be obtained easily by employers who are willing to give enough of the daily necessities of life and a few luxuries to boot. But the 'problem' of domestic servants shows that this clearly is not the case.

The answer to this is given by Mr. Wattal in his brochure. A particular scarcity ought never to be relied on to prove general scarcity. If certain mills or certain employers do not get enough labourers, it may be due to the situation being too bad or because the wages offered might be less than what they would get in other mills or from other employers. Employment depends on so many factors that it would be wrong to draw any general inference as to over-population from the fact of unemployment in certain quarters unless an all-round unemployment is proved. Now certainly there is no all-round unemployment. The mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore are getting enough hands. Even in agriculture there is no absolute scarcity. Those who pay well get enough hands. Even in the case of the famous 'servant problem' it is a common experience that Europeans get servants more easily than Indians. In our opinion there is no general scarcity of labour in India.

Even a provincial scarcity may be remedied by immigration from other provinces. The case of Assam shows this clearly. There may be scarcity in Bombay, but men from C. P. would remove it. In fact such a scarcity is remedied gradually by inter-provincial migration.

Let us now look at the leading statistics relating to the problem. In India almost 50 p. c of both sexes are married; consequently the birth rate here is higher than in any European country except Russia. But the death-rate is also higher; the net increase then is smaller than in European countries. But the earning power of the country is very poor. The new population has not enough to live on for want of manufactures. There is over-population in the sense that the wealth per head does not keep up the same figure by a proportionate increase of total wealth. The remedy therefore would lie in utilizing the added hands in securing increased returns. Now this is

possible only in manufacture. If this is not possible then pressure is sure to be felt every decade more keenly than before. Unfortunately no attempt has been made recently to arrive at the figure of income per head in the light of facts of the last two decades. This is a great desideratum.

Absolutely the increase of population in India is not very marked. In England the birth-rate per mille is 24.4 with the death-rate is 15.15. Thus there is a net increase of 8.89 per mille. In Germany the birth-rate per mille is 32.31 while the death-rate is 18.39. Thus the net increase is 13.92 per mille. In India the birth-rate is 38.59, but the death-rate is 34.02. The net increase there is only 4.57. The German increase is three times that of India. Over-population however is not a question of absolute increase, but of 'population compared to the means of subsistence. Now according to the report on high prices issued by Mr. Dutt, the food production in India does not keep pace with the population.

It might be thought that over-population would cease to be felt if the export of food grains, especially wheat, is reduced to a nominal figure. The present export of wheat is about 20 crores. If this is stopped it would add a rupee worth or so of wheat to one man's share. But eight or ten seers added to the food-supply per head is hardly an appreciable palliative. We have referred to this because it is a very common notion that everything would be well if only the export is stopped. This is not the proper remedy as it would deprive us of the 20 crores worth of foreign goods which we get in exchange, and the loss of them would also mean a deterioration in efficiency unless they are pure luxuries.

In another article we will deal with the complicated question of agricultural and manufacturing production to see what light it throws on the problem of population.

V. N. GODBOLE.

### IMPROVEMENT *vs.* REHABILITATION OF RAILWAYS.

WHEN the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21 wrote its report, the position as it appeared to the Committee was that the railways were still directly remunerative. Not a doubt seems to have crossed its mind that the era of railway deficits was so near at hand, for in paragraphs 50 and 63 the report says :-

A Government as a Government always has before it many objects for which it would gladly spend money were the money available. No one will question that the expenditure of large sums on, for instance, sanitation and education would be greatly to the benefit of the people of India. Neither of these services are, however, directly remunerative. Their cost can only be met by taxation. The question for the Government is whether, especially having regard to the attitude of the taxpayer, the object is so essential and so urgent as to justify the imposition of new taxation. The railways are in an entirely different position. It is no question of new taxation. It is merely a question of allowing the railway undertaking to finance



its own requirements out of its own resources and at its own time. There has been no need for many years past to call upon the taxpayer to come to its assistance. On the contrary, year after year the railway revenues have been applied for his relief. Since the beginning of the present century the Finance Member has always budgeted for a considerable contribution from the railway net revenues towards the general expenses of government. Of recent years that contribution has been quite large. In his budget speech of March last the Finance Member complained that for the current year (1920-21) the contribution would be only Rs. 4 crores, which he said would not be sufficient.

A reference to the curve of net revenue given in the Administration Report on Railways in India (for 1919-20) will show that, though in the earlier years the interest on railway capital had to be met partly out of taxation, for the last 45 years the earnings of the capital invested in Indian Railways had never sunk below 4 per cent. For the last 20 years it has only three times sunk below 5 per cent., and this result was attained though a substantial sum had been charged against revenue for repayment of capital and in spite of the fact that a not inconsiderable part of the total mileage had been built not on commercial grounds but for strategic purposes.

That the railways were being managed on truly commercial or economic principles was tacitly assumed and taken as proven without enquiry or proof other than that they had been directly remunerative for some decades past; in fact the Committee's recommendation regarding complete fiscal autonomy for railways would have been impossible without this tacit assumption. Once this unduly optimistic assumption is made, it is perfectly intelligible that in so far as the working of the railways was concerned, the Committee should have laid the greatest emphasis on the mechanical deficiencies in equipment of the railways and the necessity for "putting the existing railway system into such a condition as to be able to handle with reasonable efficiency and despatch not the traffic of the future, but the traffic which at present is clamouring for accommodation that the railways cannot give." It is true that in paragraph 244 of its report the Committee says that even if the new money spent in equipping the railways with facilities for dealing with the traffic actually in sight did not pay for itself directly, we should think it incumbent upon the Government to spend it, and spend it forthwith. But it is clear that, in the opinion of the Committee, the contingency referred to was not a probability but a mere possibility. In any case it is impossible to suppose, without doing injustice to the Committee, that it advocated the mechanical rehabilitation and improvement proceeding at full speed in all directions even at the risk of the consequent heavy expenditure involving the Government in financial embarrassment or leading to increased taxation.

In the earlier portion of the article which appeared in the issue of September 20 it was shown how the uncontrolled rise in working expenses had been actually eating into the real profits of railways, until the years 1921-22 and 1922-23 in succession brought in actual heavy deficits in spite of the substantial enhancement in rates and

fares made in the latter year. The position then as it faced the Inchoape Committee was that the railway in which the State is financially interested had thus collectively come to a stage of unremunerativeness involving the State in serious financial difficulties. The programme of an all-round mechanical rehabilitation and improvement of the existing railways so as to make them fit not only to carry the traffic actually in sight as recommended by the Acworth Committee, but also to make them fit to carry the traffic of an undisclosed or unknown future already under execution spelt heavy demands on revenue funds for a number of years to come. Any further general increase in rates and fares was calculated to produce an effect detrimental to the trade of the country and was therefore not practicable. Nor was the country in a position to subsidise the railways.

Mechanical rehabilitation and improvement of the existing railways involved heavy expenditure in the present for the sake of some unknown or undefined ultimate economy, while immediate economic rehabilitation could only be brought about by curtailing present expenditure, although with the sure prospect of an even greater outlay later on. There is evidence in the report that the Committee knew of the existence of the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21 and also of its contents; in fact, Sir R. N. Mookerjee and the Hon. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas were members common to both the Committees. It is therefore inconceivable that the Indian Retrenchment Committee could not have appreciated the value and the force of the Acworth Committee's recommendation in regard to the importance of the mechanical rehabilitation and improvement of the railways being carried out as early as possible. As already stated, when the Acworth Committee made its report the railways were still prosperous and the need for their economic rehabilitation had not arisen. The position had completely changed by the time the Inchoape Committee met and the economic rehabilitation of the railways had established itself as the greatest need for the present. This being so, the question before the Committee was whether the 'axe' should descend with equal force on all the railways without discrimination, or whether lightly on those that were remunerative and comparatively heavily on those that were bringing in losses to the State; in other words, the question was whether ultimate economy should, in view of the straitened financial position of the State, be sacrificed to immediate economy in the case of all railways or only in the case of the losing ones. The Committee had no difficulty in deciding that the latter course was the wisest. The analysis made by the Committee in paragraph 8 of the financial results of the working of the ten selected railway systems shows that at least half of them are still remunerative and half have become losing concerns. The separation made out by the Committee in this paragraph

cannot be regarded as otherwise than very rough and tentative. Obviously it can be meant to be only suggestive or indicative of the lines along which retrenchment must be made. It is up to the railway administrators in charge of the different systems, who are there for the purpose, to follow up the lines, carry the process as far down as possible, separate further the losing from the remunerative branches or sections and see what can be done to curtail expenditure so as to make the system remunerative with due regard to the co-ordination of the requirements of the different parts of that system. It is up to the Railway Board which is the central administrative body in charge of all the systems to follow the same lines with regard to the different systems as the local administrators are expected to do with regard to the different parts of their own respective systems. The first step towards economic rehabilitation is to see that the ratio of gross revenue expenditure to gross earnings does not increase further, that is, that no further expenditure should be incurred which is not calculated to increase the net earnings sufficiently to cover the additional interest involved or necessary to maintain existing traffic; the second step is to see that the existing ratio is gradually lowered until it comes down to the point of yielding a prescribed minimum return on the capital invested, that is, that the scale of expenditure should, consistently of course with safe and reasonably efficient working, be reduced so as to make the remunerative lines more and more remunerative and the losing ones less and less unremunerative until they are converted into remunerative lines.

Working expenses consist of two main items: (1) ordinary expenditure and (2) "programme" expenditure. Ordinary expenditure includes salaries, coal and other consumable stores, day-to-day repairs and maintenance and is to a large extent subject to fluctuation from year to year in sympathy with the volume of traffic moved. A railway being designed and built to meet a certain specified volume of traffic there must be a certain minimum of ordinary expenditure below which it cannot be curtailed since, whatever the amount of traffic, railways have to be maintained as going concerns, in view of the immobilization of a large portion of the capital sunk in them; they have to be kept in a state of repair; a tolerably efficient and regular train service and staff must be maintained. The process of retrenchment can, therefore, be applied only to the difference, if any, between this minimum and the existing ordinary expenditure. It is on the basis of this difference that the attempt at economic rehabilitation must proceed in so far as ordinary expenditure is concerned and without reference to the remunerative or unremunerative character of any particular railway.

"Programme" expenditure represents special expenditure on renewals of bridges, ballast, rails,

sleepers, buildings, stationary engines and machinery, locomotive engines, coaching goods and other vehicles, etc., etc., with the addition of those of the same or an improved or stronger type. This expenditure is not subject to or dependent on the variation from year to year in proportion to the traffic carried. Portions of railway property which have become incapable of rendering further service must be renewed in spite of the smallness of traffic; occasionally items of railway property are renewed with others of improved design although the former are still physically capable of further service, but this is done in the interest of economic working or improved service and has no relation to the volume of traffic. It is, however, neither unusual nor infrequent for items to be renewed before they are due to be so renewed in the two contingencies mentioned by us, so as to fit the railways to carry the traffic which may offer in 15, 20 or even 30 years; this is probably being done in India under the quinquennial programme of Rs. 150 crores sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly, "in a fit of generosity," to quote the words of the Hon'ble Mr. V. G. Kale in his budget speech of March 7. In times of financial difficulty such as the present, the renewal of worn out items can be postponed where it is possible to render them useful for a substantially longer period by repairs or strengthening; renewal of items of out-of-date types can be postponed unconditionally; while renewal of items preparatory to fit the railways for improved and possibly economical movement of the traffic offering in 15, 20 or 30 years' time can also be postponed to a more favourable date. It is in respect of these renewals that it is possible and even necessary to discriminate between remunerative and unremunerative railways. The Inchcape Committee has recommended that such a discrimination should be made. What it has urged is that expenditure on railways which may be found to be unremunerative should be restricted to the requirements of the immediate future. It is of course not obligatory to spend to the maximum of remunerative railways as conveniently assumed by the Hon. Mr. Innes in his speech on March 13 when he attempted to belittle the recommendation of the Inchcape Committee regarding the necessity for discriminating between remunerative and unremunerative railways.

ECONOMY.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### SCALE OF SALARIES IN JAVA.

*Following upon the "Scale of Salaries in Japan," appearing in the issue of 1st November, we give below information, which we trust will be found interesting, relating to the scale of salaries in Java. The information is absolutely reliable but per-war, being taken from a "Report on the Fiscal Policy, &c., &c., of Netherlands East Indies" by the Hon. Staniforth Smith, Director of Agriculture in Papua—a publication of the Commonwealth of Australia, No. 120, 1914-15.*

Hollanders are allowed to join the Civil Service of Netherlands-India, between the ages of 20 and 25 years, provided they

pass an examination in Holland or Netherlands-India. This examination is open to all students who have graduated from a high school, thus ensuring that they possess a good general education. The examination is divided into two parts, a preliminary and a final, and includes such subjects as the history, geography, ethnology, laws and institutions of Netherlands-India. A knowledge of the Malay and Javanese languages is also compulsory.

He joins the Service at a salary of £200 a year as an "official at disposition" and is attached either to the Central or Provincial Administrations. The following year he may become an "Aspirant Controleur," at £225. In three more years, provided there is a vacancy, and his services have been satisfactory, to the position of Controleur £300 a year. After eight years' service the minimum salary in that position is £400 a year, which must be increased to £500 after fifteen years' service. In twenty years he may become an Assistant Resident, at £650, with gradual increases to £900. In 28 years he may become a Resident.

In the Judiciary or in such departments as Public Works, Agriculture and Education, where civil servants are possessed of special training and knowledge, higher remuneration and more speedy promotion are possible.

#### VACATION LEAVE.

An official is entitled, after six years' service, to eight months' vacation leave, and a first class return fare for himself, his wife and children. For each year that he stays beyond the six years he is entitled to one month, so that after ten years' service he is entitled to twelve months' leave. If the officer does not take his leave at the end of ten years his vacation leave does not increase, as twelve months is the maximum.

The rate of pay which he receives while on vacation leave varies according to the amount of his salary. An officer receiving a salary of £1000 a year would receive 70 per cent. on the first £125, 50 per cent. on the second £125, 30 per cent. on the next £500 and 25 per cent. on all salary over £700. This would work out as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
On a salary of £125 a year (average 70 per cent.)	87	0	0
On a salary of £250 a year (average 60 per cent.)	150	0	0
On a salary of £750 a year (average 40 per cent.)	300	0	0
On a salary of £1000 a year (average 36¼ per cent.)	362	10	0

Vacation leave cannot be taken more often than once in six years.

#### SICK LEAVE.

If sick leave is granted it is deducted from the leave that might otherwise be due. Sick leave is granted on the recommendation of a Government Medical Officer. A free return passage to Holland is granted and the salary is the same as for vacation leave. While the officer is absent, he is required to forward Government medical certificates, at stated intervals, that his health is not sufficiently recovered to return.

#### PENSIONS.

These are granted on the following conditions. An officer can draw a pension when 45 years of age, provided he has been twenty years in the service, exclusive of all leave. The pension is one-quarter of the highest salary, provided he has been drawing same for at least two years. If the officer stays more than twenty years in the service, his pension increases up to 30 years, but not beyond that period. If an officer joined the service at 25 years of age and was receiving £600 a year when he was 45, he could retire and draw a pension of £150 a year. If he stays on until he is 55 and is then drawing £800 a year for the previous two years, he draws a quarter of his salary plus one-twentieth for every year over twenty years' service, or a pension of £300 a year. If this officer continued to remain in the service, his pension would not increase, as pensions are not increased after 30 years' service.

No pension can exceed £750 a year under any circumstances. If an officer is receiving £1,000 a year or more, his

pension is calculated on the highest salary received, provided that salary has been drawn for at least three years.

Funds from which payment of these pensions is made are supplied by the Government, but a deduction of from 1 to 2 per cent. is made from salaries during a given time, which varies according to circumstances. Contributions are also made by officers towards widows and orphans fund amounting ordinarily to 5 per cent., but extraordinary contributions are payable on entry to the service, on promotion and on marriage.

#### INVALID PENSIONS.

If an officer is permanently injured, or his health is completely broken down before he has served twenty years (when he is entitled to receive an ordinary pension), he obtains a certificate from the medical authorities that he is unfitted for further work. Provided he has been at least five years in the service, he is entitled to draw a pension calculated as follows:—Instead of receiving one-fourth of his maximum salary for the preceding two years, he draws one-twentieth multiplied by the number of years he has been in the service. Thus, if an officer has been fifteen years in the service, and has been receiving £500 for the last two years, his pension would be  $\frac{500 \times 15}{4 \times 20}$ , or £93-15-0 per annum.

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