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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Burma's Demand. ON the motion of the leader of the Nationalist party the Legislative Council of Burma adopted the other day by a large majority a resolution "recommending further grant of constitutional reforms by provincialising all Central subjects except foreign affairs and defence transferring all provincial subjects and empowering the Burma Government to reconstruct Burma Services on a provincial scale." In other words, Burma demands full provincial autonomy like the other Indian provinces and in addition freedom of control from the Government of India in all matters except foreign relations and defence. This amounts to a virtual separation of Burma from India, which question the Finance Member said was of an academic nature at present and therefore Government did not intend to express its views. It is not a simple question but requires full examination from every point of view. And it must be recognised that it is ultimately a question for the Burmans to decide. What, however, we should like to point out here is the significance of this demand from a province which has received much less political education than the provinces of India. It should open the eyes of those members of the British public who are still in the mid-Victorian era to the rapidity with which things are moving in this part of the world and therefore to the reasonableness of the Indian demands.

An Example. THE Madras and Bihar Legislative Councils have passed resolutions requesting the Government of India not to give effect to the recommendations of the Lee Commission report in their respective provinces. The discussion in the Madras Council was conducted

on a high level, not the least valuable contribution being that of Mr G. F. Paddison, Commissioner of Labour and President of the European Government Servants' Association. He did not oppose the resolution, recognising that it was based on political and financial grounds and, on behalf his Association and the Service as a whole, he assured the Council that they had the interests of the province as much at heart as the Indian members of the Council. He pleaded that the cost of living for the Service men had risen 60 to 70 per cent. and that several married members had been obliged to pledge their life insurance bonds for loans. He was glad that their grievances had been recognised by the previous speakers and hoped that they would be remedied when Madras obtained a remission of provincial contribution. We commend the spirit of Mr Paddison's speech to the official members of the Assembly when they will discuss the subject next week. The main objection to the Lee Commission's report is that it has taken no note of the immediate advance to provincial autonomy which has become irresistible. It has assumed that diarchy will continue for generations. If its meticulous recommendations about the proportion of Europeans in future recruitment are dropped, we are sure the Assembly will consider with sympathy the real grievances of the Services, as the Madras Council did.

* * *

Gen. Dyer's "Moral Effect". THE Prime Minister has apparently placed Lord Olivier in an awkward position by dissuading Mr. Lansbury from moving an address to the King for the removal of Mr. Justice McCardie. From his *obiter dicta* delivered from the Bench the inference becomes irresistible that one of the Judges holds views, on the limits of the employment of force in suppressing civil disturbances, which are opposed to those of the Government, and the question naturally arises as to how far the latter's policy in this matter will in future be influenced by the Judge's pronouncement. Lord Olivier consequently felt constrained to issue a dispatch declaring that, so far as the Government is concerned, there is to be no change in its policy on this subject, and that, in calculating the minimum force that will be required for dispersing an unlawful assembly, no account will be taken of the moral effect that may probably be produced on the people of the surrounding districts who may be contemplating

mischief but who are not engaged in actual disturbance. To reiterate this principle is no doubt to cast a reflexion on the conduct of the Judge, and the *Daily Mail* is right in its complaint that this involves some degree of executive interference with the judiciary, and if the Government wishes to censure the Judge, it should move an address to the King for his removal. But Mr. MacDonald thought it inexpedient to do so and yet could not help condemning the Judge's conduct in a rather round-about fashion. The best plan would undoubtedly have been, if censure of some kind is inevitable, to have allowed Mr. Lansbury's motion to be discussed. Having used all his influence in closing the only avenue afforded by the constitution for the expression of censure, the Prime Minister has exposed himself to legitimate criticism of Lord Olivier's dispatch as militating against the absolute independence of the judiciary.

* * *

Native Trusteeship. OUR article "Kenya's opportunity and responsibility" in last week's issue ended with an appeal to the Kenya Indians, to acquaint themselves by personal inspection with the West African system of "Native Trusteeship", in order to fit themselves for constructive criticism of the East African system that masquerades under that name. We think it well to revert to this point, (see our article today on "British Trusteeship on the Gold Coast") as Indians, whether in this country or out of it, have so little idea of the rest of the world which happens to lie outside their own proximate interests, that reference to West Africa means to most of us just nothing. Besides, people who know of the British Colonial system nothing better than Kenya, Fiji and Natal, have, very naturally, acquired an almost invincible prejudice against the mere expression "Native Trusteeship", as the very height of cant, humbug and hypocrisy. It is therefore not a work of super-erogation to enquire, whether the objectionable term is used in its proper sense anywhere in the British Empire: for if it can be shown that there are such regions and that such regions are as much under the immediate jurisdiction of the British Colonial Office, as Kenya is, the appeal which we may make to that Colonial Office and to British public opinion on behalf of Kenya will obviously have a force, which it would altogether lack, were genuine trusteeship a thing truly alien to British Colonial policy. Hypocrisy, after all, is only the second line of Wrong's defence, made after Right has captured the first line trenches of unashamed glorying in wrong. Hence even to say "trusteeship", without meaning it, is a step in advance of saying (and meaning) "exploitation". Right has won its first victory: it will win its final one, when Wrong driven into a corner by the, however hypocritical, acceptance of the idea of trusteeship, will have to live up to that idea. The first step to this is to bring it home that the idea is capable of being carried into operation and is actually being applied, both in letter and in spirit

in some other African possession of the British Crown, to wit the Gold Coast.

* * *

Kenya Lowlands. AS some slight recompense for the unjust reservation of the best land in the colony for the whites, Lord Milner proposed to earmark certain areas in the Lowlands to the Indian community. Indian colonists have always felt that it is wrong in principle to reserve any particular area for the occupation of any races except the native tribes and have consequently rejected the offer of the Colonial Office out of hand as an unworthy bribe. Mr. Thomas, not having the courage to undo the great wrong of the reservation of the Highlands to the Europeans, has also to repeat Lord Milner's offer, to keep up appearances of equality between different races, but the Indian view has not changed. The Indian Crown Colonies Committee, recognising that two wrongs do not make one right, "made it plain" to the Colonial Secretary as did the previous Indian deputations before, "that it is averse from any reservation of land for any immigrant race." It is the only position open to one who has any care for the welfare of the indigenous population, and we have no doubt that Indian opinion will be solid behind the Committee in the view it expressed to the Colonial Secretary. The Kenya settlers, however, seem to understand the Committee's attitude in a curiously topsy-turvy fashion. The Nairobi correspondent of the *Times of India* says, speaking of Mr. Thomas' announcement: "The determination of reserving all that can be reserved in future for the indigenous inhabitants has impelled Mr. Thomas to make it plain that the authorities in England are averse from any reservation of land for any immigrant race." It is not the authorities in England who are averse from reservation: they have already reserved the whole of Highlands for the whites and are prepared to reserve a portion of what remains of the Lowlands—after alienation on a very extensive scale to Europeans—for Indian settlement; but it is the Indian community themselves who refuse to have part or lot in what is an unrighteous transaction.

* * *

THE Hon. Rev. C. D. Lalla was the recipient of numerous congratulatory addresses from the Indian (locally known as the East Indian) community of Trinidad on his election as Moderator for 1924 of the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad and Tobago, L. E. president of the council of ministers of that Church. This is considered a unique honour, of which not only the Indians in the West Indies but we in India also may be justly proud. This is the first instance of an Indian being appointed to that position. Rev. Lalla is the foremost Indian in the West Indies. He started life as teacher, in which profession he soon distinguished himself. Then he was ordained as minister. He has been an indefatigable worker for the spiritual, moral and social welfare of the community. He organised the East Indian National Congress of which he is the life and soul. *The East Indian Patriot*, the only mouth-piece of Indian opinion in the West Indies so far as we are aware, owes its existence to him. He enjoys the confidence of the Government, has served on important committees and is nominated to the colonial legislative council to represent Indians. We wish him a long life of usefulness.

A Colonial Indian honoured.

REFORMS ENQUIRY.

THE Reforms Enquiry Committee has for the time being concluded its enquiry. Its last sitting was held on Saturday last. When it will reassemble on the 16th October, it may examine a few more witnesses, for instance, Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola, Sir P. C. Mitter, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. Its report should be ready by December next and both the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India should have ample time for the consideration of the report before the Assembly discusses the Budget in March next.

In spite of the diversity of opinion in regard to details it is gratifying to record a practical unanimity among the witnesses in favour of a substantial advance in the immediate future. The only witness who held reactionary opinions on the subject was the professor of Modern History in the University of Allahabad, who does not count in politics and who need not, therefore, be taken seriously. With the exception of Mr. Raza Ali, who is always independent enough to condemn the Liberals and to defend Non-Co-operators against public criticism but who fell behind the Liberals in his demand for political reform, and Mr. Surve from the Bombay Presidency, whose written and oral statements seem to be highly inconsistent with one another, we believe it is true to say that every witness asked for full responsible government in the Provinces and popular control over all subjects in the Central Government, except those connected with the defence of the country and its foreign and political relations. It came as a surprise to everybody that so loud a critic of Government as Mr. Raza Ali advocated the reservation of final control over matters relating to law and order and land revenue in the hands of the Governor and the introduction of responsibility in comparatively unimportant subjects in the Central Government. It is precisely the measures taken to maintain law and order that have generated the greatest amount of political heat during the last three years and that have been vigorously criticised by Mr. Raza Ali; yet undeterred by past experience or consideration of consistency, Mr. Raza Ali does not hesitate to leave in the hands of the Governor a power which may be seriously misused again. We feel sure that no section of Muslim political opinion would be so backward as to support his views.

The most important witnesses that appeared before the Committee were Mr. Chintamani, Lala Harkishen Lal and Mr. N. K. Kelkar—all ex-Ministers. Their experience of the practical working of the Reforms Scheme enabled them to give valuable evidence in favour of the universal Indian demand for a large measure of constitutional advance. The memorandum and evidence of Mr. Chintamani in particular deserve to be studied with care by every student of public affairs. The defects which these witnesses dis-

closed were such as are inherent in the existing system. They cannot be removed by any alteration in the Rules under Section 19 A of the Government of India Act, which Sir Mohamad Shafi seems to regard as a practicable way out of the present difficulties. Nor again can responsibility be introduced into the Central Government without a radical amendment of the Government of India Act which even Sir Mohamad Shafi admits. We must not be understood to imply that Sir Mohamad Shafi is for standing still but his insistence on the importance of Section 19 A seems to betray an inability to grasp the fact that even the largest measure of advance compatible with the most liberal interpretation of that section will not satisfy any party in this country and may easily influence the mind of the Government whose legal adviser he is.

It was inevitable that Hindu-Muslim differences and the condition of the depressed classes should be exploited for all their worth during the course of the Committee's enquiry, but every witness bore testimony to the genuine desire for Hindu-Muslim union in the country and to the enlightened attitude of the members of the educated and higher classes towards their less fortunate brethren. Even Mr. Surve admitted that the Brahmins were not wholly insensible of their duty towards the masses. As for Hindu-Muslim differences, they are keenest in the Punjab, yet the Punjabi witnesses united with the representatives of other provinces in demanding full civil control both in the Provincial and the Central Governments. Lala Harkishen Lal made it unmistakably clear in the course of his replies that even if communal representation with all its attendant evils were to be continued, he would prefer complete responsibility in the Punjab to the continuance of diarchy which reduced the Ministers to shadows and gave unlimited opportunities to those in power to play off one section against another. It may be further noted as a highly significant fact that Mr. Raza Ali who is well-known for his aggressively pro-Muslim proclivities stated in reply to a question by Sir Henry Moncrief-Smith that "individually he was not very much in favour of it" (i. e. communal representation.)

The unduly narrow terms of reference of the Committee will perhaps stand in the way of their making positive recommendations for removing the political friction that exists at present; but as the *Nation and Athenæum* says, it can authoritatively point out the grave defects of the system and indispensable conditions for their removal, and its report will be the opportunity of the Labour Government whom it will provide with ample knowledge for the formulation of measures that will pacify a discontented country and enable it to re-adjust its constitutional mechanism to its future needs in accordance with its political genius. It is to be hoped that the non-official Indian members at least will have the courage to do their duty in spite of the malign-

nant attacks made upon them by the the Anglo-Indian press. They have been grossly misrepresented and Dr. Sapru in particular has been the *bete noire* of the vested interests. When it is clear that it is not they but their European colleagues on the Committee who have entered on their task with their minds unalterably made up, the unity amongst the opponents of Indian aspirations makes it doubly incumbent on the Indian members of the Committee to stand together in defence of Indian freedom.

BENGAL MINISTERS.

THE refusal by the Bengal Legislative Council to vote for the salaries of Ministers has been interpreted by Lord Lytton as leaving him no alternative to assuming the administration of the transferred subjects. Mr. S. R. Das, Advocate General, has also explained in a communication to the press that no other interpretation of the vote is reasonable, for if the Council meant only to express 'no confidence' in the present Ministers there were several ways in which it could have expressed that opinion and obliged the Ministers to resign. From a strictly legal point of view this interpretation is probably correct, though the fact cannot be lost sight of that among those who refuse to accept this view are to be found persons who are quite eminent lawyers. Whatever the strictly legal interpretation, there is not the slightest doubt that a good many of those who voted against the Ministers' salaries did so with the object of censuring the present Ministers and not with the object of doing away with the institution of Ministerships. The mover of the proposition that the Ministers' salaries be refused, Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta—who is not a member of the Swaraj party—made it clear in his speech that though the whole country, including men of all parties, had condemned diarchy and would like to see it ended, he wanted the House to vote for his motion on the ground of no confidence in the present Ministers. Mr. B. Chakravarti, leader of the Nationalists, explained that his party was not pledged either to non-acceptance of office or to obstruction and that on giving the matter their best consideration they had resolved to refuse the salaries of the Ministers, because these Ministers had refused to follow constitutional practice and resign office when in March last the Council refused their salaries. That is to say, the Nationalist vote was a vote of censure on the Ministers.

Clearer still and more emphatic was Sir P. O. Mitter, ex-Minister. Indeed, his could be said to be the speech of the day. Speaking as a true Moderate and a follower of Mehta, Gokhale and others—as distinct from pseudo-Moderates, of whom there were several in the House (he mentioned this for the benefit of the European members)—he said:

"If to-day they were asked to vote on the clear issue as to whether the grants demanded the retention of a Ministry, his vote would

certainly be in favour of that. But speaking for himself and after giving the matter his most anxious consideration he could not but come to the conclusion that this vote was demanded for the retention of the two Ministers who had clearly acted against the constitution by retaining their office in spite of the fact that they could not pass their salary and grants, who had flouted this House, who had flouted the public will and the views of the elected representatives of the people. As regards these actions of the Ministers, as a Moderate and a Constitutionalist, he felt more strongly and took a more serious view of such action even than Mr. C. R. Das did."

He did not lose sight of the interpretation that is being put on the vote. He rejected it as unnecessary. He said:

"If the authorities acted in a huff, if they were dissatisfied with some of the members of the House because they refused the salaries of the Ministers, then there might be that consequence (end of diarchy); but if they took the members of the House into their confidence and listened to their advice, then that consequence would not follow. And if that consequence came to pass the responsibility would not be the responsibility of the House but of the authorities (hear, hear)."

He went further. The Swarajists not being in an absolute majority in the Council, he offered, if the present Ministers were dismissed and he was asked to form in a short time a more stable Ministry from among the Nationalists and Independents, himself not accepting office because his party was very poorly represented in the Council. He then appealed to the Ministers "to put an end to this humiliation."

It was only the Swarajists who voted with the double object of censuring the Ministers and ending diarchy. But even Mr. C. R. Das does not seem to have considered the disappearance of diarchy as a necessary consequence of the voting. The day after the Ministers' salaries were voted down he offered to vote for a lump grant to be spent on transferred subjects. Then the President remarked that he understood that as a result of the previous day's voting there would be no more transferred subjects. Mr. Das said that it depended on the Governor and the legal advice he got and not on the House. Mr. Das no doubt liked to see the end of diarchy but he knew of such a result taking place only after what the President told him.

Why the Councillors did not choose some other form of censuring the Ministers, as suggested by Mr. S. R. Das, cannot be understood without reference to the past history of the question. When Lord Lytton made his choice of Ministers, including two Muhammadans among them with a view to enlist on his side the communal feelings of the Muhammadans, it was strongly disapproved by a considerable section of the House. Notice was

given of a motion of no confidence in the Ministers, but the President disallowed the motion on grounds which were not quite apparent to the members. They therefore refused the salaries of the Ministers in March last, taking care to say, as on this occasion, that they did so as a vote of censure. Even then the two Muhammadan Ministers refused to resign, though the third Minister who was a Hindu did. That is what made Sir P. C. Mitter say that "this vote was intended for the retention of the two Ministers." On both occasions the refusal by the Council to pass this vote was meant as a vote of censure and it does not appear right to put a different construction upon it. If a wider interpretation is put upon the adverse vote of the Council, only Lord Lytton and his advisers are responsible for it. Nobody at any time was very enthusiastic about diarchy. Those who supported the reforms accepted it only as a temporary expedient and their experience of the system is now being narrated before the Reforms Enquiry Committee. The love for diarchy is therefore the least at the present moment. The remedy, however, is not reversion to pre-reform "irresponsible" rule but a move forward. We hope the British Parliament will recognise it. Meanwhile, however, as diarchy is still in force we hope Lord Lytton will heed the spirit of the reforms and appoint new Ministers. If he does so, he may be certain that there will be no deadlocks in the Council. In the first place the policy of the Swarajists has undergone a radical change from that of pure obstruction, though they are not yet prepared to assume office. Indeed the C. P. Swarajists have now declared that they are willing to accept office and are burning to have a new election. Secondly, the Nationalists and others being more numerous than the Swarajists, have in so many words assured the Government that they will not allow deadlocks. The whilom Ministers have not influence enough to create serious trouble. On the other hand, by appointing a Ministry the Governor will not sacrifice anything more than a little of false prestige but will gain a great moral advantage for the Government over the Opposition.

BRITISH TRUSTEESHIP ON THE GOLD COAST.

WE unfortunately cannot claim to know the Gold Coast at first hand. Indeed we do not mind admitting that our mind was the proverbial blank on this subject, until—two years ago—our interest was aroused by a very remarkable Educational Report issued by that West African Colony; a report, which, once procured, proved so remarkable; indeed that we deemed it right to devote a series of five articles to the subject (see issues of November 2nd, 9th, 16th 1922.) We now have before us "The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimates Session, 6th March 1924." The "Address" runs

to 145 pages, with an appendix of another 47 pages, and therefore on the face of it may well contain, what the sub-title of the cover promises, viz. "a review of the events of 1923, with a statement showing the policy adopted by the Government for the progress of the people and the situation with regard to trade and finance, by Brig. Gen. Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K. C. M. G., D. S. O., Governor." What attitude, then, does this "address" (obviously meant primarily for domestic consumption) take towards the idea of "Native Trusteeship"?

As its name implies, the Gold Coast historically was a gold producing country, the first European settlement (Portuguese, 1481) being called *ora del Mina*, i. e. mouth of the mine. This place still exists (as Elmina) and gold still occurs practically everywhere throughout the country. More than that: a number of European Mining Cos. are now exploiting the reefs of the Ashanti and Targuah district (discovered by a Frenchman in 1889) and a total of 199,525 ounces of fine gold, valued at £847,539, were produced in 1923. 23,342 carats of diamonds (value £26,260) were likewise won in that period, and of Manganese ore (the very existence of which was only discovered in 1914) 130,000 tons were shipped during that year. From all these statistics one would naturally assume that the country is predominantly a mining camp of European exploiters, the colony itself being merely the background providing "cheap labour" for the more speedy enrichment of these gentlemen. Well, the assumption would be natural—but apparently it is one diametrically opposed to the facts of the case. For the mainstay of the Gold Coast is not gold, but cocoa—an industry introduced into the Colony in 1879 by a native of Accra (the capital), but not fully developed until 1901 when the Government made it its policy by all means to encourage the cultivation of cocoa as a native peasants' industry. The export, which in 1905 reached 7000 tons, in 1923 had increased to no less than 197,000 tons and as a ton of this cocoa fetches about £30 in Liverpool, it is evident that this staple, of a value of nearly six million sterling a year, by far outweighs in importance all the other exports put together: which by the way in 1923 amounted to 388,000 tons, valued at £8,328,000, and included 148,000 gallons of palm oil, 728 tons of palm kernels, 37,000 lbs. of cotton and 13½ million lbs. of Kola nuts (the local substitute for our *supari*), all of which agricultural products are native peasant-produced. It is therefore evident that the Gold Coast is pre-eminently a peasant country, and as neither plantations of Europeans nor *latifundia* of any kind exist there, the mines form but a fraction of the whole and are therefore too unimportant to call for the tune to which the administration might otherwise have to dance. As it is, our "Address" dismisses the "labour supply" for the mines in a few lines, which state that "though there was no falling off, the much needed increase in the number of labourers was not effected" (p. 131), and that "Government has spared no effort

short of compulsory enlistment to assist in recruiting on a voluntary basis in the Northern Territories" (p. 8), i. e., outside the Colony proper. We should not be in the least surprised, if the labour conditions of these foreign Africans (most seem to come from Liberia) were capable of improvement: here it suffices to emphasize that Government, having built up the prosperity of the Gold Coast on the native peasantry, not only does nothing to turn these people from yeomen into wage slaves, but actually shapes its whole policy single-mindedly towards the economic advancement, cultural betterment and moral uplift of the native population of the country.

This is a sweeping statement to make and one that needs careful substantiation. Before offering this, let us *en passant* glance at the 394 miles of railway (125 of which were opened since 1921); the further development of branch lines into all the cocoa districts; the creation of a new deep-water seaport at Takoradi; the improvement of Accra Harbour; the 1212 miles of motorable roads (103 added during 1923) and the 2600 miles of "pioneer" roads, constructed during the last six years and not yet motorable at all seasons. The results of what apparently was a "Ten-Year Development Programme" are surely startling enough: but what is one's surprise, when one finds Sir F. G. Guggisberg summing them up in the following words: "The great progress in harbours, railways and roads; the public spirit of the chiefs and people; and the willing manner in which the already overburdened Political Officers have added to their work in helping the hard-working engineers of the P. W. D.: have almost brought in sight the moment at which we may consider our cocoa trade safe against competition. Takoradi and the Central Provinces Railway should both be opened in 1926 and, in view of the road extensions that will have been completed by that time, I believe that we shall then have consolidated our position against all attacks" (p. 61). The whole railway and public works departments are but a means, to enable "buckniggers" to get the maximum returns in the markets of the world for the produce of their farms!

We confess to a very wide opening of eyes when we came to this passage and others like them: but we fairly gasped, when, after 119 paras of "Address" we reached, on p. 62, the following words: "I now arrive at the subject to which my remarks on finance, trade, agriculture, and transport have merely been leading—Education." Dazed, we shut the book and looked once more at the title-page, fully suspecting to see there the name of Mr. H. G. Wells: but no; this book was no utopia, but a prosaic blue book; not a brilliant "Anticipations," but the master of fact record of a policy which actually governs one of His Majesty's African Colonies! Finance, trade, agriculture, transport—all the paraphernalia which usually are passed off as the sum total of all "civi-

lization," are by this singular Governor brushed aside as mere means towards the aim of all his administration: the production of a good citizen. "Education, as I never lose an opportunity of reminding members," said Sir F. G. Guggisberg "education of the mind as well as of the hand and of the brain, is the key stone of the edifice forming Government's main policy. Every year Honourable Members must be prepared to vote an increase for education. Last year it was £106,000. This year I am asking for £120,000 for the Education Department alone. This time next year it will be £140,000 and so the snowball will continue to grow, as it rolls through the years ahead of us. Before this month is at an end, we shall have laid the foundation stone for what I believe is destined to be the greatest institution for the higher education of the native races of Africa—Achimota" (p. 5.) It is tempting, but quite impossible on this occasion to enlarge on this truly wonderful educational policy: let us be satisfied to quote the aim of Achimota College as "an institution at which the African youth will receive, first and foremost, character training of such a nature as will fit him to be a good citizen; and secondly, the higher education necessary to enable him to become a leader in thought in the professions, or in industry" (p. 68); and to add that as first Principal there has been chosen that Rev. A. G. Fraser of Trinity College, Kandy, whose sermon on native trusteeship the other day at Westminster Abbey roused to fury the whole of the European planting community of Kenya.

Space also forbids us to linger on the "Gold Coast Hospital for Africans" at Korle Bu, opened last October, with its complete staff of doctors and European and African nurses, "by common consent judged to be the finest hospital in the whole continent of Africa" (p. 4); to do more than refer to the other ten new hospitals (8 for Africans, 2 for Europeans) building according to the 1920-30 programme—"a programme that requires the first attention of any Governor and, from the medical staff, the deepest consideration accompanied by that self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of the native races which should be the characteristic of all officers in the West African Medical Service" (p. 81). All this, to be sure, does not smack of mere paternalism: on the contrary, it promises rather the generous policy of a teacher making himself superfluous and training his pupil, how to excel him. But what actual pledges are there, what signs of that Africanisation of the services which is one of the necessary results of such a policy?

"Appreciable progress," we read on p. 91 of the "Address," "was made during the year in filling European appointments with Africans. The increase in the past four years in the number of these appointments is, in view of the dearth of suitably qualified Africans, satisfactory, but I must again point out, that we cannot anticipate any rapid progress until Achimota has had time

to give us suitably qualified men, imbued [with those characteristics that are necessary] for taking efficient share in Government work." And on p. 30: "The incremental scale of salaries introduced in 1920 means an annual increase in our salary and pensions bill by some £35,000 p. a. for several years. To counterbalance this, we have adopted the policy of cutting down the pensionable European staff to such an extent that efficiency is bound to suffer until Achimota can turn out qualified Africans as a result of which policy we have retrenched 90 European appointments in the last two years." "With regard to further reductions, I must again stress the fact that progress in this respect will entirely depend on the rate at which suitably qualified Africans apply for service in the senior appointments of the Government. In other words we depend entirely on Achimota College" (p. 104).

Meanwhile an African has been appointed Junior Assistant Colonial Secretary, and we have tabulated the higher appointments in the other departments as follows :

Government Departments.	1914	1923	of whom Africans.
Treasury ...	7	10	2
Audit ...	5	9	1
Legal ...	5	5	1
P. and T. ...	28	50	...
Ry. Engine Drivers	14	68	63
Medical ...	72	90	3
Education ...	18	36	5
Agriculture ...	13	35	4
Police ...	17	27	2
P. W. D. ...	147	204	...

As regards the last, P. W. D., mention should be made that the system adopted is that of carrying out all Loan, Extraordinary and Special Works by temporary staffs, "the object being to prevent swelling the pensionable list" (p. 141); and that though at present no P. W. D. appointments are "filled by Africans, we have provided next year one appointment for an African Engineer on probation, thus dispensing with the services of an Assistant Engineer on road location. In due course the scheme for the training of African Engineers will take effect and, when it does, will bring about a further reduction of 20 to 30 Europeans" (p. 143).

The figures quoted speak for themselves and are a guarantee that Sir F. G. Guggisberg's administration "means business" in Africanizing the services; though only yester year these Africans would have been deemed "savages" incapable of shouldering any such responsibilities. And if these, all others, including those of full self-government and self-determination must inevitably follow, as day follows night. Already a beginning is being made this year with a new "Municipal Corporations Bill" which is to confer "municipal self-government on the citizens of Africa: the Government's policy being to give full responsibility to (eventually all) Town Councils while at the same time supporting and guiding them in those complicated technicalities that form a part of modern town administration. Africans elected as Coun-

cillors will, I feel sure, approach their task with seriousness and determination, for on their success depends, to a very great extent, the justification of the aspirations of their race for political advancement" (p. 90). Not enough with this, changes in the Legislative Council are likewise foreshadowed:

"During the past year I and my advisers have been giving the most careful consideration to the subject of the representation of Africans and the non-official members of the European community on this Council. I have been greatly assisted by members of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, and the Political Officers have conducted careful enquiries in their respective administrative areas. I think I am correct in saying that I have never been against the adoption of the principle of elective representation. My chief anxiety has been to give it wider application than has hitherto been adopted in other West African countries. The most careful enquiries were therefore necessary in order to evolve a practical working scheme that would apply not only to the educated communities of the seaport towns, but also to the native stools and the non-official European communities. I am not at liberty to divulge at present the recommendations which I have made to the Secretary of State nor can I hope that they will satisfy everyone, but I believe that they form a solid stepping-stone on the path of political advancement. The recommendations for elective representation, together with the Municipal Corporations Bill, constitute a very great advance and will give the Gold Coast African the opportunity of proving himself worthy of the additional responsibilities thrown on him" (p. 91).

Here indeed is Trusteeship, in very truth. Its spirit breathes through every passage of this remarkable "address" of what must be a very remarkable Governor. The work that is being done for the African on the Gold Coast seems indeed destined to ring in a new chapter in the age-long history of that cinderella of all human races, the Negro, who, one feels sure, needs but the opportunity and fellowship of other races to raise himself to the full stature of our common humanity. Would to God, that Indians too could share in that noble work! But how can they be expected to aspire even to such service, as long as the only "trusteeship" they see in Africa, is that of the Grogans and Delameres in the East and that of the Smuts and Hertzogs in the South of that Continent? Yet it was surely said to nations no less than to individuals:

"Let him that would be greatest amongst you, be as one that serveth."

THE LEE COMMISSION REPORT AND THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE Lee Commission Report will come up for discussion before the Legislative Assembly on the 8th, 9th and the 10th of September, during its sessions at Simla. It will not be amiss, therefore, to examine certain features of that report and to say what the Assembly should do, in the best interests of the people, in that matter. At the outset it has to be pointed out that the Lee Commission was appointed by the Secretary of State for India in the exercise of his arbitrary power and notwithstanding the opposition to that appointment by the people of India, as their opinion, voiced in

Legislative Assembly, went to show. This action of the Secretary of State, whatever its justification in the past, cannot be justified *vis a vis* the constitution of India as laid down in the Government of India Act of 1919, according to which, as Lord Chelmsford was so proud to declare, autocracy was, once for all, abandoned. A Secretary of State that was so punctilious in maintaining that India cannot be justified in asking for a Royal Commission on Reforms prior to the date prescribed for it in the Government of India Act, did not scruple to appoint a Royal Commission to satisfy the Services only five years after the whole question had been thoroughly looked into and settled. It has, again, to be remembered that the Lee Commission has published its report without publishing the evidence upon which it is supposed to be based. The reasons given by the Commission in justification of its action are far from convincing. The precedent set in that respect by the Islington Commission is against it. In withholding the evidence the Commission has laid itself open to the charge that its conclusions embody a foregone decision and a highly biased view of the entire question. And the charge is more than borne out by the recommendations made in the report.

What are these recommendations? In the organisation of the services, they suggest a highly obnoxious departure, namely, the creation of reserved services under the control of the Secretary of State to correspond to the reserved departments of the provincial governments under the system of dyarchy which has become, by now, the best hated feature of the reforms. To ask to set up this spurious distinction at a time when the whole country has condemned dyarchy and would hasten to full provincial autonomy, is to plan for an indefinite continuance of the *status quo*, a sure impediment in the way of political advance. No one in India wants the superior services to be recruited any longer by the Secretary of State. The Government of India should be given the power and the machinery to recruit its own officers. The Services Commission, the institution of which is so strongly recommended in the report under consideration, provides the needful machinery and enforces the argument for the non-interference of the Secretary of State in such matters. The entire cadre of the services must come under the Government of India so that no vested interests may, in future, as they have done so often in the past, interfere with or block the political evolution of India.

The altogether fictitious distinction of the services into imperial and provincial, introduced after the Aitchinson Commission, must also be done away with. The racial bar that it imposes cannot be allowed to continue in view of India's demand for responsible government. There should be, hence forward, only two divisions in the services, viz., the central and the provincial, according as they are called upon to serve under the

Government of India or the different local governments. The provincialisation of the services, not only for the transferred departments, as the Commission recommends, but for all the departments is a step in the right direction. The different local governments ought to be empowered to recruit their own men with the help of the Services Commission statutorily provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919.

Looking forward as India does to Dominion status as its ideal for the future government of India, nothing ought to be done at this stage, that may block the way to that advance. The reserved services proposed by the Commission are sure to prove such a barrier in her path, and ought not on that account, be countenanced. It has to be remembered that so long India has been for the services. The time has now come when the services ought to realise that they exist for India. Serving the Government of India or the various provincial governments they ought not to be irresponsible to them. Such an anomaly obtains nowhere else in the world. And it must disappear from India.

In this light the question of the Indianisation of the services is of extreme importance. How has the Commission tackled the question? It must be said that the solution proposed by it is highly disappointing because it is so halting. Let us see what it comes to. We are to get an equalisation of percentage between the Indian and the European element in the I. C. S. in fifteen years from the time the recommendations come into force. And in the Indian Police service the time for such a fruition is to be twenty-five years. If these recommendations are given effect to, our full constitutional evolution will be postponed to a date, at least, double the period of that time. For the Indianisation of the services is the pivot on which the latter is to turn. As Sir William Vincent remarked in a debate on that question in the Legislative Assembly but a few years back, "it is unthinkable that a country which had Dominion status should, at that time, allow its affairs, to be entirely controlled by a foreign service, and we have to look to the future." Yes, we have to look to the future, and, therefore, no patriotic Indian will accept the position that his country should wait for yet thirty years, if not more, to attain full responsible government. The Lee Commission has deliberately ignored or belittled this aspect of the question. Otherwise, in order to hasten the process, they would have recommended the stoppage of European recruitment altogether till the constitutional issue had been settled. Thereby, the Commission would have helped to allay the suspicion so general in the minds of the people of India that England desires to postpone indefinitely the grant of full responsible government to India. That such a stoppage would, in no way, lower the standard of administration in the country is clear from the following statement in the now famous O'Donnell circular. Assuming the position that European recruitment is stopped altogether and

forthwith, the circular states that "for, at least, fifteen years to come, *if not more* (italics ours) the services will still contain a substantial proportion of Europeans sufficient to provide the necessary leavening and ensure the maintenance, during the transition period to an entirely indigenous agency, of decent administrative standards." The percentage of Indians in the L. C. S., as given in the circular referred to above, is so small as to be negligible. It is only 12 per cent. No Indian will acquiesce in the position that his country should wait beyond fifteen years for complete Indianization and full Dominion status, which are inter-dependent one upon the other. The recommendations of the Commission are not acceptable to India. They may, perhaps, materialise in the contentment of the European civil servants in India. They will not relieve the strained relation between them and the people. Least of all, will they serve to allay the growing discontent of the Indian people. And, besides, it is no part of sound and far-sighted statesmanship to secure a contented service at the expense of a discontented India.

What do the Commissioners suggest to satisfy the services? One has only to turn to chapters VI to XI to know what they propose as regards their salaries, allowances, guarantees and safeguards. Reading between the lines, the recommendations contained in these chapters strike one as inspired by a single aim, and that is to placate the services, to stimulate the flow of European recruits into them and to perpetuate and strengthen their 'strong European element.' Nowhere have the Commissioners condescended to keep the Indian point of view before their eyes. Nowhere do we find the slightest consideration to what these proposals may involve in cost to the already overburdened Indian taxpayer. For the recommendations mean an immediate additional outlay of a crore of rupees and a recurring annual burden of a crore and a quarter. Whence is this money to be got? How is this additional provision to be made in the already bankrupt finances of the Government, to replenish and balance which the Government certified a doubled salt duty in face of public opinion against it only a year ago? What fresh source is the Government to tap now to meet this added burden? Are they to be advised to double the salt duty once again?

This increase, with guarantees, safeguards etc., etc., is granted in spite of the fact that the services in India, as the O'Donnell circular has the candour to acknowledge, are the highest paid services in the world. It is also indirectly admitted in a letter to the *London Times* written by Prof. Gilbert Slater. Is the Indian elector to be blamed if he considers a normal annual salary of a civilian rising to Rs. 30,000 and his normal annual pension of Rs. 15,000/- as monstrously exorbitant? Will the Assembly be doing its duty by the electors if it votes the additional burden on the Indian Exchequer contemplated in the recommendations of the Commission? Existing

claims apart, the most proper and the wisest course for it to follow, would be, in view of future developments, to fix the salary of the new entrants into the L. C. S. according to the Indian standard, allowing the European an oversea allowance. That will go far to relieve the burden to the taxpayer of an exceedingly costly system of administration such as the British administration in India is at the present day.

The civil servant in India is in a peculiar position of influence. He is both in authority and power. He enjoys the best salary obtainable, anywhere in the world, to a man doing the kind of work he does. He not only executes orders but really governs and initiates large measures of policy. As the O'Donnell circular puts it, "It is not impossible that, if difficult conditions as regards employment continue to be felt in England, Dominions and the colonies, the time-scale pay and pensions of the services may prove an attraction sufficient to induce the right stamp of men to expatriate themselves from England and elect for services in India." And yet, the Commissioners say that things are better, in this matter, in the Dominions and colonies!

Reviewing the report as a whole one cannot escape the conviction that its whole tenor runs counter to the best interests of India. The so-called justice to the services is exacted from a people unconvinced of its necessity and fairness. This could be done because the people have no controlling voice in the determination of issues fraught with such tremendous consequences to the political future of India. Until, therefore, the constitutional issue between India and the British Parliament is reviewed afresh and settled finally, the report is scarcely worth considering. A discontented civil service could get a Royal Commission within four years of the review of its entire organisation and the final orders thereon. And that in the face of the opinion of the Legislative Assembly against its appointment. On the other hand, a discontented India is asked to wait for its Royal Commission on Reform till it becomes unavoidable by statute. And that although the whole country in one united voice, demands the immediate review and revision of the constitution! The two acts of commission and omission taken together cannot but shake the faith of the Indian people in the sincerity of the British statesmen to do justice by India. The services can wait till the constitutional position is cleared up. The Assembly will, therefore, be well advised at least to insist that the consideration of the report be postponed till after the question of constitutional reform is decided. If that is not granted the Assembly has no other alternative than to repudiate the report wholesale. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State may well do anything with their own powers. But the Legislative Assembly should have nothing to do with its decision.

V. N. NAIK.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST, 4

I have just received a copy of the German translation of Mr. Gandhi's writings in "Young India" between his assumption of the editorship, in 1919, and his imprisonment. Substantially, the volume is a reproduction of the articles printed by Messrs. Ganesan & Co., of Madras, with a translation of the article of Mr. John Hayes Holmes, of New York and with copious references to the mono-

graph of Mr. Romain Rolland. The translator is Mr. Emil Roniger, who states that this is the first of a series of three volumes to appear, the second will include the major writings and speeches of Mr. Gandhi, and the last will describe his life and work in South Africa, with an introduction by Mr. Polak. That the Mahatma's fame is world wide is no news. It is interesting and characteristic that it is in Germany that the fullest note is taken of the personality of this, the greatest of living Indians and one of the greatest of living men.

The announcement by Mr. Thomas of his decisions on the representations of the Indian Colonies Committee, presided over by Mr. J. Hope Simpson, M. P., was made in a written answer to Mr. Mills, a member of the Labour Party. I understand that Mr. Hope Simpson, who had received a couple of days earlier a fuller letter from Mr. Thomas, was unaware that the Colonial Secretary who is now on his way to South Africa, as a member of the Empire Parliamentary Association, intended to make this statement on the last day of the session. I learn that the correspondence between Mr. Hope Simpson and Mr. Thomas is now before the Government of India with a view to its early and simultaneous publication. Until the full text of the correspondence is published, Mr. Polak, the secretary of the Indians Overseas Association, does not desire to make a detailed statement of his views on the subject. He did not, however, expect that the Committee would, at the first attempt, be able to do more than it has in fact done, namely, kill the Immigration Bill. That this is no negligible result is clear from the following comment from a well-informed friend, who has an intimate knowledge of Kenya and has throughout been very friendly to the Indian claims. He says:—

"In reading the Government decision, as given by Mr. Thomas in the House of Commons on August 7th, 1924, it is essential to bear in mind that only a year previously a Cabinet decision had been given in terms so explicit as to have left little hope that any modification could be achieved in so short a time as has since elapsed. It is true, that the Cabinet decision of July, 1923, was only arrived at as a result of undue influence upon some of the principal informants of Government and participants in the conference that led up to that declaration. While it was unwelcome to Indian sentiment, it was scarcely less so to the European "politicals" of Kenya, and the only hope of its ultimately affording them any real satisfaction centred in the opportunity which it appeared to afford for the prompt introduction and early enactment of immigration legislation of a drastic type and capable of being operated in an anti-Indian spirit. This hope has now vanished, with Mr. Thomas's declaration of August 7th. In view of the pressure that has been maintained from Kenya, this must be regarded as a modification of remarkable scope.

"Undoubtedly, Indians in Kenya should now avail themselves of the offer extended to them by Mr. Thomas to occupy five seats on the Legislative Council—not by utilisation of their communal franchise, but by nomination by the local Governor. While it might be overstating the case to say that the presence of Indians on the Legislative Council is, at the present time, essential to the welfare of the native races of the Colony, there can be no doubt that the record of the Indian members on the Council in recent years has been one of *check* and opposition to some of the more oppressive legislative attempts of the elected Euro-

pean members. They themselves have advanced nothing in Council which comes under the category of "exploitationist" legislation, and their presence from now onwards may confidently be expected to operate in the direction of arresting or inhibiting activities on the part of the elected Europeans (and their facile coadjutors, the local Government) of a nature inimical to the welfare of the natives.

"This check may be expected to appear in criticism of proposals for the utilisation of Loan funds for the most barefaced improvement of European holdings, for the utilisation of public funds for the maintenance of armed European forces (either conscript or territorial) in the Colony, in suggestions and support to Government for the reasonable taxation of the wealthy and influential landed interest with a resulting alleviation of the present burden of taxation on the native community and in pressure for the repeal or modification of existing legislative enactments to which native opinion is justifiably hostile (such as the Native Registration Ordinance). Indian members must be alert as to joining forces and co-operating with the elected Europeans in their invariable blocking tactics to measures of their taxation for the non-Native portions of the community in Kenya. The whole history of local legislation in Kenya for the past generation has been one of unremitting effort on the part of the large landed proprietors to escape their share of direct taxation." I may add, as a sort of appendix to the reference in the foregoing to the iniquity of "improvement of European holdings by Loan money" that it lies in the fact that the bulk of the interest and sinking fund on loans is derived from native taxation.

Mrs. Basant and one of her colleagues, Mr. Ranganathan, M. L. C. are returning to India by this mail. Mrs. Basant's activities, during the short time of her stay in this country, have been positively bewildering. She has driven, ridden and flown through Western Europe, and she remains as vigorous and alert as ever. No one can vie with her, no one can keep up with her. She seems to be as young as Youth and as remorseless as Fate. That she believes in her mission and its ultimate success nobody can deny. Whether her hopes are not set immediately too high is another matter. Her delegation has done a good deal of useful work in preparing public opinion here for the results of the Simla Committee, spiteful summaries of the Indian evidence before which are being sent here by the various press correspondents, who are being spoon fed by the officials and are catering for hostile editors. It is not expected that the Labour Government will be able to do very much. Lord Curzon is very precise as to the attitude of the Tories. Of the Liberals one cannot prophesy much save that they are more likely to follow the advice of Sir Alfred Mond than of Mr. Hope Simpson. It is, however, a serious mistake to suppose that no good comes out of these missions. One never knows the exact value of a particular conversation and it is of the most vital importance that the enemy should not have a monopoly of propaganda. Repetition of a lie, with authoritative emphasis, brings ultimate conviction, unless it is promptly countered with truth and the atmosphere reproduced, so far as possible.

Mr. Thomas has been able to go to South Africa, in order to talk, among other things, of the Indian question with General Herzog, who is believed to contemplate drastic legislation of a segregational character.

MISCELLANEA.

MATERNITY BENEFITS.

THE following are extracts from an article on "Women in Industry" by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., which appeared in the August number of the *Indian Review*:

Still it must be admitted that comparatively speaking the number of women employed in Indian industries is much smaller than in the West or even in Japan. The chief reason for this difference is the custom of early marriage which still prevails in our country and which is not found in the countries mentioned above. The total number of persons employed in Indian factories in 1923 was 1,268,000 out of whom 296,887 were women and 11,106 girls. The total number of persons employed in Indian mines in the year 1921 was 190,000 out of whom nearly 92,000 were women and 4,000 girls. Out of the women and girls employed on mines 59,000 were employed below ground. The total number of persons employed on tea, coffee and rubber estates in 1920 was 650,000 out of whom 250,000 were women. The total number of women employed in these three industries, the work in which is regulated by legislation, is about 550,000. Women are also largely employed as ordinary labourers in other industries such as building work, road making and on other occupations as domestic servants and in agriculture in villages but it is not possible to get definite information about their number or the conditions of service which prevail in them as there is no regulation of their work by any law in these cases.

I have already stated that the employment of women in modern organised industry differs in two respects from the work which they had done so far and even now do where they do not come under the new industrial influence. When they take up an industrial employment domestic work ceases to be their main duty which is the case otherwise, and secondly they cease to work in a family group but work under an unfamiliar master. Both these circumstances affect their life greatly, and morally. The domestic work which women do in their own families is not of a light character although its value has not yet been recognized in any part of the world in terms of finance. But it will be easily admitted that domestic work so far as its physical effects are concerned is comparatively lighter than industrial work in factories. There is no doubt that the work in a cotton textile factory where women have to mind the machine standing for ten hours a day is physically much harder than the work of minding the household. Moreover there are very few women employed in industry who are free from house-hold work. In most of the cases they have to do the double duty. In western countries and in Japan a very large majority of women employed in factories are unmarried girls and even out of the remaining small minority substantial portion consists of widows. The proportion of married women with their husbands living, working in factories is very small. But in India the conditions are different. Excepting the minor girls below 18 and a small proportion of widows a very large majority of women employed in factories are married women with their husbands still living. There is no intention of stating that unmarried women who work in factories in the West have no domestic work to do in addition to the work in factories. But it will be admitted that in their case domestic responsibilities are generally lighter than in the case of married women with husbands or even widows. Perhaps in the case of widows the domestic responsibilities are greater than in the case of women with their husbands living. Therefore, when we consider the lot of women employed in organised industry in India we must not forget that besides doing the work in the factories they have in almost all cases to discharge their domestic responsibilities as well. This double work does not fail to react harmfully upon their own health. Moreover, this heavy load of work also affects injuriously the health of their children and the peace of the whole family. Among women working in organised industries it is almost an invariable practice to drug the babies with opium in order to keep them quiet at home. Besides women workers have to do the same amount of work upto the

time of their confinement and very soon after child-birth without a sufficient period of rest.

But one important matter in which women want special protection immediately is the prohibition of their work during the period of confinement and the provision of maternity benefits. It is needless to say how undesirable it is for women to work in a factory for ten hours and then go home and do the domestic work even till the day of confinement and within a very short time afterwards. It is no use merely prohibiting employment of women during confinement if no provision is made for giving some contribution towards their maintenance during the days of enforced absence from work. This fact has been borne out by the experience of countries like England where for a number of years employment of women immediately after confinement was prohibited by law, unaccompanied by maternity benefits. Under such circumstances women take the risk of evading the law and thus even doing some injury to their health in order to save themselves from starvation. The convention passed at the International Labour Conference held at Washington prohibits the employment of women six weeks after confinement, gives the right to women workers to leave their work six weeks before confinement on medical certificate, provides for a contribution for their maintenance during their enforced absence from work, provides for free medical treatment, provides half an hour twice a day for nursing the child while on work and frees them from the fear of dismissal during illness due to confinement. The Government of India, as at present advised, have decided not to legislate in any manner on this subject and have left the solution of this question to voluntary effort. The reasons given by the Government of India for this attitude are not at all convincing. They exaggerate the possibility of the evasion of the law and the difficulty of the supervision of its working. There are many sections of the present Factory Act which are being evaded; but that has not prevented the Government of India from enacting them. They also attach too much importance to the necessity of having only women doctors for certifying. The scheme for the maternity benefits in the Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Company's Mills in Bombay is working successfully with only male doctors for certifying. They also exaggerate the difficulty of instituting a compulsory scheme for maternity benefits for women working only in organised industries. If no difficulty was felt in introducing a scheme for giving compensation to workers for accidents only in certain industries there need not be any difficulty in establishing a scheme for maternity benefits in those industries only. When Government plead the excuse of want of public opinion in favour of this measure they need not be taken seriously. If Government want to know public opinion on this question they should introduce resolutions in the provincial councils to test the attitude of the public. The Government themselves have made rules for giving leave with pay to the women in public service during confinement. Of course these women belong to the middle classes for whom Government have, perhaps, greater sympathy than for the working class women. I do not remember public opinion having been consulted when these rules were made. But if Government is not willing to do anything for the working class women in this respect public opinion in the country must compel them to move immediately.

The cost of this reform will not be very great. Taking the total number of women employed in factories and mines roughly at 300,000 about 30,000 women will have to be given maternity benefits during one year. If the monthly amount of benefit is calculated at Rs. 15 per woman, the total monthly cost will be only 45 lakhs. If the allowance is given for two months the cost will be 9 lakhs and in the case of the allowance being extended to the maximum period of three months the cost will be 13½ lakhs. The total monthly cost for providing these benefits on the tea estates will not amount to more than Rs. 150,000 taking the average monthly wage of a woman at Rs. 6. Besides, on the tea estates these allowances are at present generally voluntarily given by the planters. The money required for this measure should rightly fall upon the industry which employs women workers with their sex disability. A cess of 2 per cent of the value of production will give the necessary amount. What is wanted is the realisation by the Government and by the public of their duty towards the women workers in the country.

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