

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Indo-British Trade Agreement.

SIR JOSEPH BHOORE in speaking on the Indo-British trade agreement in the Assembly did not bring forward any new or specially weighty arguments in his defence. His plea and the plea of other supporters of Government like Mr. James and Mr. Mody was that there was nothing new in the agreement. He pleaded that Government had merely put into concrete terms the practice of the Assembly and the Indian Government for the past decade. He even went so far as to defend the non-consultation with Indian commercial interests on the ground that there was nothing new to consult them about. He was not able, however, to meet the obvious retort that if there was nothing new in it why have the agreement at all. Neither did he cite instances of any other Governments which have similarly committed themselves on principles of protectionist policy in agreement with other countries. Mr. Mody maintained that the agreement followed lines already implicit in the Mody-Clare Lees agreement; but he did not explain whether in his opinion the political advantages, which were supposed to flow out of that agreement, had materialised. The case against the agreement was, in the debate, put forward temperately, on the whole; and Mr. Jinnah put it best when he pointed out that even British preference would be readily conceded by the Assembly if it was necessary in general Indian interests such as in the case of steel, but that any laying down of binding principles was both unnecessary and harmful. The Assembly vote makes it clear that whatever the Government of India may do, the principles of trade policy with Great Britain sought to be established by the new agreement have the support of no shade of public opinion in India.

### Not Word But Deed.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI in a lecture in Bangalore on 26th January thus spoke about the omission of the expression of Dominion Status in the J. P. C. Report and in the Bill. He stated that the Government in England had gone behind all the pledges they had given from time to time. The Bill did not even contain the words "Dominion Status" and there was no chance of these words being included. The mere mention of "Dominion Status" would not do. They wanted the pledges of Great Britain to be implemented by action.

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### Prof. Laski advocates Rejection.

ADDRESSING a meeting of the India League, in the House of Commons, Mr. Harold Laski metaphorically tore the India Bill to shreds when urging Labour's rejection of the Bill.

Mr. Laski recalled the decision arrived at at the Hastings Conference committing the Labour Party to move directly forward to Dominion Status, but everything in the Bill blocked the way.

The basis of the Federation vested immense power in the Princes and made democratic advance hopeless. He declared that the essence of power remained indisputably in English hands and the India Bill revealed the degree to which the technique of imperialism was being practised against India.

England's indefinite control of the armed forces in India meant that she was the mistress of India's destiny, while the economic control over India was vested permanently in the hands of Britain. He claimed that the maintenance of the *status quo* would be infinitely preferable.

The Bill, being fundamentally unamendable in conformity with Labour policy of Socialism, rejection was the only thing left. Otherwise, the Labour Party would be in a false position as a future Government, having in force an imposed constitution which everybody in India had repudiated.

Mr. Laski advised Labour members to move a reasoned amendment during the second reading rejecting the Bill and to abstain from attempts to amend the measure.

Major Attlee stated that the Party would move an amendment in such terms. But discussion revealed that this was not yet official as the Parliamentary Party, which is to meet next week, must decide the issue.

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### Condemnation by Prof. Keith.

IN a private letter to an Indian correspondent Professor Berriedale Keith expressed the following opinion on the J. P. C. Report. His condemnation of the nominated bloc of the States is thrice welcome.

"The Government, it seems to me, has made the mistake of adopting a policy which endeavours to blend two irreconcilable elements. It desires to satisfy the people of India that it is conceding responsible government and the Conservatives of England that it is imposing such checks as will render responsible government innocuous, by depriving it of the characteristic of true responsibility.

"My own opinion, on the whole, is, that, despite the formidable safeguards, the scheme would in practice, given *esprit de corps* and party loyalty in India, work out as real responsible government, the safeguards remaining unused. But the possibility is that, by internal dissensions among Indians, an able Governor might be able to concentrate power in his hands and control his ministry, in which case there would be no real responsibility.

"I am satisfied that the system of construction of the Federation under which the nominees of autocratic rulers are to have a powerful voice in both Houses of the Federation, in order to counteract Indian democracy, is quite indefensible. Whether in practice it works out as the Government and the Princes hope, may be doubtful but the whole project seems to me indefensible. I should, have proposed Federation only for units which were themselves under responsible government, and have admitted the Princes only on condition that they gave their States, constitutions leading up to responsible government, and that their representatives in both Houses of the Central Legislature were elected by the people of the States."

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#### Firing in Ajra.

THAT an inquiry was needed into the circumstances that led to firing at Ajra in Inchalkaranji State (Southern Mahratta Country) was the unanimous opinion of all, whether directly concerned with the administration of the State or not. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula in fact urged long ago that whenever firing took place an inquiry should be instituted if only to dispel the suspicion that always attaches to such incidents in the public mind that firing was either unjustified or excessive. In this particular case there were certain circumstances which necessitated a searching inquiry. For one thing, the casualties appear to be too heavy, considering the size of the crowd that had assembled on the spot. And for another thing, the relations of the Inchalkaranji Jehagir with the Kolhapur State whose feudatory it is have latterly become very strained, and it is popularly believed, with what justification one cannot say, that the Mahomedan community of Ajra, who had to be fired on, was indirectly, if not directly, encouraged in its recalcitrancy by the Kolhapur Durbar.

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THE actual personnel of the Inquiry Commission that has now been announced is not, however, we grieve to say, such as to inspire confidence that the entire truth will be brought to light. For the Commission consists of an official of the Political Department of the British Government and the Prime Minister of Kolhapur. We have nothing to urge against the individuals concerned and we have no reason to say that their verdict, whatever it be, will be anything but just and uninfluenced by extraneous considerations. But the composition of the Commission does not satisfy the requirements of an independent inquiry such as was demanded by the public. What we should have liked was a Commission consisting entirely of officials drawn from the judiciary of the British Government and eminent publicists from British India, both Hindu and Mahomedan. As it is, it is almost an administrative inquiry and suffers from all the defects from which such inquiries suffer. That the inquiry will be held in public and that full protection is accorded to all who

have any allegations to make or evidence to tender is certainly to be welcomed, but in a matter where the facts of the case are to be brought to light and justly interpreted, the official with whom the final administrative decision will rest should have been kept out from the preliminary inquiry.

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#### A United Front.

THERE is much common ground, so far as the reforms are concerned, between the British diehards and the British radicals, and therefore between the British Conservatives and Indian progressives. No Indian will demur to the following statement in Mr. Churchill's radio talk :—

Mr. Churchill quoted Major Attlee as saying that the proposals handed over the workers and peasants to the Princes, landlords, moneylenders, industrialists and lawyers and said: "Those are terrible words. I, as a Conservative opposed to Major Attlee's party on so many points, tell you they are brutal truth. By this deed we abandon our mission in the East, the faithful discharge of which has been our greatest glory. By it we blacken the face of Britain with indelible stain and rend life in India with an incurable wound."

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#### Labour Stands for Withdrawal.

AFTER a good deal of vacillation, the British Labour Party seems to have come down definitely on the side of withdrawal of the proposed reforms. In his broadcast the Leader of the Party, Mr. Lansbury, made this clear. Pleading for another Round Table Conference, he said:

"I am sure that, given an opportunity, those who represent India would produce their own scheme satisfactory to themselves and us. Why not give them the opportunity? Give Indians the responsibility for drafting their proposals for discussion to enable us to reach as full agreement as possible. A year or more of delay will be a short time to wait for an agreed settlement. Meantime, we should not only withdraw the Bill but give immediate help to the starving millions in India."

Mr. Lansbury urged Britain to return to India her war-time gift of £200,000,000 and said the money should be spent by Britain on goods and services urgently needed by the people of India. "We give much assistance to other nations. We cannot have a greater call on us than India."

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#### Late Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer.

DEWAN BAHADUR L. A. GOVINDARAGHAVA IYER whose death took place at Madras last week, though latterly not much in the public eye, was at one time one of the most active of Indian public workers. He was for several years a member of the local legislature where his work was characterised by marked ability and earnestness of purpose which drew unstinted praise even from his adversaries. In the humbler sphere of local self-government too he rendered meritorious service to the public of the Madras Presidency. In politics Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was a Liberal whose faith in constitutionalism remained undimmed till the end of his days. He presided over the Liberal Federation session held at Allahabad in 1921. This was when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had not been in working order even for a whole year. But he fearlessly exposed their shortcomings and made out a cogent case for a larger political advance. That is a testimony alike to his unerring political judgment and to the independence of his character. Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer used to be a prominent figure even on the Congress platform in its pre-non-co-operation days and

his speeches always bore the mark of deep study and mastery of details. A more sweet-tempered man it would be really difficult to come across. As a charitably disposed person he had very few equals and his hospitality was dispensed to persons of varying status with equal cordiality and without the least discrimination. Of young students in need of the wherewithal to prosecute their studies Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was the most unpatronising patron. When such a person is called away, it is stating the barest truth to say that the country is poorer by his death.

#### Mines Act Amending Bill.

THE Indian Mines Act Amending Bill, which has now been referred to a Select Committee, proposes to reduce the daily working hours of labourers from twelve to ten above ground and from twelve to nine below ground. Sir Frank Noyce, in making his motion, observed that it was a good omen that the first Bill to come up before the new Assembly was one of social betterment. He claimed that though it might look as if they were distant from an eight hours ideal, still when the fact that the actual "winding time" was excluded was taken into consideration it would be seen that they had reached at least an eight and half hours arrangement. The real point, however, is: What will be the actual number of hours including the "winding time"? It is only when we consider that that the question whether the proposed Bill brings the labourers nearer to the eight hours ideal can be correctly answered. Though the Government of India deserve our congratulations for incorporating the recommendations of the Whitley Commission in the Bill, the fact remains that the Bill is not comprehensive enough. Considering the very unsatisfactory sanitary conditions in Indian mines, the Bill does not make any great advance in respect of hours of work.

Messrs. Joshi and Giri suggested the acceptance of the International Convention fixing 7¾ hours a day for underground work in mines and eight hours on the surface. The fear of Mr. Clow that any further reduction of hours would not yield a reasonable subsistence to the miners and would cause unemployment among them seems to be groundless. The suggestion of Messrs. Joshi and Ranga that labourers should possess the right to elect their own representatives on the Mining Board is very modest in view of the fact that the labourers are to be shortly entrusted with electing men to the legislatures.

#### U. P. Marketing Survey.

"IT is fitting that the United Provinces Government, who have always given the lead to the other Provinces in the matter of agricultural and industrial reorganisation, should be the first to set up a local staff to collaborate with the Central Marketing Staff whose appointment was recently announced by the Government of India," says the *Pioneer*. "A marketing officer has been appointed who will be assisted by three subordinates stationed at important commercial centres—Cawnpore, Hapur and Etah. The work has been divided into three departments, the first relating to raw material needed for the industries of Cawnpore; the second, in regard to cereals and the third, livestock, poultry and dairy produce. As this is the first organisation of its kind, considerable spade work will have to be undertaken and it is not surprising to be told that it will take not less than two years for its completion. The grading of produce, the introduction of commodity standards, the organisation of marketing

including the elimination of superfluous middle-men are some of the directions in which the marketing staff can help after the preliminary surveys are completed. It is a long and arduous task rendered all the more difficult by the fact that it will not be productive of immediate results and it is to be hoped that the public will not judge of the utility of such an organisation without giving it sufficient time."

#### Indian Women's University.

IT is sincerely to be wished that the appeal for help for the Indian Women's University recently issued by its founder Prof. D. K. Karve will meet with sympathetic response at the hands of the generous public. From the statistics relating to the number of students taking advantage of the education provided by the University it is clear that its work is becoming increasingly popular and has great possibilities of development. It was however when there were unmistakable signs of the University coming into its own that the financial assistance so far-sightedly provided for its maintenance by the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey in his will was cut off by the trustees of his property. The loss of Rs. 52,500 a year which the action of the trustees meant to the University has so completely disorganised the University finances that it will be very long before they are again placed on a satisfactory footing. Nothing daunted, however, Prof. Karve and his co-workers are determined to see that the loss of this princely subvention does not involve any curtailment of the educational activities of the University. The permanent fund has been drawn upon to some extent and now stands at only Rs. 1,18,000. To reduce it still further would be highly undesirable. But with a deficit budget, the only method of avoiding this undesirable contingency is for the public to go to the University's help by the offer of liberal contributions, either to be repeated every year or to be paid once for all.

#### Institute of Public Affairs.

WE cordially welcome the formation of an Institute of Public Affairs in Lahore by Mr. B. P. L. Bedi, Director, (Dayal Singh Library, 25, Nisbet Road) for a scientific study and research of Indian and world affairs. It will aim at diffusing among the people the results of scientific enquiry into vital national problems and creating a feeling for responsible citizenship. It will also aim at educating the public in important problems of wider range affecting other countries. The prospectus of the Institute declares that "in the pursuit of those aims it is the governing principle of the Institute that it will not indulge in any kind of propagandist activity. The Institute of Public Affairs will, no doubt, bring every phase of national life under critical analysis. But it will study all the problems objectively and scientifically, and thus it will help people in thinking clearly and constructively." This work of public education it will carry on by means of lectures on Indian and international affairs by scholars of repute, and among the lecturers selected in the beginning are such publicists of note as Prof. Brij Narain, Prof. K. T. Shah, Dr. A. Kashyap, Dr. L. C. Jain and Dr. J. N. Khosla. If the lectures delivered at the Institute are printed in pamphlet form, as they should be, the Institute will serve not only Lahore but all other educational centres in India. The need for an Institute like this was sorely felt everywhere.

## ADJUSTING REVENUE TO PRICES.

THE Punjab Government has announced what it justly describes as a revolutionary change in its methods of land revenue assessment in districts which have become due for re-settlement. The change consists in fluctuating the land revenue demand with fluctuations in the prices of agricultural produce. The present law in the Punjab as in other provinces lays down that the amount of land revenue be limited to a certain proportion of the net assets, that the amount be not increased within a certain period, and that after this period the amount be not increased beyond a certain proportion. In the Punjab the maximum rate which the Government can levy is 25 per cent. of the total net assets, the period of settlement is 40 years, and the maximum increase which it can sanction at re-settlement in the incidence of the rates in the previous settlement is 25 per cent. But in the present law no provision is made for varying the amount of land revenue in accordance with the movement of prices. The rates are fixed at one-fourth of the estimated money value of the surplus produce, but if the money value falls away later there is no remedy by which, during the currency of the settlement, the additional burden thrown upon the ryot could be lightened except by making special remissions. But this method of giving temporary relief for the occasion naturally proved very unsatisfactory in face of the slump in the prices of agricultural produce that is continuing uninterruptedly for a number of years.

In order to remedy this, Government has now decided, whenever revision of assessment is undertaken, to provide that the amount of land revenue to be collected each year shall depend upon the level of agricultural prices during the previous year. The commutation prices which will regulate the assessment rates for the period of the settlement will be fixed as usual, taking the average of prices for twenty years preceding the settlement, but the full revenue rates will actually be enforced only when the current market prices are as high as the commutation prices. If prices fall, a proportionate reduction will be made in the land revenue demand. In the event of a rise in prices, however, there will be no enhancement in the demand. The arrangement now proposed will thus be entirely in the interest of the

ryot or the zamindar. For the present the new system will be brought into force in the Lyallpur district and the Rakh Branch circle of the Sheikhpura district, and it will gradually be brought into force in all tracts where the revenue rates come to be revised after the period of settlement. In other tracts, where the settlement is yet to run its course, the usual method of temporary remissions will be adopted to meet the fall in agricultural prices. How exactly the level of prices will be determined is explained at some length in the press *communique* that has been issued.

How will the new method, to be introduced immediately in Lyallpur district, affect the revenue-payer in the district? What relief will he actually get? Sir Herbert Emerson, the Governor, gave some details about the effect of following the new system in a recent speech in Lyallpur. On the basis of the prices that prevailed last year, the zamindar would be entitled, he said, to a remission of 8 annas in the rupee on the new assessment; for the prices were very low last year. Naturally, as the prices rise, the remission due to the zamindar will decrease. But it is very satisfactory to note that, under this method, no higher rate of assessment will be charged even if the market prices rise above the commutation prices that have been sanctioned. When Sir Herbert referred to this matter, the question was undecided as to whether the advantage of the sliding scale would be given to the Government as well as to the revenue payer. But now it is decided that the Government will not be entitled to raise its revenue demand on any account. The *communique* says that "if in any year the general level (of prices) is higher than that represented by the schedule (giving the commutation prices used in framing produce estimates in the settlement), the revenue-payers will be given the full advantage of the excess." The total amount of remission which will thus have to be given this year in Lyallpur district will be very large indeed. The claim made by the Government, therefore, that its proposals represent a very liberal treatment of the revenue-payer must be fully allowed; and the Government is to be heartily congratulated on this new departure that it has made in introducing much-needed elasticity into the present system which is far too rigid.

## TAXATION OF MOTOR VEHICLES.

THE Government of Bombay published some weeks ago a proposal for the consolidation of the present of taxation on motor vehicles in one provincial tax. The principle of abolishing various provincial and local levies in favour of one provincial tax has long been accepted and its general adoption was definitely recommended by the Indian Road Development Committee in 1928. In this Presidency the need for such a step came to be specially felt with the revival in 1933 by the provincial Government of tolls on provincial roads. By road interests and road

associations Government had been long urged to consider this measure and a scheme with provisional schedules has now been definitely put forward. According to this scheme it is intended to abolish the registration tax, the provincial, district local board and municipal tolls, the municipal wheel tax and all other miscellaneous local levies on motor vehicles. These will be replaced by one provincial tax levied on motor vehicles, which have been classified for this purpose into four classes: (i) motor cycles and tricycles; (ii) private passenger vehicles; (iii)

public passenger vehicles; and (iv) goods vehicles. Government in their communique state that the rates on the various classes have been so fixed as to bring in a revenue not less than the total revenue at present accruing to all the authorities from the existing sources of taxation and it is proposed to recompense the local bodies who now levy the various taxes from the proceeds of the provincial tax, on the basis of their existing revenue plus ten per cent.

As there is very general agreement that one consolidated tax is always much better than a variety of miscellaneous levies and as tolls are a specially vexatious and wasteful means of taxation there is no opposition in principle to the step that Government proposes to take. In fact it ought to be very generally welcomed. Such criticism as has been levelled against it has been from the point of view of special interests on whom the burden of taxation may be increased. There is little doubt that the proposed scheme would change to a considerable extent the distribution of the burden of taxation on various types of vehicles. At present the burden on private passenger vehicles varies, for example, from locality to locality. The registration tax is the only general tax to be paid; the rates of wheel taxes differ widely from place to place and the incidence of tolls would depend on the extent to which toll bars are passed and on whether the roads are provincial or local board. The Bombay City private vehicles will under the proposed scheme pay a tax which will just about equal the present wheel tax plus the registration fee. They will thus benefit to the extent to which they use provincial or local board roads with toll bars. The gain or loss in other places will vary with the scale of wheel taxes and the amounts to be paid in tolls. The chief difference to be made by the proposal is in respect of the goods vehicles and the public passenger vehicles. It is a peculiarity of the present scheme of taxation that in registration and wheel taxation no differentiation is made as between light and heavy vehicles. This is also a very serious defect in the existing arrangements. It is an established principle of motor vehicles taxation that it should be steeply graduated as against the heavier vehicles. And the graduation has to be all the steeper if a tax proportional to mileage run—such as the petrol tax—is an important feature of the taxation system. The fact, therefore, that the proposed scheme levies a heavier burden on the heavier vehicles should be recognised as a move towards the rectification of an existing defect.

As amongst the public passenger vehicles it is not every class that has its burden seriously increased. The taxi-cab seating four will be taxed at Rs. 160 p. a. The difference of this rate from that of private vehicles is such as can be easily justified by extra road use. Further the vast majority of the taxi-cabs are located in Bombay City and there would be no considerable additional burden involved on these under the proposed scheme. In respect of buses plying in the districts the position will differ widely from place to place, and route to route. For example,

those plying within a city and its suburbs and those who frequent short routes with no toll bars will have now a much heavier burden imposed on them. But at the other extreme, passenger bus services plying along the provincial roads over long distances will actually have their burden considerably reduced. At present the tax burden is very different in the two cases running the same mileage, one of many trips on a short route and the other of one trip on a long one. There is no reason why this disparity should any longer remain; and the proposed scheme which proportions taxation to passenger seating capacity is more logical. This basis is also one which has been adopted in most other countries and in those Indian provinces which have a provincial tax. The basis of unladen weight for the taxation of goods vehicles seems also to be appropriate under present conditions. We agree with the Indian Transport and Development Association that laden tonnage would be a better criterion; but as very little detailed statistical information is yet available on this question it would not be possible to adopt that basis forthwith. There is no reason to believe that the difference made in the burden of taxation thereby would be considerable. We would most emphatically oppose the Association's plea that the heavier goods vehicles should be taxed less than in the present schedule. If one looks to the weighty decisions arrived at in this matter by such bodies as the Salter Conference or the U. S. A. joint committee of Rail-road and Highway users it is found that the weight of vehicles is agreed to be a most important criterion in distributing the tax burden; and that where there obtains taxation by mileage run—such as that by means of a petrol tax—the graduation of the lump duties according to weight e. g. the license-duty in England or the proposed provincial tax has to be very steep indeed. The graduation put forward in the Government scheme is not steeper than that in the schedules of the Salter Conference and there is nothing in the circumstances in India to warrant a departure in favour of the very heavy goods vehicles. The plea that heavy motor vehicles cannot ply in the districts cannot be accepted as justifying lower taxation. For, where they cannot ply no question of taxation arises. But if they are found to be economical of use in, say, Bombay City and suburbs they must bear the full burden of taxation to which they are subject in virtue of their road destructive properties. It would be wrong in our opinion to encourage by low taxation the use of very heavy goods vehicles.

It is difficult to estimate in advance what the yield under the proposed schedules will be, but according to rough calculations that we have made we put it as likely to be somewhat over Rs. 35 lakhs. The tax burden for the year 1932-33 approximated to this sum and was distributed as follows: Rs. 20 lakhs, municipal and district local board tolls and municipal wheel tax (including tolls and wheel taxes paid by vehicles other than motor vehicles), Rs. 3 lakhs, provincial tolls, Rs. 13 lakhs, registration and other fees. Total Rs. 36 lakhs. If we consider that under the toll system the actual tax burden on

the vehicle user is much greater than the net income to the taxing authority the total burden under the proposed scheme is certainly found to be not greater than under the existing system. Its distribution will no doubt be somewhat different, but we believe that the redistribution is in the right direction. The real problem today in Indian motor vehicles taxation is the extraordinary share taken up through the customs duties and petrol tax by the Imperial revenues; but this fact could not justify or make possible a lighter taxation by those authorities who are responsible for road maintenance and who must find funds for that purpose. In the collection of the tax there is one point that will have to be remembered by the authorities. At present the toll is paid by the public vehicle owner out of the daily income and the tax burden does not thereby unduly strain the bus owner's resources at one point of time. It would be necessary to arrange for the collection of the tax, therefore, if possible in small, say, monthly instalments.

There is finally one important suggestion that we would make. In the Government announcement it is suggested that if the taxation yields more than the money now accruing from the various items of taxation the extra revenue should be devoted in equal proportion to road repairs in addition to the grants now made and to the abolition of the tolls and wheel taxes now imposed by local bodies on animals and vehicles other than motor vehicles. We would strongly urge on Government the desirability of attaining the latter end before extra grants are made. There are two strong reasons why this should be done. The class of vehicles which bears most of the burden after the motor vehicles is that of the bullock carts. It is generally agreed that tolls on bullock carts are a vexatious and heavy burden on the movement of agricultural produce. The agriculturist already pays very adequately towards local body finances through the land revenue cess. It is, therefore, only just that he should be exempted from tolls. From the administrative point of view also the maintenance of toll bars only for vehicles other than motors would be extremely wasteful. Such a step will considerably reduce the savings to be obtained from the general abolition of tolls. Our calculations would show that the immediate revenue from the proposed taxation would be enough to cover the proceeds of all the abolished sources of taxation including taxes and tolls on all animals and vehicles. The fiscal reform, therefore, should be immediately completed. The increased yield in later years because of the increase in the number of motor vehicles could then be continuously and solely used towards increasing road grants to local authorities.

#### INDIAN SITUATION IN ZANZIBAR.

WITH the publication last week of Mr. Menon's report on the situation in Zanzibar and the Zanzibar Government's criticism thereof, the Indian public no longer labours under the handicap of lack of full, authentic, and what is

even more important, all-sided information. The impasse was caused, as our readers are aware, by the hurried passage by the colonial legislature of six laws purporting to deal with the evil of agricultural indebtedness. Who that is normally constituted would have the heart to object to such legislation? But in the circumstances of Zanzibar, these laws, or decrees as they are locally termed, have a very harmful effect on Indian interests. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say, as has been done by Mr. Menon himself and contended all along by the Indian community, that the strict enforcement of these decrees will result in squeezing Indians, by the application of economic pressure, out of the Colony. This would spell disaster to the Indian community, as indeed to any other set of persons similarly circumstanced. What such expropriatory measures mean can be realised only by those who, like the Indian community, look upon Zanzibar as their adopted mother-country and have invested all their savings in Zanzibar itself.

Against only one decree, viz., the Moneylenders Decree, allowing monetary transactions to be reopened by the courts, Mr. Menon has no objection to urge. So far as can be seen from press summaries of his report, this legislation seems to follow the usual lines for the regulation of moneylending business and gives much needed and legitimate protection to the debtor. But there can be little doubt, as pointed out by Mr. Menon, that the cumulative effect of the whole of this legislative scheme would be to make it economically impossible for our countrymen to continue in Zanzibar for any length of time. We need not be so uncharitable as to suppose that in framing these measures the Zanzibar Government kept that objective definitely in view. But were such an unholy purpose aimed at, it would have been difficult to devise more effective means for gaining the end. As if to ward off any suspicion that the legislation was directed against Indians, care has been taken to exclude all specific reference to them. But it does not need more than a few minutes' study of the decrees to find out that they would in fact affect Indians more vitally than persons of any other race inhabiting Zanzibar. A relevant fact to be borne in mind in this connection is that Indian money locked up in land in Zanzibar amounts to about Rs. 80 lakhs, having been lent out to African natives or Arabs who are the real cultivators of the soil.

The Land Alienation Decree prohibits the transfer of land belonging to Africans or Arabs to persons not belonging to either of these races except with the sanction of the British Resident. Now which are the races other than African and Arab that are found in the island? A handful of Europeans who number less than 300 and Indians whose number exceeds 14,000. It is possible to argue that if the prohibition against transfer of land holds good in the case of Indians, it does so with no less force in the case of Europeans as well. But does it really? Is it enforced with the same strictness and impartiality as in the case of the former? Or do Europeans succeed in securing exemption from the operation of this clause more easily than our countrymen? The relevant statistics alone, which however will not be available for some time more, will furnish a convincing reply.

But is any case made out for such prohibition? If Indians had given evidence of a land-grabbing tendency which has characterised the dealings of European settlers with the natives in other colonies, there might have been some justification for such a measure in Zanzibar. But Mr. Menon assures us that not even 2 per cent. of the land is owned by Indians. As for plantations and clove trees, only 4 per cent.

of the former and nearly 6 per cent. of the latter is put down to Indian ownership. These statistics are controverted by the Zanzibar Government who state that land was as a matter of fact passing out of the hands of Africans and Arabs into those of Indians at a quicker pace. But even if the proportion of land in Indian ownership be 17 per cent., as the Government says, and the period of time in which this result has been achieved is taken into account, no dispassionate observer will look upon it as so alarming a rate of transfer as to justify all the extraordinarily harsh measures against Indians which are embodied in this scheme for the eradication of indebtedness from among the Zanzibar agriculturists.

If the prohibition against the alienation of land is unjustifiable, it follows that neither the moratorium legalised by the decree nor the retrospective effect given to the legislation can be supported by any shred of justification. That the legislation is not based solely on economic but on racial considerations is proved by the fact that under it while no land can change its ownership in favour of an Indian, even though he may have permanently settled in the colony, its transfer to an Arab, however recent his arrival, is not only not tabooed but is held valid, whether he is himself the tiller of the soil or not. If the banishment of agricultural indebtedness from Zanzibar had been, as officially stated, the real object, the better plan would undoubtedly have been the one proposed by Mr. Menon for adoption by the Zanzibar Government. Instead of forbidding transfer of land to persons other than Africans or Arabs, the object would have been better served by placing an embargo on the transfer of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Menon's suggestion will still find acceptance at the hands of the Zanzibar Government. That in fact will be regarded as the acid test of their real intentions.

The other four decrees deal with the clove trade, which will be controlled by what is known as the Clove-Growers' Association brought into being by one of the decrees. Its work will be financed by the proceeds of a fee of Rs. 5,000 for a license to export cloves. The levy of such a heavy impost is bound to cause serious hardship to clove dealers in general and must go. The affairs of the Association will be managed by a board consisting of not more than seven members appointed by the British Resident and a Secretary-Manager, who will be the chief executive officer. Mr. Menon voices the fear universally shared by the Indian community that the official members of the Association will neither have the time nor the aptitude to attend to the detailed working of the Association, with result that all power would really be centralised in the hands of one man, the Secretary-Manager. The Association will thus be a one-man show—one man regulating the clove trade of the whole of Zanzibar as he deems fit! But Mr. Menon's words will bring out the purpose of the Association more vividly. He says: "The Association backed by the resources of the State enters the field of trade in direct competition with and in suppression of existing trades, for the purpose of eliminating Indian traders from the clove business. Armed with such powers, privileges and immunities, the Clove-Growers' Association strikes Indian traders as a Leviathan brushing them aside, casting them adrift and trampling upon that freedom of trade which they have enjoyed for generations." We hope that the Government of India will leave no stone unturned to get such hated anti-Indian legislation expunged from the Zanzibar statute book as soon as possible.

## Our London Letter.

( BY AIR MAIL. )

( From Our Correspondent. )

London, 25th January.

### THE BILL.

AT last—at long last—the Government of India Bill has been issued. It is a very portentous volume. It contains 451 clauses, 15 schedules covering in all 323 printed pages. The *Times* to-day recalls that the Government of India Act, 1919, contained only 47 clauses and only 2 schedules. The principal reasons for the enormous volume of the present Bill is that many of its clauses, and sub-clauses have to be repeated as a matter of practical convenience for the Federation, the Provinces and Burma, for which a separate Constitution is incorporated. It is therefore pointed out in the explanatory memorandum that when these various matters are taken into consideration the true magnitude of the Bill is limited to about half the apparent size. Even then it is an enormous, portentous, and highly technical document. The Bill includes in statutory form a number of provisions dealing with matters hitherto dealt with under Rules issued by the Secretary of State. The Bill would have been still larger, we are reminded, if the franchise proposals for the Provincial Legislatures had been included. The franchise scheme proposed is that embodied in the White Paper as qualified by the Joint Select Committee; but the provisions have been omitted on the assumption that they are better dealt with by Orders in Council, to be approved by Parliament. It is added, however, that if Parliament would prefer that the provisions for franchise for the territorial constituencies should be included, then the Government would propose to move the inclusion of additional schedules.

### NO PREAMBLE.

The first thing that one notices about the Bill is that it contains no preamble. Whilst following the recommendations of the Joint Committee it repeals all existing legislation dealing with the Government of India, except certain technical provisions in the Act of 1919. It is stated that though the historic Act of 1919 is to be totally replaced, the Preamble to that Act will, in some unexplained way, remain on record, and an inspired message to the Press indicates that the Government will make it clear, either through the Secretary of State for India or through the Prime Minister, or through the Leader of the House, during the debate on the second reading, which I understand is to begin about the 6th February, and will last for two days, that they adhere to all the pledges which have been given to India, and that they have no doubt in their mind as to what the ultimate future of India should be. All this is, of course, very reassuring so far as it goes. The question is whether it will be far enough to reassure an alarmed and suspicious India. I have it on very excellent authority that representations to the Cabinet have been made in the highest Indian official quarters of the extremely harmful consequences upon Indian opinion and sentiment of the omission from the White Paper, the Report of the Joint Committee and the pronouncement of British statesmen of all reference to Dominion Status. Whilst a verbal assurance in Parliament such as was given under the pressure of Mr. Lansbury's insistent question on the 12th December last by Mr. Baldwin, may carry conviction to and satisfy British opinion, it is far from certain

that the absence of an express pledge of Parliament will equally content Indian opinion, in view of the challenges thrown out from time to time by the Churchill group. Who can say that some other Churchill and his companions in reaction may not ten years hence seek to question once again the authority of pledges made on any less formal authority than that of Parliament as expressed in a Statute, on the subject of India's ultimate status in the British Commonwealth of Nations?

#### THE *Times* COMMENT.

In this connection it is interesting to note the following passage in the editorial columns of to-day's *Times*.

"There has been a very strong demand lately from India for the inclusion in it (the Bill) of the words 'Dominion Status' as expressing the goal of this and previous advances in self-government. That demand the Government have ignored—presumably for the reason that 'Dominion Status' is not susceptible of definition in a precise constitutional document—and they are manifestly right to leave no loophole for misunderstanding. We all know generally what the words imply. They have been used again and again of India in authoritative speeches and proclamations, and they will continue to be used in the future . . . But 'status' of any kind, whether of a person or a people, is something which is achieved and recognised, not something to be 'conferred' as if it were a knighthood: and 'Dominion Status' has carried so many shades of meaning at different times, and is applied to-day to so many varieties of government, that it would be hopeless to attempt to defend the phrase with common agreement, even in the Preamble to a Parliamentary Bill. In its fullest form it is synonymous with nationhood, which is perhaps the better word; and that is what every one—from the Royal Instructions of 1919 to Lord Irwin's speech often years later—has always intended as the goal of Indian progress. Let there be no room for doubt, even in the most suspicious mind, that this is what is intended still; that there has been no deviation by so much as a hair's-breadth from a single one of the pledges given to India by the Sovereign, his Viceroy, and his Ministers in the last decade; and that the present Bill is the longest step ever taken towards their fulfilment. The Secretary of State can make this clear when he introduces it, and it is essential that he should do so."

#### FURTHER PRESS COMMENTS.

Both the *Daily Herald* and the *Manchester Guardian*, not to speak of the *Morning Post*, are critical of certain features and omissions in connection with the Bill. The *Morning Post* suggests that the lawyers should raise a statue to Sir Samuel Hoare at some suitable site in the Temple Gardens or Lincoln's Inn Fields, in view of the promise of litigation, sufficient for the largest appetite, contained in the Bill. The *Manchester Guardian* is very wroth at the silence of the Bill on the matter of Dominion Status and remarks, as did Sir John Thompson last week, that if in fact all pledges are to be maintained there is no reason why there should not be a clear indication of the fact in the Bill itself, since what is binding upon the Government may not be held to be equally binding upon Parliament, in view of recent happenings. A further criticism is the omission of the draft Instrument of Instructions, in the absence of whose details the Princes will remain ignorant of their exact position *vis-a-vis* the Federation, and will therefore not be able to make up their minds. The *Daily Herald*, whilst also commenting upon the omission of the Preamble, and upon the inevitable condemnation of the Bill by Indian opinion as inadequate and unsatisfactory, describes the measure as making provision for "a fettered freedom" which is neither responsible government nor self-government.

#### SIR SAMUEL HOARE AT OXFORD.

Sir Samuel Hoare was probably at his best in his speech at Oxford on Wednesday night, when he sought to allay the apprehensions of Indians as to the nature, purpose and operation of the safeguards contained in the new measure. Paying a tribute to the spirit of responsibility shown in past years by the Legislatures and Ministers in India, in circumstances not conspicuously favouring responsibility, he appealed to common sense and a sense of fair play. He declared that it is neither fair nor sensible to assume the worst, and to imagine that either the Governor-General or the Governors or the Services, or the Ministers or the Legislatures, or each of them or all of them, will insist on defying the underlying intentions of the policy and will exploit their own position to the exclusion of all harmony and co-operation, and with the only result of creating friction and bringing about deadlock. No constitution, he added, will work on such assumption, and not only this but any other Constitution will be vitiated if a spirit of this sort prevailed. He pointed out that in the past Governors-General and Governors had acted as men of good sense and good-will and that they had been able to combine the functions of political guidance, under certain conditions, with firm executive action under other conditions, and in so doing they had worked the constitution as it was meant to be worked. The intention of the new constitution would be to extend the sphere of their political guidance and to diminish that of their executive action. Why should it be assumed that they would be less successful in observing the spirit of the new constitution and in striking the true balance between their diverse functions in the future than in the past? Sir Samuel Hoare fully recognised and emphasised the force of the nationalist spirit which was sweeping through all classes in India as it had done in other Eastern countries, but he recognised the fact that it had not yet stabilised itself. Sir Samuel's appeal to the spirit of reasonableness, both in this country and in India, is likely to fall on deaf ears so far as the Diehards are concerned.

#### THE WAVERTREE BY-ELECTION.

The Wavertree Division of Liverpool is in the throes of a by-election. It had been supposed when the writ was issued, on the seat falling vacant, that there would be a normal fight between Tory, Liberal, and Labour candidates. In such a triangular fight there was every likelihood of the return of the Tory candidate by what was usually regarded as a Tory constituency. Mr. Randolph Churchill, however, with the amazing self-assurance of youth (the good young man is only twenty-three, but he has inherited a large part of his distinguished father's vocabulary of oburgation and abuse), felt inspired, both from within and by Lord Rothermere, who has beckoned him to come up higher and to take the place of his former favourite, Sir Oswald Mosley, to offer himself as an Independent Tory candidate charged with the holy mission of saving Lancashire from herself and the Empire from the dangers of the policy of surrender. The first thing that Mr. Churchill, Jr., did was to open himself to a libel action by the Chairman of the Liverpool Tory Party. His next method of self-expression was to describe the Prime Minister and Mr. Baldwin, with much verbal eloquence and picturesqueness, as "fat toads sitting upon the nostrils of the British lion." Why that energetic, if good-tempered beast, should have allowed such a liberty to be taken with him, or why the public or the lion himself should believe that he had done so, Mr. Churchill, Jr., fails to explain. Suffice it to say that, like the gallant knight-errant of old, he is intent upon rescuing the damsel in distress from the



wicked uncle, the fearsome dragon, or the awful sorcerer, as the case may be. Even the Tory Party admires the vigour and the chivalry of youth, but perhaps not at the expense of losing a seat upon a challenge on the official India policy, for whilst nobody supposes that Mr. Churchill, Jr., David as he is to the Conservative Party Office Goliath, will win, he may quite easily hand over the seat to the Labour candidate, on a split Tory vote. Accordingly since the India Defence League in Parliament has, much to Lord Stonehaven's disgust, announced its intention to support Mr. Churchill's candidature, Mr. Platt, the official Conservative-Nationalist candidate, who has just described as "absolute rot" Mr. Churchill's statement that the 25% tariff was ruining the trade of Lancashire, and who has reminded the constituency that it was put on by the Indian people themselves under powers extended to it by a Cabinet which included Mr. Churchill, Sr., will be supported by Mr. Eden, the popular Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Ernest Brown, Parliamentary Secretary to the Mines Department, Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney General, Mr. Blindell, M. P., Chief Liberal National Whip, Lord Stanley, Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. R. A. Butler, Under Secretary for India, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Under Secretary for Dominion Affairs, Lord Brocket, the retired member for the division, Mr. T. Howard, M. P., and Lord Burleigh, M. P. The affair is a pleasant interlude in the solemn routine of life, and one may hope for refreshing fruits therefrom.

#### DIEHARDS AND THE STATES.

There is something touching always in the cling-

ing of a devotee to an outworn and dying faith, but it is a little difficult to exert one's sympathies on behalf of those who are wilfully blind to facts, and who prefer to repeat and to reiterate fictions as though they were sacred mantras. Nothing will get it out of the head of the dear old *Morning Post* that Major Courtauld and his lordly colleague, who recently went out to India, that the Viceroy and the Princes have entered into a secret and wicked conspiracy to conceal the fact that the Princes are dead afraid to contradict the Viceroy and to assert that which according to the *Post*, they know to be the truth, namely, that they are being pressed, forced, compelled, cajoled, bribed, and otherwise terrorised and seduced into entering the Federation. Nothing that the Viceroy says, no words of the Chancellor or of the Maharaja of Bikaner, or of any one else to the contrary has the slightest influence upon the *Post*. What in the circumstances is to be done? It is not to be supposed that that revered and devout paper will ever wake up from its trance, even with the help of Lord Rothermere who is using the vast circulation of his "stunt Press" to persuade the Princes that they are putting their money upon the wrong horse, and that the *Daily Mail* both can and will help them in spite of themselves to save their souls alive for "Diehardism." It is touching, as I have observed above, to note the simplicity and the obliviousness to facts of these devotees of a dying faith. Nothing can convince them, no disillusionment can awaken them, they appear to be doomed for ever to lash themselves into transports of fury and indignation on behalf of the divinity that heeds them not.

## GOKHALE'S LIFE AND WORK.

*Mr. Srinivasa Sastri delivered another series of three extension lectures on "Gokhale and his Work" at Mysore under the auspices of the Mysore University. Following is a summary of the lectures as reported in the Hindu of Madras:—*

### I.

AT the outset, Mr. Sastri observed that as he had already dealt with the subject on three successive days in Bangalore, he proposed to vary slightly the subject matter and select for treatment in Mysore incidents and episodes in Gokhale's life somewhat different from those which formed the theme of Bangalore speeches, though to a great extent the subject matter must be the same.

Speaking of Gokhale's school days Mr. Sastri said that Gokhale was not known for any brilliant gifts but he was very industrious and, as his school-fellows loved to say, very ambitious at the same time. It was said that he had a prodigious memory which was noticeable even while he was at school. Often it seemed he would lend a text-book to a fellow-mate and ask him to hold the book while he wanted to recite certain passages by heart. There used to be a bet that he should put an anna for every slip he had made, but nobody made a fortune out of his mistakes.

#### FOUNDING OF THE FERGUSSON COLLEGE.

When Gokhale was 20 years of age, the lecturer said, he joined a band of young educationists who founded the Fergusson College, of which the chief feature was a professoriat which consisted of eminent graduates of the Bombay University who had undertaken to give 20 years of their lives to the work of bringing higher education within the reach of the poorer classes in that presidency. That College stood still as a monument of patriotic service in the cause of education. He hardly knew of an institution similar to that in this presidency. He might, however,

mention the example of the National High School in Bangalore which followed the lines of the Fergusson College although it confined itself to high school education. In the Fergusson College Gokhale taught mathematics at first and then for a time he lectured on English.

To specialise, Mr. Sastri said, might be the privilege of later generations when there was a sufficiency of talent available for the work of education, but in those days which might be called the beginnings of higher education Gokhale thought that it was not a bad thing to fill any chair with tolerable efficiency. The chief difficulty of the College was finance. Gokhale had to go all over the Deccan and obtain donations and contributions of sorts. During two or three years Gokhale gave every holiday he got to the collection of funds for the College and he was responsible in the main for placing the College on a basis of security. His position naturally was one of dominance in its administration and inner councils, but he never was Principal of the College and when the Principalship became vacant he refused it and passed it on to a young man who had just then won the distinction of Senior Wrangler—Mr. Paranjpye. Professor Selby belonged to a class now comparatively rare and his knowledge of Indian conditions and life of Indians and his sympathy with every branch of national life were all well-known and won for him a foremost place in the hearts and affections of the Indians of that presidency. Gokhale was never the Professor's pupil but was his contemporary, and it was curious and significant of Professor Selby's position that although he was the

Principal of a rival college, the authorities of the Fergusson College did not hesitate to ask him to take the place of the President of the governing body of that institution, and Mr. Selby occupied that position for many years. In later years when Gokhale spoke of the Universities Act of Lord Curzon he mentioned two European educationists as being competent to secure a place in the affections of Indian students. One was Wordsworth, whose student he was, and the other was Mr. Selby.

Mr. Sastri then referred to Gokhale's services in the cause of Indian finance as a witness before the Welby Commission and the Poona plague incident, its aftermath, which placed Gokhale under an unmerited cloud for a time both in England and India where he was assailed not so much by Europeans as by some of his own countrymen.

#### GOKHALE AND TILAK.

Referring to Gokhale's association with Tilak, Mr. Sastri said that particularly early in his association with Tilak differences between them broke out and they came into mutual conflict on questions of religion and social reform. On political matters they stood in opposite camps for many years and they met each other as antagonists. It was well-known that in his ebbing strength he had to answer charges of a grave character and it was also generally believed that it hastened his death. They were wrong, Mr. Sastri said, who thought that Gokhale was the favoured minion of fortune. He was not. It was only because his patriotism was pure, his religion intense and his ideal high, he never lost sight of the true and noble in life. Gokhale always looked into himself and examined his conduct in the light of the great principles and ideas which he held and it was said that if he had done wrong nobody could have castigated him more severely than himself, and if he did right, nobody did give credit and he looked upon successes merely as stepping stones to greater opportunities of service. Love of God and love of country played a great part in Gokhale's life, following the example of his illustrious master, Ranade.

One thing which must be noticed in his life and which was of value to young men of the present generation, Mr. Sastri said, was that in Gokhale's character there was a great element of reverence for those who taught him anything, admiration for those who had undergone trials for the sake of their country, reverence to senior workers and others whom he considered as examples. It was marvellous how often he spoken in terms of humility when he spoke of Ranade, Joshi and Mehta. When he spoke of the person who assailed him so constantly—Tilak—he would not allow any one of them to speak lightly or disparagingly of him. He would always say, "Tilak may have his faults, I may have to settle my account with him, but who are you? You are nowhere near him. Tilak's natural endowments are first-rate. He has used them for the service of the country and although I did not approve of his methods, I never questioned his motives. There is no man who has suffered so much for the country, who has had in his life to contend against powerful opposition so much as Tilak and there is no man who has shown grit, patience and courage so rare that several times he lost his fortune and by his indomitable will gathered it together again." One great lesson that young men might learn from Gokhale's life was this reverence and feeling of love to those who lived great lives for their inspiration.

#### A SERVANT OF INDIA.

In concluding his first lecture, Mr. Sastri referred to the time when Gokhale retired from the Fergusson College on a pension of Rs. 30 a month and said that when Gokhale took leave of the Col-

lege, there was a great demonstration and a public meeting at which they said good-bye to him and he said good-bye to them. It was a most pathetic meeting. He made on that occasion a speech of such a character that he (Mr. Sastri) would advise all to read it. The whole of that speech was entered in a text-book which was read in North India. They would catch from it something of the spirit that actuated Gokhale throughout his life, of the high ideals he cherished, how simply he worked and how devoutly he gave the very best that was in him for the service of those ideals and the pursuit of those principles. When he left the College, he had made up his mind to devote the rest of his life to public service with Rs. 30 pension and such income as a book of his on Arithmetic brought him by way of royalty. His later career in public life was as the head of the Servants of India Society which he asked others to join to render public service in various fields of activity.

#### II.

Gokhale's work in the Imperial Legislative Council was referred to by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his second lecture. Mr. Sastri said that it would perhaps be true to say that the greater part of Gokhale's reputation was founded upon the nature and extent of this portion of his labours. In fact, his work in the Supreme Legislative Council must take first rank in any survey of his contribution to the discussion of public affairs in India.

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said that Lord Curzon was generous in his appreciation of Gokhale's work, and in 1903, Gokhale received the distinction of C.I.E. at his hands. In communicating this honour in advance of the Gazette notification, Lord Curzon wrote a personal letter to Gokhale saying that the honour came to him in recognition of his abilities and his services to the country, and Lord Curzon wished that India produced more such public men. R. C. Dutt, I. C. S., also wrote to Gokhale acknowledging the noble and patriotic work rendered by him in the Council, both with regard to the Official Secrets Bill and the Universities Bill. Continuing, R. C. Dutt said: "You have lost all along the line, but there are defeats which are more brilliant than victories. The fight you have made against Imperialism will be historic and will never be forgotten by your country." In his letter to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Gokhale described the effect of some of his efforts in the Imperial Council and mentioned that the Viceroy (Lord Minto) congratulated him on his budget speech and that Mr. Baker, Finance Member, made an earnest appeal to him not to retire from the Council the next year as he had intended to do, but to continue to be in the Council to back him (Mr. Baker) with his criticism and his demands.

Mr. Sastri next dealt with the founding of the Servants of India Society in 1905. Principal Selby, to whom Gokhale had sent a copy of the rules governing the membership of the Society, wrote to Gokhale to say that it was a hard condition to expect members to surrender their conscience to the head of the Society for five years. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar also wrote to Gokhale that the conditions of membership constituted a danger to individual liberty. But in the end it was thought necessary to run the risk involved in it as otherwise there was but small chance with their disorganised and undisciplined public life and want of self-restraint which characterised most of their young men of any really useful work being done by the Society.

#### LALA LAJPAT RAI'S DEPORTATION.

Reference was then made by Mr. Sastri to the occurrence of a political event in 1907 which excited.

all people from top to bottom. It was the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Gokhale's reaction to that act of Government. Though to a great extent Gokhale and Lajpat Rai belonged to two different schools of political thought, when Gokhale heard of Lajpat Rai's deportation he felt that the Government had made a big blunder and threw himself into the work of obtaining his release as early as possible. Lord Morley began by declaring that Lord Curzon's spirit had gone, that the Queen's Proclamation was a document meant to be taken seriously in the administration of India, that the Indian National Congress was to be treated hereafter as a political body of good repute. These sentiments which he meant honestly to be carried out into practice remained honestly for a long time and his Council rushed him into measures of repressive character for which he had to take the responsibility, but which it was clear he had detested from his heart. He must say that Lord Morley's good intentions were not appreciated and there were even among liberal ranks people who so thoroughly misunderstood him as to expect nothing good from him. Morley intended to modify the Bengal partition and the plans were all ready. He had heard it lamented that owing to some indiscretion of some body in Parliament the great measure of amelioration was delayed for 5 or 6 years with results of great evil to this country. But Morley's career was only partly concerned with India, and although in his opinion the leading politicians of India did not do him justice so long as he was in office, the publication of his own recollections and the testimony of those who judged him marked him out as one of the benefactors installed in Whitehall who had charge of India's destinies for many years. Gokhale knew of Morley's difficulties, but at the same time he felt that it was an irony of things that while they had such a great man as the Secretary of State two or three years should have passed without showing anything positive as having been of benefit to India. Gokhale wrote about this as follows: "People of this country believe that there was never any chance of second meeting. Lala Lajpat Rai has been sacrificed to the sedition apprehension that seized Government, I think public agitation in India must be directed for some time to secure Lala Lajpat Rai's restoration to liberty or to meet the charges on which Government action was based. We certainly do not want disorders in the land, but the reforms will lose their value if they cannot be had without the help of such high-minded workers like Lajpat Rai."

#### GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC MEN.

Lajpat Rai, Mr. Sastri continued, was set at liberty in a few months. Between Lord Minto and Gokhale there prevailed generally good understanding, each recognising a valuable ally in the other. Now and then, however, Lord Minto wanted (?) about the patriotism and helpfulness of Gokhale's work and this dissatisfaction found expression in the letters that he wrote to Lord Morley which have been published now by the Countess of Minto. He (Mr. Sastri) heard nothing from Gokhale nor did any evidence which appeared in the letters show that Lord Minto doubted for a moment Gokhale's sincerity of purpose or desire to bring peace to the land. In 1907 Minto wrote to Morley: "The understanding and mutual relations of high officials of Government with non-official public workers should not at all be disfigured by any suspicion. Should anything happen however between leading men on one side and the leading men on the other, results in public progress would be disastrous." Minto said that if Gokhale chose to play with fire he must take the consequence and that Government could not afford to let him tamper with the army. Minto said: "If Gokhale says anything to me, I should tell him straight to

his face that I am thoroughly disappointed in Gokhale. I believed that he was honest at heart, but the part he played of late has disgusted me. He countenances rank sedition. Either he is incapable of understanding the real friends of India or he is as black a revolutionist as Lajpat Rai and the rest of them." Mr. Sastri, commenting on this letter, observed that one little lesson that should be drawn from this letter was that what was in Minto's mind when he wrote that letter was that as soon as a person like Lajpat Rai appeared on the scene suspected of sedition it was the bounden duty of those like Gokhale to come and denounce the supposed offender. That was impossible in public life. No honourable man could denounce a patriot. No honourable Indian patriot would denounce his brother patriots, condemn their activities in public and hand them over to the tender mercies of a bureaucracy. That was impossible and yet that was what every conservative Viceroy would expect of those whom they called their allies and colleagues.

#### SURAT CONGRESS SPLIT.

Dealing with the situation arising from the split in the Congress at Surat, Mr. Sastri said that Gokhale had a fear that at Surat the Congress would be wrecked. The one absorbing question was how the split was to be averted. The outlook was dark. If the split came it meant a disaster. Government would put down both sections without any difficulty. They would put down the new party on the plea that the most thoughtful people were not with them.

Referring to this question, Mr. Sastri said that the situation was very similar to what obtained to-day between the Liberals and the Government. What the Government demanded of Liberals was that they should denounce their countrymen. It was their demand. Having said that they ought to convert themselves into mere gramophones of the Government, the Liberals were expected to say to the public of India, "Government and we are in alliance. As far as we can, we are determined to support the Government and you must follow." That position, Mr. Sastri said, it was impossible for any political party to take. They might have their own views. They might be appreciative of the special difficulties of the Government but that they should lose their identity and appropriate the political opinions of the authorities, was an impossible position. The Liberals desired one day to be a political party of their country with the right to determine their policy and shape its destinies. How could they identify themselves completely with the Government and trust the fortunes of India to the hands of Government?

#### POSITION OF THE LIBERALS.

The position of Liberals at the inauguration of the Minto-Morley reforms was then compared by Mr. Sastri with the present position, and he said that so far as he knew Gokhale never once, in public or private, dissociated himself from the Minto-Morley reforms. He had a sense of pride in it because he had contributed to its formulation a great deal of useful material and he held himself partly responsible for the reform. He said that the reforms were on the whole satisfactory, but that their public men must learn to reconcile themselves to the difficulty of Lord Morley. He said: "I assure you it is a noble instalment of progress that the country will do well to adopt in good faith and work for all it is worth." In public utterance Gokhale never said that he was dissatisfied. In the Madras Congress of 1908 he made a powerful advocacy of the various measures in the scheme. He hoped for a great deal from the reforms. Continuing this theme, Mr. Sastri said that the bureaucracy in India knew how to defeat in

detail what they could not frustrate in principle. The Regulations that the Government made under the Reforms scheme were so reactionary that they were calculated to divide one section of people from another and detract so far from the spirit of the reforms like the safeguards in the present scheme before the country which were calculated to swallow up nearly the whole of the reforms. That was how Gokhale objected to the Minto-Morley reforms.

Mr. Sastri next dealt with the prosecution of Tilak and read two letters from Gokhale to Patwardhan in that connection and one letter written by himself (Mr. Sastri) to Mr. Dravid doubting the propriety of launching prosecutions on behalf of Gokhale against *Bande Mataram*, *Hindu Punch*, etc., for libel, casting unjust aspersions that "Gokhale set up the Government to prosecute Tilak." After considerable hesitation and correspondence Gokhale launched a prosecution against the papers which had to pay heavy fines and these fines were handed over by Gokhale for objects of public utility.

#### MRS. BESANT'S INTERNMENT.

In concluding his second lecture, Mr. Sastri said referring to his connection with Mrs. Besant's internment:—"I venture to include something of a personal character because of the sad thought that this tendency of our people to speak ill of their own men and to be ready to think that they are traitors is not a thing of the past. In my own poor life, humble as I have been, an incident occurred which I recall with most intense regret. I mention that merely to show that none of you can be too cautious in receiving stories against men in public life. When you hear these stories, if there is a bias in the matter let it be in favour of the accused person. You must make it a point to demand most positive and incontestable proof before you will consent to drag the name of your own countrymen into the mire. You remember the occasion in Lord Pentland's government when Mrs. Besant was interned. I was then a member of the local Legislative council and it was well known that I stood on some friendly footing with Lord Pentland. With these facts and no other and with the further information that I stood on a different political platform from Mrs. Besant's and that I declined to become a member of her Home Rule League and that I ventured to dissociate myself from her activities, a number of her followers including some very eminent men spread the story that I was responsible for the internment, that Lord Pentland consulted me, as if it was necessary to fortify himself with such consultation, and that I gave my verdict against Mrs. Besant. I did my best to dispel this story. I spoke in public against the order of the Government and being on friendly terms with Mr. Montagu I cabled to him. These facts were known, but they did not weigh so much as fancy that they did not read it in public. Everything was done to mar the good relations that subsisted between me and Mrs. Besant. I am very glad to say that some of those who said these things came to know the truth and acquitted me completely. It gives me greater pleasure to testify that Mrs. Besant never once lent her ear to these aspersions, but they were in the air. There is a possibility of our good men being slandered in this unscrupulous and unfounded manner and if any words of mine will induce a better state of mind and a more disciplined state of heart among young friends so that when they come to fill places of high life a higher tone shall prevail, I shall not have taken the liberty of mentioning this personal matter in vain." (Cheers).

### III.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

Mr. Sastri said that Gokhale introduced a resolution in the Imperial Council asking that a committee should be appointed to examine the question whether free and compulsory education might be introduced and if so, how. After an interesting debate he withdrew the resolution as the Government intended to oppose it and when the Government opposed a non-official measure in those days, nothing more could be got out of the venture. Next year he introduced a Bill trying to make education compulsory. It was, however, a very limited and cautious measure. At that time in the history of this country, the question of universal education had barely dawned on the minds of even the most advanced thinkers. If the principle that all the children born in this country, boys and girls, rich and poor, should receive a certain measure of rudimentary education, was accepted it was a gain of no small moment, but it was not to be. The details of that Bill would not be of much interest at present because the country had gone beyond those beginnings, and although they could not say now that compulsory education was firmly established in any part of India, the question was now reduced to one of money merely. There was hardly any doubt in the minds of thinkers as to the desirability, if only it were possible, of universal education. The outline of that Bill was proof, in the first instance, of how moderate and how careful Gokhale's work was and in the second instance it was proof too of how the Government even when confronted with such a modest measure did not look upon it with favour.

After giving a brief summary of the provisions of the Bill, Mr. Sastri said that the Government at first were willing to grant time for Gokhale to go round the country and prepare opinion in favour of the Bill. The consideration of the Bill was postponed for one year during which Gokhale and some members of the Servants of India Society were active in promoting the Bill. He (Mr. Sastri) had a share in that important work although it bore no fruit in the end, for, as Gokhale said, it was one of the numerous failures to his credit. R. C. Dutt was right in describing certain failures of Gokhale's work as more brilliant than victories and this was one such, certainly. Next year Gokhale came to the Council and asked that the Bill be committed to the consideration of a select committee. The Government put its veto on it and there was an end to the thing.

The ideas started by Gokhale, continued Mr. Sastri, had since gathered momentum and there were several provinces at the present day which had on their statute book a Compulsory Education Act. He (Mr. Sastri) was not much pleased with the results of this legislation. Everywhere there had been a great constriction of finance and there was not much chance of a rapid growth of this movement although the principle was no longer under any risk. As an educationist himself, Mr. Sastri wished to express a doubt upon a survey of the whole of Gokhale's work whether after all his political work, superb as it was, was more valuable in the long run than the totality of his educational labours. For 20 years he was a Professor in one of the leading colleges in the Bombay Presidency. Afterwards he took part in the University work. Then he criticised with great acumen and experience the Universities legislation undertaken by Lord Curzon and in the last years of his life he made three successive efforts in order to promote the cause of compulsory education to the children of India. Those that read Gokhale's educational speeches alone would find that they showed an uncommon grasp of the realities of the situation.

of the fundamental needs of the country and of the basis upon which alone could be surely built anything like the welfare of the nation.

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

Mr. Sastri then dealt with Gokhale's visit to South Africa in 1912 at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi who brought up the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa into the forefront of Indian politics and who realised that Gokhale was a statesman of first-rate calibre in India whose handling of the question, if it had behind it a study of it on the spot, would give it at once an importance which otherwise it could never obtain. It proved true. Under the £3 tax imposed on every Indian—man, woman and child—in South Africa, who chose to remain there after the period of his or her indenture was over, every Indian must be an indentured labourer and not a free citizen. Gokhale obtained an undertaking from the Ministers in South Africa that this tax should be abolished. Unfortunately however the Ministers had not made clear to Gokhale whether they had made a binding promise or only that politic promise which statesmen knew how to make, viz., that the subject would receive the most sympathetic consideration. Word came that the Ministers had made no promise to abolish the tax. Mr. Gandhi was obliged to resume the Passive Resistance campaign on a large scale. When Gokhale came back to India, he was subjected to very severe criticism at the hands of his countrymen including Sir P. Mehta, who condemned Gokhale's compromise in no moderate terms. Gokhale was condemned because in return for the abolition of the £3 tax, he had agreed that there should be a limit placed upon the migration of their countrymen to that sub-continent. The ill-treatment of their people was due primarily to the fear of a small minority of South African whites that if this large and well-peopled country should make South Africa an outlet for this population, they (whites) would be swamped in a country which they wanted to make their home and that they would be deprived of those standards and methods of government which they highly valued. Gokhale thought that there was a good deal in it, and in his judgment Mr. Gandhi concurred. They agreed that in order to secure good treatment for Indians already settled in South Africa there should be no more influx of Indians and that the Indian Government should prohibit Indians emigrating to that part of the world. Sir P. Mehta and others contended that this was too big a price to pay for the welfare of a hundred thousand Indians. Gokhale was eventually able to convince the critics that a compromise of that kind was a legitimate procedure in the conduct of public affairs.

#### COMPROMISE IN POLITICS.

Continuing, Mr. Sastri said: "If you are to serve your countrymen in your generation, you must learn that if in a conflict with another nation who hold their rights sacred, it is not possible to get all at once, some of these may have to be given up in order that certain others may be gained. So managed, a compromise is legitimate, and that is the only practicable course in politics. Nevertheless how often do we not hear people saying that he is a 'man of compromise'. No man can do anything unless he understands the secret of compromise. Mr. Gandhi began his life with this principle of compromise. You may dispel from your head the idea that Mr. Gandhi knows no compromise. He knows the secret of compromise. He knows that he must surrender in order to gain. This compromise in South Africa gained some amelioration in the fate of a hundred thousand Indians in South Africa.

"So tangled is this unfortunate world," Mr. Sastri observed, "that this compromise, wise and necessary as it seemed at the time, did not, however, give a helpful turn to the solution of the South African problem. The compromise did not result in much good to our people, and although many further stages have been passed in the development of this problem, it is impossible even now to say that the position of our countrymen in South Africa is substantially an improvement on what it was in 1912. But for that neither Mr. Gandhi nor Gokhale nor any of those who went there as Agents under the Capetown Agreement is responsible. The whole of the position is due to the very unfortunate circumstances in which our people live there. As far as I can see, there is no permanent solution of this problem until India gets a place of complete equality with South Africa in the sisterhood of the Dominions called the British Commonwealth. Until that consummation is reached we shall not be able to assert our full voice in imperial councils. Although this point is lost sight of in our national demand for equality and although this point finds mention in the speeches of ordinary statesmen of this country, myself and others who have paid attention to this problem hold that it is one of the chief reasons why we seek as early as possible the attainment of Dominionhood and we cannot secure for our countrymen abroad a self-respecting status until we have achieved it here for ourselves." (Cheers).

#### HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM.

Another topic of equal importance illustrating the secret of compromise, with regard to which the compromises they had made now and then as in the case of South Africa had not brought them anything like a solution or an approach to a solution was the Hindu-Muslim problem. The solution of this problem, Mr. Sastri pointed out, formed one of Gokhale's anxious endeavours. When the Minto-Morley reforms took shape about 1908, Mahomedans claimed separate electorates for their representation in the legislatures. This was believed by some nationalists as an irretrievable disaster which would kill the growth of Indian nationality where religion and colour were subordinated to political unity. Nevertheless, Lord Morley, unable to resist the pressure put upon him, insisted either on introducing his reforms with the principle of separate electorate disfiguring them or giving up the whole show. Like a man of compromise, the doctrinaire and the honest John surrendered his principle. As a matter of compromise, Gokhale suggested a territorial election in which Hindus and Muslims should take part indiscriminately without reference to religion and that they should then have supplementary elections for separate communities to supply the deficiency in the communal quota. Lord Morley, having once consented to give separate representation, forgot for the time being that separate representation was to come after the operation of a general election and said that Mahomedans must get this representation through separate electorates. The excessive representation that Mahomedans demanded was also granted. These two points were against Gokhale's will, but when once the Regulations had been made and the new constitution started working, he considered it unfortunate, inexpedient and injurious to the growth of national interest that Mahomedans should be deprived of what they had secured. He advised the acceptance of this rather than lose all chance of a peaceful working of a constitution of a higher level in other respects. That was another matter in which Gokhale made a compromise believing that once it had been made, the national forces in the country would enable succeeding generations to restrict the principle of separate

representation. But as often happened the blunder once made, communal ramifications became strongly rooted and it was impossible to resist the further spread of this poison which had become injected into the body politic of India. Subsequently, it extended to other communities and entered local bodies, universities, etc., where people had since begun to think always as members of a certain community and not as members of a united and homogeneous nation. But it was wrong to lay at the door of either Lord Morley or Gokhale the evil consequences that they could not have foreseen.

This and the South African question, Mr. Sastri proceeded to observe, were both instances in which the evil consequences rendered a better solution impossible. He wished to make one pious remark on this matter. He had already said that Mr. Gandhi was also a man of compromise and he had described himself as a man ready to compromise, provided it would lead to something tangibly good. He must say to Gandhiji's credit that he was not a man of compromise to the same extent and in the same sense as many others were. Without putting the other party on a false scent, Mr. Gandhi knew when to compromise and when other people were ready to compromise. At a certain stage Mr. Gandhi would wait until a critical stage was reached and then enter into a compromise. It was a matter of temperament. It was not a matter of fundamental principle.

Mr. Sastri then referred to the incident connected with the offer of knighthood to Gokhale on the recommendation of Lord Hardinge and Gokhale's declining the honour, wishing to continue under his simple designation. In that connection, Mr. Sastri read Gokhale's letter to Lord Crew, the then Secretary of State, and the latter's reply appreciating the reasons for declining the honour.

#### GENERAL IMPORT OF GOKHALE'S CAREER.

In concluding the series of three lectures on Gokhale, Mr. Sastri spoke as follows on the import of Gokhale's career which he thought would be of the greatest possible instruction to his young friends among the audience:—

In this world there is a great amount of miscarriage of human endeavour. There is considerable wreckage of happiness and probably also a great deal of production of unnecessary misery just because of the wonderful circumstances in the arrangement that we see around in the world. Of a thousand people that you study occupying various positions and discharging various duties to the community you will probably find 990 whom you could only describe as round men in square holes. In colleges and elsewhere you debate the question of the choice of a career. But how many people are there to whom a career is open for choice? Those that find it have no choice in the matter but take just what they can get. It is no wonder therefore that the world is full of miscarriage of effort, misdirection of endeavour, misapplication of energy, and a large amount of positive harm to the community where men discharge tasks for which they are not fitted. It is a matter of the most significant value in life to find fit men for fit places. I wonder whether there is really one in a thousand who can be described as exactly fitted for the work that he performs in life. I remember reading in the famous poem of Kalidasa a sloka where he says that in the world of matrimony misfits are the rule, a couple who seem to be made for each other being very very rare. So, seeing that Dushyanta and Sakuntala have been brought together as bride

and groom, the poet explains: 'Ah! in a sense fate has yoked together two people each of whom is worthy of the other in the matter of high qualities. For a long time from now the world will not censure fate'.

#### HOW TO PROFIT BY OPPORTUNITIES?

Speaking of the contemplation of a career which has found a worthy person, it seems to me that somehow Gokhale was fitted in every way for the career he chose. Nobody would have predicted that he would play a great part in Indian affairs, for he started with many disadvantages. His station in life was very modest, his intellectual endowments were not by any means brilliant. Nevertheless, what came to him were great opportunities. Here is another matter for contemplation. Opportunities come to us all. Only some of us do not see them, while some others having seen them do not profit by them. Opportunities of some kind each one of us has. In the case of Gokhale there is no doubt that his opportunities were superlative. He began with the teaching profession in which men like Tilak, Agarkar and Apte were doing work. Soon afterwards he fell under the influence of Ranade, Joshi and Mehta. Gokhale saw the value of these opportunities at every stage. He had great ambitions. He knew that Providence placed in his hands facilities for realising a great part of those ambitions. He allowed others to mould his mind, to shape his character, to inculcate high ideals and principles, and to teach him the elements of the succeeding stages of the work that he was to do. Can we say that we have not got similar opportunities although they may not be of that order? We all have wise people to whom we may go. We all have teachers and relatives who are in a position to advise and guide us. Do we go to them? On the contrary is it not one of our great complaints as teachers that we are continually in the position of giving advice and guidance when we know that that advice and guidance will not be heeded at all? It is a sad thought. Advice has been described as that which is sought but never followed. In the case of Gokhale he conscientiously sought the advice of those who could give it. He placed himself conscientiously under the influence of others who could give competent guidance and when their influence was removed by the hand of time he had placed himself in a position in which he could order his daily conduct and carry forward their work in his good time. That is a great lesson to be drawn from his life that we should seek opportunities, realise them when they are beside us and then with a determination and will make the best use of them. Having perfected himself and armed himself with the necessary knowledge, was he content? He had laid out a big programme for himself which was extraordinarily comprehensive in compass of knowledge. In the end he accomplished at 49 a great deal more than those who when they are 70 cannot claim to their credit. You have to aim high in order that you may reach a certain point of eminence. Though you cannot hope to attain the full grasp of your ideals you must not give up those ideals. You must put forth the maximum effort of which you are capable and then your achievements though they may fall short of the ideals will be greater than what they could have been had you aimed low. The task that you undertake must be in excess of your power in order that your best qualities may be evoked. Gokhale never fell below his own standard. He always aimed high and he was never satisfied until he had done the very best that was open to him. (Loud cheers).

## LABOUR AND J. P. C. REPORT.

The following article from the pen of Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., appeared in a recent issue of the Manchester Guardian :

THE report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee ought to be examined from the point of view, first, of the transference of power from British to Indian hands, and, secondly, of the distribution of the transferred powers among the various sections of the people.

The report undoubtedly transfers larger powers to Indian hands. It provides for full responsible government in the provinces, with deductions by way of the special powers of the Governors. But transference of some departments to responsible Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was not subject to the special powers of the Governors. The limited responsibility at the centre may be regarded as an advance in self-government, as the present Central Legislature does not possess any decisive powers.

Advance must also be noted, as regards the distribution of these powers among the various sections of the population. The proportion of people enfranchised will now be increased from 3 to 14 per cent. The depressed classes, Labour and women will secure for the first time reserved seats in the lower chamber, although the special elective representation given to Labour is extremely inadequate.

## DISTRUST.

This advance, though inadequate compared to the expectation of the Indian people, would have been accepted had it not been accompanied by features which either hurt their feeling of national self-respect or are undemocratic, and which will be very difficult to get rid of even in the distant future, if once introduced.

The first objectionable feature from the Indian point of view is the distrust of the Indian people—Princes, landed and commercial magnates, and, of course, the common people—as regards the protection of British interests—investments, commerce, services and even the professions. Failure to provide that the representation allotted to the Indian States will be representation of the people and not of the rulers is also a feature which the common people of India cannot accept. The British, by insisting that responsible government can be introduced at the centre only if the Princes join, placed the Princes in an advantageous position to dictate terms. If the Princes know that the progress of British India cannot for ever be delayed at their sweet will the Princes be reasonable. The nominees of the Indian Princes, together with the representatives of Europeans and of landed and commercial interests, will effectively prevent the will of the common people prevailing in the Central Legislature.

## SECOND CHAMBERS.

The proposed establishment of second chambers not only at the centre but in five of the biggest provinces is another obstacle to the establishment of democracy. If second chambers are established, the passing of the progressive social legislation benefiting the workers and peasants will be practically impossible. Provision is made for the representation of all communities based upon religion and race in the proposed second chambers. But there is absolutely no provision in them for the representation of Labour. There is not much provision for representation even of the depressed classes.

Progress proposed as regards the franchise has already been admitted. But any restriction of franchise is undemocratic. The only provision

made for the extension of the franchise in the future is the power given to the Indian Legislatures to pass resolutions on the subject. It is unnatural to expect Legislatures elected on a restricted franchise readily to pass resolutions for franchise extension. The special representation provided for Labour by the report, even in the lower chambers, is very meagre. The National Trades Union Federation had asked for a modest proportion of 10 per cent. of the total number of seats for Labour. But Labour has been given only 38 out of nearly 1,600 seats in all provincial Legislatures taken together, and only 10 in the Central Lower Chamber. With this small representation, even taken together with the representatives of the depressed classes, the common people cannot make their will effective in Legislatures where vested interests dominate.

## INDIRECT ELECTION.

Insistence on indirect election is another undemocratic feature. Even if indirect election is admitted to be unavoidable when adult suffrage is adopted, indirect election on the proposed limited basis is bound to lead to corruption. Separate electorates provided for communities according to their religion and race are undoubtedly undemocratic. But the British cannot be held solely responsible for this provision, and consequently the Indian people must acquiesce in it till they themselves are able to alter it with the consent of the minority communities.

These are some of the main undemocratic features of the proposed Constitution. Some are capable of being removed in course of time, such as the restriction of the franchise, indirect elections, and communal electorates. Freedom given to the Princes to nominate their representatives will not easily be parted with. And special safeguards provided to protect British interests are bound to cause bitterness leading to retaliation, which in its turn will make the removal of the safeguards impracticable. Similarly it will be practically impossible to abolish second chambers, if once established. The right which the Princes claim that their consent is necessary for all future constitutional changes will make future development impossible.

The alternative proposals of Major Attlee and his colleagues would have been accepted by a large section of Indians as a compromise. They rightly insist upon definite recognition of the goal of Dominion Status, of which the report is a practical repudiation. Indians cannot become a consenting party either to the report or to the legislation based upon it.

## ARE STATE SUBJECTS UNTOUCHABLES ?

THE Union of Britain and India publishes a weekly bulletin for the popularisation in Britain of the Indian reform proposals with a map of India for the frontispiece. The reader's attention is drawn in a recent number to a slight change in this frontispiece. The Indian States are shown with a light shade to stress the significance of all-India Federation and to emphasise "the importance to the Federal principle of the adherence thereto of the Princely Order." As a matter of fact, however, the map enables one to realise something wholly different and perhaps the opposite of what the U. B. I. intends, namely, what a large part of the population of India is kept under the Joint Parliamentary Committee proposals out of any part or share in the proposed new order. For the shaded area in the map represents, really not the members of the so-called Princely order, but a vast population of unenfranchised people

whom it is proposed still to maintain in the same unenfranchised condition.

The progress of ideas and civilisation throughout India, British or Princely, is fairly uniform; because, life is one and administrative borders are not civilisation-tight. If it is good and necessary for British Indian citizens to have a wide franchise with a control over their own government, so also is it good and necessary for the present-day citizens of Princely India to have the same rights and duties. It would certainly not have been too much to have demanded with Federation a reform in the system of administration in the areas under the federating Princes. Even if this were deemed too great a revolution, one could at least have expected that the Indian-State-members in the Lower House of the Federal Parliament should be representatives of the people, even as the British Indian members are to be elected representatives of the people of the British provinces, and not nominees of the District Magistrates or of the Governors. The shaded part of the U. B. I. map represents indeed the Harijan population of the new political order.—C. Rajagopalachari in *Indian Advance*.

### PRINCES AND J. P. C. REPORT.

*The Chamber of Princes which recently considered the J. P. C. Report adopted the following resolution on the subject:*

“THE Chamber of Princes reaffirms its previous declaration about the readiness of the States to accede to the all-India federation, provided that the essential conditions and guarantees which have been pressed for are included in the constitution.

The Chamber must, however, reserve its opinion on the question until the Parliamentary bill relating to constitutional reforms and the contents of the proposed treaty of accession and of the Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy are known and have been examined.

The Chamber also wishes to emphasise that the inauguration and the success of the federation will depend entirely on the good-will and the co-operation of all parties concerned and upon the clear recognition of the sovereignty of the States and their rights under treaties and engagements.

The Chamber further emphasises the necessity of a prior settlement of the pending claims of individual States.”

### SHORT NOTICES.

**CONTROL FROM THE TOP.** By FRANCIS NEILSON. (Putnams, New York.) 1933. 20cm. 190p. \$1.50.

THE book is a criticism of the principles underlying the New Deal in the U. S. A. and the control from the top introduced under the Roosevelt regime. The author takes into account the views of a few economists in the United States in defence of the change involved in the system of controlled capitalism and subjects them to a searching analysis. He finds that most of the writers including those whom he selects for particular discussion—Dr. Tugwell, Mr. Chase and Mr. Soule—are merely dallying with socialism in propounding their theory about the necessity for the New Deal, though all the while they profess to abhor socialism or communism. All of them turn to Russia for example and inspiration; the

five-year plan which according to Mr. Neilson is a complete failure. And he asks if the American people, no matter how hoodwinked they may be for the time being, would ever consent to permitting so strict a control of industry as is obtaining in Russia at present. He says in fine that the various authors whose views he considers do not know their own minds and their own plans, and are only carried away by a sentimental appreciation of the Soviet model, information about which they get only after it is censored. Mr. Neilson stigmatises socialisation, in a mere political and material sense, as ‘a policy of despair’. ‘It is a back-to-slavery policy.’ His remedy for the American situation is not state socialism or control from the top but the resuscitation of the ‘economic man’, by giving recognition to the principle of private ownership of land which gives man a sense of independence and restores economic equilibrium. State control or any other control destroys that independence and is against the principle of individualism inherent in human nature. Mr. Neilson is a practical realist; but that is saying as much as one can about him. He is a fearless thinker and critic; but even he must acknowledge that there is a field for state action in modern times which cannot be ignored. And the United States under the New Deal is making experiments in controlled capitalism which may have important lessons for that country and for others.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

### THE PROBLEM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY.  
(United Bengal Association, 99, Bakul Bagan Road, Calcutta.) 1934. 25cm. As. 4.

THIS pamphlet gives a fairly adequate idea of the present-day secondary education in Bengal. A good part of the observations in this pamphlet would be applicable to secondary education in other Provinces, as well. Bengal has an additional disadvantage in having a dual system of control over its secondary education, exercised by two practically independent agencies—the Education Department and the University. Paucity of finances, insecurity of tenure of teachers in non-Government schools and inefficiency of instruction form a logically connected chain of factors hampering the progress of secondary education. It is admitted on all hands that primary education should be the first charge on State-revenue. Organised public philanthropy would alone make the financial basis of private secondary schools secure. It is also essential to realise that teachers must feel a sense of security if their work is to bear the best fruit. The Government of the United Provinces has recently made agreement of teachers and head-masters a condition of the grant-in-aid, which will have to be now accepted by the managers of recognised secondary schools. This is a step in the right direction, as it would give the teacher a reasonable sense of security. In the words of Mr. Mackenzie, the late Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, teachers in recognised secondary schools are “as much true servants of the State as teachers in the University or in Government Municipal or District Board Schools” and they “are entitled to the same protection”. The more this protection would be forthcoming either from Government or from the managers of recognised schools, the better would be the condition of secondary education.

AN EDUCATIONIST.